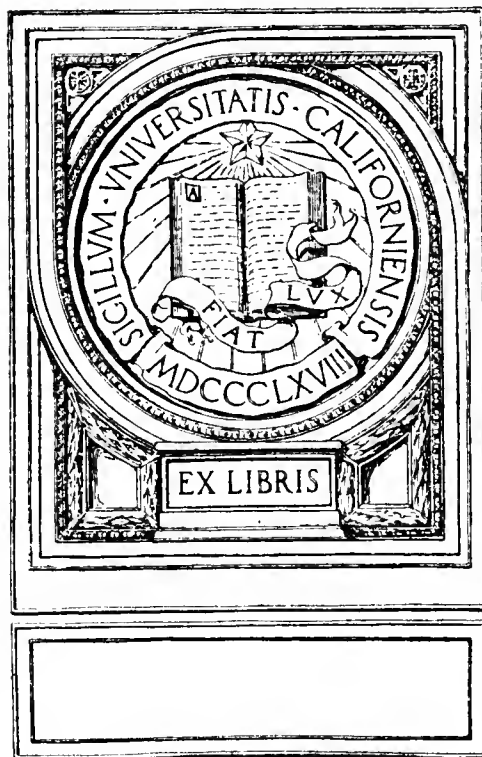
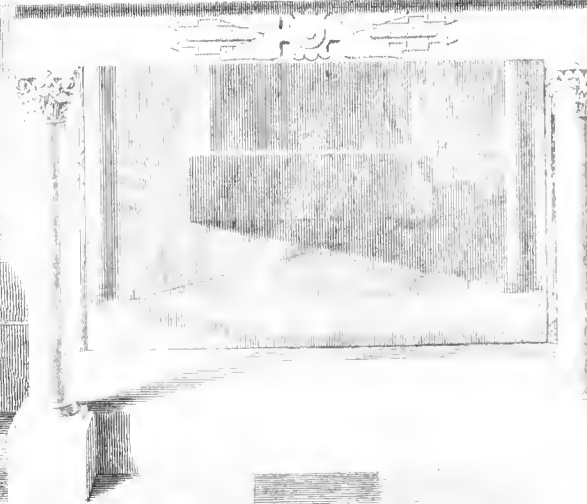


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INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER A FULL VIEW OF

AMERICAN HISTORY,
FROM THE EARLIEST DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Illustrated with numerous Engravings.

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BERNARD MOSES

COPY OF
THE
BIOGRAPHICAL

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE EARLY DISCOVERERS.

BY JEREMY BELKNAP, D. D.

INTRODUCTION.

THE editor of this work believes that a people who have patronised those publications which treat of other countries, would readily encourage one that was altogether devoted to our own country. We have general and particular histories, many of them abounding in excellent matter; but as yet we have no book of reference on subjects relating entirely to America. Almon published in England during the revolutionary war his "*REMEMBRANCER*," a collection of facts in regard to that conflict, remarkable for candor and correctness; but this is out of print. The next book of reference is *NILES' REGISTER*: the public are much indebted to this indefatigable and able editor for his historical treasures, which are truly great; but his periodical, on account of the expense, cannot circulate so generally as to diffuse the intelligence that it contains among all classes; and he has not, from the pressure of passing events, gone much into our early annals. The intention of the editor of this work is plainly this—to search, with competent assistance, the records of the discovery and settlement of this country, and to give in a cheap but handsome form the rich materials that are to be found scattered throughout the United States. He will commence his labors with the lives of the early adventurers who explored unknown countries, and particularly this.—There is a direct connexion between them, if some only prepared the way for others. We therefore shall present the whole chain of events which have operated in any way to our existence and welfare as a people. Chronology has been called the eye of history, and we shall be careful to give correct dates for all the incidents we enumerate. Going back to the fountains of our history, we shall follow the streams to the present time, in order that our readers may have a panoramic view, as it were, of all that regards our origin, progress, and present situation. Our distinguished minds in every age of our history shall not be forgotten, and, when practicable, some of their mental efforts shall be furnished the reader. The reader need not fear that the subject will be soon exhausted; for Time, who destroys all things else, makes new matter for the historian, not only in the birth of events, but in opening the long hidden mines of knowledge. The writer from whose works these biographies were taken, deserves the title of the *father of American history*. He was a man of genius, a scholar of extensive erudition, a divine of a holy life, and a lover of his country. He established a historical society, and produced several historical works. He wrote with a more polished pen than his cotemporaries, and showed them the worth of historical knowledge, and at the same time gave them an example of the manner in which history should be written. The name of Jeremy Belknap, D. D., is sponsor for all that has been said, and more. This great historian did not live to fill up his outline, which embraced "adventurers, statesmen, philosophers, divines, warriors, authors, and other remarkable characters, comprehending a recital of the events connected with their lives and actions;" what has been done, is well done—and we shall supply a portion of the deficiency from other sources. In fine, we shall use every exertion to make the work, if encouragement is given to the undertaking, a valuable collection of American history, biography, eloquence, polite literature, science, and statistics—interspersed with anecdotes of olden time, and of revolutionary days, to amuse as well as to instruct the reader. In our history we shall come down to the present time without a particle of party spirit, and strive to give a true record of events as they have or may occur. There is an advantage in many respects in this method of presenting history and polite literature to the public, as we have an opportunity of being optimists, and selecting that which will make the strongest impression on the mind of the reader. There are epochs in our history which have not often been distinctly marked by writers. We shall endeavor to point them out. There is a philosophy of history which should be studied while we are endeavoring to fix the facts in our memory. Cause and effect have the same connexion in the growth of a nation as in that of a blade of grass, and are much more clearly open to our investigation.

EDITOR.

BIRON.

BIRON, a native of Norway—His discovery of Iceland and Greeland—An account of his voyage—Character and appearance of the natives.

THE ancient inhabitants of Norway and Denmark, collectively taken, were distinguished by the name of *Normans*. Their situation near the coast of the sea, and the advantages which that element presented to them

beyond all which they could expect, from a rough soil, in a cold climate, led them at an early period to the science and practice of navigation. They built their vessels with the best of oak, and constructed them in such a manner as to encounter the storms and billows of the northern ocean. They covered them with decks and furnished them with high forecastles and sterns. They made use of sails as well as oars, and had learn-

ed to trim their sails to the wind, in almost any direction. In these arts, of building ships and of navigation, they were superior to the people bordering on the Mediterranean sea, who depended chiefly on their oars, and used sails only with a fair wind.

About the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century, the Normans made themselves famous by their predatory excursions. England, Scotland, Ire-

land, the Orkney and Shetland islands, were objects of their depredations; and in one of their piratical expeditions, A. D. 801, they discovered an island, which from its lofty mountains, covered with ice and snow, obtained the name of *Iceland*. In a few years after they planted a colony there; which was continually augmented by migrations from the neighboring countries. Within the space of thirty years 889, a new country situate to the west, was discovered, and from its verdure during the summer months, received the name of *Greenland*. This was deemed so important an acquisition, that, under the conduct of ERIC RAUDE or REO HEAD, a Danish chief, it was soon peopled.

The emigrants to these new regions were still inflamed with the passion for adventure and discovery. An Icelfander of the name HERIOLF and his son BIRON* made a voyage every year to different countries for the sake of traffic. About the beginning of the 11th century 1001, their ships were separated by a storm. When Biron arrived in Norway, he heard that his father was gone to Greenland, and he resolved to follow him; but another storm drove him to the southwest, where he discovered a flat country, free from rocks, but covered with thick woods, and an island near the coast.

He made no longer stay at either of these places than till the storm abated; when by a northeast course he hasted to Greenland. The discovery was no sooner known there, than LEIF the son of ERIC, who, like his father, had a strong desire to acquire glory by adventures, equipped a vessel, carrying twenty-five men; and taking Biron for his pilot, sailed in 1002, in search of the new country.

His course was southwest. On the first land which he saw, he found nothing but flat rocks and ice, without any verdure. He therefore gave it the name of *Helleland*, which signifies rocky. Afterwards he came to a level shore, without any rocks, but overgrown with woods, and the sand was remarkably white. This he named *Markland* or woody. Two days after, he saw land again, and an island lying before the northern coast of it. Here he first landed: and thence sailing westward, round a point of land, found a creek or river into which the ship entered.

On the banks of this river, were bushes bearing sweet berries; the air was mild, the soil fertile, and the river well stored with fish among which were very fine salmon. At the head of this river was a lake, on the shore of which they resolved to pass the winter, and erected huts for their accommodation. One of their company, a German named Tyker having straggled into the woods, found grapes; from which he told them, that in his country, they made wine. From this circumstance, Leif the commander of the party, called the place *Winland dat Gode*, the Good Wine Country.

An intercourse being thus opened between Greenland and Winland, several voyages were made, and the new country was further explored. Many islands were found near the coast, but not a human creature was seen till the third summer, 1004, when three boats constructed with ribs of bone, fastened with thongs or twigs and covered with skins, each boat containing three men, made their appearance. From the diminutive size of these people, the Normans denominated them *Serclings**, and inhumanly killed them all but one; who escaped and collected a large number of his countrymen, to make an attack on their invaders. The Normans defended their ships with so much spirit that the assailants were obliged to retire.

After this, a colony of Normans went and settled at Winland, carrying on a barter trade with the *Serclings* for furs; but a controversy arose in the colony, which induced some to return to Greenland. The others dispersed and mixed among the *Serclings*.

In the next century, 1121, Eric, bishop of Greenland, went to Winland, with a benevolent design to recover and convert his countrymen who had degenerated into savages. This prelate never returned to Greenland; nor was any thing more heard of Winland, for several centuries.

This account of the discovery of Winland is taken from Pontoppidan's History of Norway, Crantz's History of Greenland, and a late History of Northern Voyages, by Dr. John Reinhold Forster. The facts are said to have been collected from a "great number of Icelandic Manuscripts by Thormod Thorfous, Adam von Bremen, Arngnim Jonas and many

other writers, so that it is hardly possible to entertain the least doubt concerning the authenticity of the relation.

Pontoppidan says "that they could see the sun full six hours in the shortest day; but Crantz tells us that "the sun rose on the shortest day at eight of the clock," and Forster that "the sun was eight hours above the horizon," from which he concludes that Winland must be found in the 49th degree of northern latitude; and from its being in a southwesterly direction from Greenland, he supposes that it is either a part of Newfoundland or some place on the northern coast of the gulf of St. Lawrence; but whether grapes are found in either of those countries he cannot say. However, he seems so fully persuaded of the facts, that he gives it as his opinion, that the Normans were, strictly speaking, the first discoverers of America, nearly five centuries before Columbus.

From a careful perusal of the first accounts of Newfoundland, preserved by these painful collectors Hakluyt and Purchas, and of other memoirs respecting that island and the coast of Labrador; and from inspecting the most approved maps of those regions, particularly one in the American Atlas, delineated agreeably to the actual surveys of the late celebrated navigator, Capt. James Cook, the following observations occur.

On the N. E. part of Newfoundland, which is most directly accessible from Greenland, there is a long range of coast, in which are two bays, the one called Gander Bay, and the other the Bay of Exploits. Before the mouth of the former, among many smaller, there lies one large island, called Fogo: and before the mouth of the latter, another called the New World. Either of these will sufficiently answer to the situation described in the account of Biron's second voyage. Into each of these bays, runs a river, which has its head in a lake, and both these lakes lie in the 49th degree of north latitude.

The earliest accounts of Newfoundland after its discovery and the establishment of a fishery on its coast, have respect chiefly to the lands about Trinity and Conception Bays, between the parallels of 48 and 49°. These lands are represented as producing strawberries, whortleberries, raspberries, pears, wild cherries, and hazel nuts, in very great plenty. The rivers are said to have been well stored with salmon and trout. The natives, who inhabited a bay lying to the northward of Trinity, and came occasionally thither in their canoes, are described as broad breasted and upright, with black eyes, and without beards: the hair on their heads was of different colours; some had black, some brown, and others yellow. In this variety they differed from the other savages of North America, who have uniformly black hair, unless it be grown gray with age.

The climate is represented as more mild in the winter than that of England; but much colder in the spring, by reason of the vast islands of ice, which are driven into the bays or grounded on the banks.

On the northeastern coast of Labrador, between the latitudes of 53 and 56°, are many excellent harbors and islands. The seas are full of cod, the rivers abound with salmon; and the climate is said to be more mild than in the gulf of St. Lawrence.

Nothing is said in any of these accounts of vines or grapes, excepting that some which were brought from England had thriven well. If any evidence can be drawn from the comparison between the countries of Newfoundland and New-England it may be observed that all the above mentioned fruits and berries are found in the northern and eastern parts of New-England as far as Nova Scotia, in the latitudes of 44 and 45°; and that grapes (*vitis vulpina*, *vitis vulpusca*) are known to grow wherever these fruits are found.

Du Monts in his voyage to Acadia, in 1608, speaks of grapes in several places; and they were in such plenty on the isle of Orleans in lat. 47° that it was first called the island of Bacchus.* Though there is no direct and positive testimony of grapes in the island of Newfoundland, it is by no means to be concluded that there were none. Nor is it improbable that grapes, though once found there, might have been so scarce, as not to merit notice, in such general descriptions, as were given by the first English adventurers.

The distance between Greenland and Newfoundland is not greater than between Iceland and Norway; and there could be no more difficulty in navigating the west-

ern than the eastern parts of the northern ocean, with such vessels as were then in use, and by such seamen as the Normans are said to have been; though they knew nothing of the magnetic needle.

Upon the whole, though we can come to no positive conclusion in a question of such remote antiquity; yet there are many circumstances to confirm, and none to disprove the relation given of the voyages of Biron. But if it be allowed that he is entitled to the honour of having discovered America before Columbus, yet this discovery cannot in the least detract from the merit of that celebrated navigator. For there is no reason to suppose that Columbus had any knowledge of the Norman discoveries; which long before his time were forgotten, and would perhaps never have been recollected if he had not by the astonishing exertions of his genius and his persevering industry, effected a discovery of this continent, in a climate more friendly to the views of commercial adventurers.

Even Greenland itself, in the fifteenth century, was known to the Danes and Normans only by the name of *lost Greenland*; and they did not recover their knowledge of it, till after the English had ascertained its existence by their voyages to discover a northwest passage to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch had coasted it in pursuing of whales.

MADOC.

MADOC, Prince of Wales.—His supposed discovery of America.—An account of his voyage examined.—The improbability of his supposed discovery shown.

THIS person is supposed to have discovered America, and brought a colony of his countrymen thither, before the discovery made by Columbus. The story of his emigration from Wales is thus related by Hakluyt, whose book was first published in 1589, and a second edition of it in 1600.

"The voyage of Madoc, the son of Owen Gwynneth, prince of North Wales, to the West Indies in the year 1170, taken out of the History of Wales, lately published by M. David Powel, Doctor of Divinity."

"After the death of Owen Gwynneth, his sons fell at debate who should inherit after him. For the eldest son born in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drywion, was counted unworthy to govern, because of the maim upon his face; and Howell, that took upon him all the rule, was a base son begotten of an Irish woman. Therefore, David gathered all the power he could and came against Howell, and fighting with him, slew him; and afterward enjoyed quietly the whole land of North Wales, until his brother Iorwerth's son came to age.

"Madoc, another of Owen Gwynneth his sons left the land in contention between his brethren, and prepared certain ships with men and munition, and sought adventures by sea, sailing west, and leaving the coast of Ireland so far north that he came to a land unknown, where he saw many strange things.

"This land must needs be some part of that country of which the Spaniards affirm themselves to be the first finders since Hanno's time. [For by reason and order of cosmographie, this land to the which Madoc came, must needs be some part of Nova Hispania or Florida.] Whereupon it is manifest that that country was long [before] by Britains discovered, afore [either] Columbus [or Americus Vesputius] led any Spaniards thither.

"Of the voyage and return of that Madoc there be many fables feigned, as the common people do use, in distance of place and length of time, rather to augment than diminish, but sure it is that there he was. And after he had returned home and declared the pleasant and fruitful countries that he had seen without inhabitants; and upon the contrary part, for what wild and barren ground his brethren and nephews did murder one another, he prepared a number of ships and got with him such men and women as were desirous to live in quietness; and taking leave of his friends, took his journey thitherwards again.

"Therefore it is to be presupposed, that he and his people inhabited part of those countries; for it appeareth, by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil, and other places, the people honored the cross. Whereby it may be gathered, that Christians had been there before the coming of the Spaniards. But because this people were not many, they followed the manners of the land they came to, and used the language they found there.

* His name is spelled by different authors *Biron*, *Biorn*, *Bjorn*, and *Biarn*.

† Cut sticks, chips—dwarfs

* It is also said that Mr. Ellis met with the vine about the English settlements at Hudson's Bay, and compares the fruit of it to the currants of the levant. Morse's Un. Geo. vol. i. p. 64.

* The words included in chrotchets [] are omitted in the second edition of Hakluyt's voyages.

"This Madoc arriving in that western country unto the which he came in the year 1170, left most of his people there, and returning back for more of his own nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fair and large country, went thither again, with ten sails, as I find noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land whereto he came, was some part of Mexico;* the causes which make me think so be these.

1. "The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirm that their rulers descended from a strange nation, that came thither from a far country; which thing is confessed by Mutezuma, King of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people at his submission to the King of Castile; Hernando Cortez being then present, which is laid down in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

2. "The British words and names of places used in that country even to this day do argue the same; as when they talk together, they use the word *Gurando*, which is hearken, or listen. Also they have a certain bird with a white head, which they call *penguin*, that is white head. But the island of *Corrooso*, the river of *Gugndor*, and the white rock of *Pennygn*, which be all British or Welch words, do manifestly show that it was that country, which Madoc and his people inhabited."

"Carmina Meredith filii Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco filio Oweni Gwynnedd et de sua navigatione in terras incognitas. Vixit hic Meredith circiter annum Domini, 1477.

Madoc wyf, mwyedie wedd
lawn genau, Owen Gwynnedd,
Ni fynwn dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

These verses I received of my learned friend, M. William Camden.

THE SAME IN ENGLISH.

"Madoc I am the son of Owen Gwynnedd,
With stature large and comely grace adorned.
No lands at home, nor store of wealth me please,
My mind was whole to search the Ocean seas.

In this extract from Hakluyt is contained all the original information which I have been able to find respecting the supposed discovery of America by the Welch. The account itself is confused and contradictory. The country discovered by Madoc is said to be "without inhabitants; and yet the people whom he carried thither 'followed the manners of the land, and used the language they found there.'" Though the Welch emigrants lost their language, yet the author attempts to prove the truth of his story by the preservation of several Welch words in the American tongues. Among these he is unfortunate in the choice of "penguin a bird with a white head;" all birds of that name on the American shores having black or dark brown heads, and the name *penguin* is said to have been originally *pindeguine*, from their excessive fatness.

Among the proofs which some late writers have adduced in support of the discovery of America by Madoc is this, that a language resembling the Welch was spoken by a tribe of Indians in North Carolina, and that it is still used by a nation situate on some of the western waters of the Mississippi. If that part of the account preserved by Hakluyt be true, that the language was lost, it is in vain to offer an argument of this kind in support of the truth of the story; but a question may here arise, How could any report of the loss of their language have been transmitted to Europe at so early a period?

An attempt has lately been made to ascertain the truth of this piece of history by Dr. John Williams, I have not seen the book itself, but if the critical reviewers may be credited, no new facts have been adduced. It is remarked by them, that "if Madoc once reached America, it is difficult to explain how he could return home, and it would be more improbable that he should arrive in America a second time; of which there is not the slightest evidence." They also observe, that "if Madoc sailed westward from Wales, the currents would rather have carried him to Nova Scotia than to the southward."

The mentioning of Nova Scotia reminds me of some words in the native language of that country which begin with two syllables resembling the name of Madoc. A *sachem* of the Penobscot tribe who lived in

the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century bore the name of *Madokawando*. A village on Penobscot river was *Madawankce*. One branch of the river St. John, which runs into the bay of Funda is *Medoctack*, and another is *Medocscenecasis*. The advocates of this opinion may avail themselves as far as they can of this coincidence, but in my apprehension it is too precarious to be the basis of any just conclusion.

After all that has been, or can be said on the subject, we must observe with the critical reviewers, that if "Madoc left Wales and discovered any other country it must always remain uncertain where that country is." Dr. Robertson thinks, if he made any discovery at all it might be Madeira, or one of the Azores.

The book of Hakluyt, in which the original story is preserved, was written in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and in the time of her controversy with Spain. The design of his bringing forward the voyage of Madoc appears, from what he says of Columbus, to have been, the asserting of a discovery prior to his, and consequently the right of the Crown of England to the sovereignty of America; a point at that time warmly contested between the two nations. The remarks which the same author makes on several other voyages, evidently tend to the establishment of that claim. But if the story of Biron be true, which (though Hakluyt has said nothing of it) is better authenticated than this of Madoc, the right of the Crown of Denmark, is on the principle of prior discovery, superior to either of them.

Perhaps the whole mystery may be unveiled, if we advert to this one circumstance, the time when Hakluyt's book was first published, national prejudice might prevail even with so honest a writer, to convert a Welch fable into a political argument, to support, against a powerful rival, the claim of his sovereign to the dominion of this continent.

ZENO.

ZENO—His rank and birth—He sails on a voyage of discovery—Is overtaken by a tempest—Arrives at Frisland—Difficulties with the natives—Death of Nicolo Zeno—His brother Antonio takes the command.

It is well known that the Venetians were reckoned among the most expert and adventurous of the maritime nations. In that republic the family of Zeno or Zenti is not only very ancient, and of high rank, but celebrated for illustrious achievements. Nicolo Zeno having exhibited great valor in a war with the Genoese, conceived an ardent desire, agreeably to the genius of his nation, to travel; that he might, by his acquaintance with foreign nations and languages, render himself more illustrious and useful. With this view he equipped a vessel at his own expense, and sailed through the straits of Gibraltar to the northward, A. D 1380, with an intention to visit Britain and Flanders; but by a storm which lasted many days, he was cast away on the coast of Frisland.

The prince of the country, Zichmni (or as Purchas spells it, Zichmni), finding Zeno an expert seaman, gave him the command of his fleet, consisting of thirteen vessels, of which two only were rowed with oars: one was a ship, and the rest were small barks. With this fleet he made conquest and depredations in Ledovo and Ileso, and other small islands; several barks laden with fish being a part of his capture.

Nicolo wrote to his brother Antonio Zeno at Venice, inviting him to Frisland, whither he went; and being taken into the service of Zichmni, continued with him fourteen years. The fleet sailed on an expedition to Estland, where they committed great ravages; but hearing that the King of Norway was coming against them with a superior fleet, they departed, and were driven by a storm on shoals, where part of the fleet was wrecked, and the rest were saved on Grisland, "a great island, but not inhabited."

Zichmni then determined to attack Iceland, which belonged to the King of Norway; but finding it well fortified and defended, and his fleet being diminished, he retired and built a fort in Bress, one of seven small islands, where he left Nicolo and returned to Frisland.

In the next spring Zeno, with three small barks, sailed to the northward on discovery, and arrived at Engroenland,—where he found a monastery of Friars, and a church dedicated to St. Thomas, situate near a volcano, and heated by warm springs flowing from the mountain.

After the death of Nicolo, which happened in about four years, Antonio succeeded him in the com-

mand of the fleet; and the prince Zichmni, aiming at the sovereignty of the sea, undertook an expedition westward, because that some fishermen had discovered rich and populous islands in that quarter.

The report of the fishermen was, that above a thousand miles westward from Frisland, to which distance they had been driven by a tempest, there was an island called Estotland, which they had discovered twenty-six years before; that six men in one boat were driven upon the island, and being taken by the inhabitants were brought into a fair and populous city; that the king of that place sent for many interpreters, but none was found who could understand the language of the fishermen, except one who could speak Latin, and he had formerly been cast ashore on the island; that on his reporting their case to the king, he detained them five years, in which time they learned the language; that one of them visited divers parts of the island, and reported that it was a very rich country, abounding with all the commodities of the world; that it was less than Iceland, but far more fruitful, having in the middle a very high mountain, from which originated four rivers.

The inhabitants were described as very ingenious, having all mechanic arts. They had a peculiar kind of language and letters; and in the king's library were preserved Latin books, which they did not understand. They had all kinds of metals (but especially gold, with which they mightily abounded.) They held traffic with the people of Engroenland, from whence they brought furs, pitch, and brimstone. They had many great forests, which supplied them with timber for the building of ships, houses, and fortifications. The use of the loadstone was not known, but these fishermen, having the mariners' compass, were held in so high estimation, that the king sent them with twelve barks to a country at the southward called Drogio, where the most of them were killed and devoured by cannibals; but one of them saved himself by showing the savages a way of taking fish by nets, in much greater plenty than by any other mode before known among them. This fisherman was in so great demand with the princes of the country, that they frequently made war on each other for the sake of gaining him. In this manner he passed from one to another, till in the space of thirteen years he had lived with twenty-five different princes, to whom he communicated his "miraculous" art of fishing with nets. He thus became acquainted with every part of the country, which he described to be so extensive as to merit the name of a *new world*. The people were rude and ignorant of the use of clothing, though their climate was cold, and afforded beasts for the chase. In their hunting and wars they used the bow and the lance; but they knew not the use of metal.

Farther to the southwest the air was said to be more temperate and the people more civil. They dwelt in cities, built temples, and worshipped idols, to whom they offered human victims; and they had plenty of gold and silver.

The fisherman having become fully acquainted with the country, meditated a return. Having fled through the woods to Drogio, after three years some boats arrived from Estotland, in one of which he embarked for that country; and having acquired considerable property, he fitted out a bark of his own and returned to Frisland.

Such was the report of the fisherman; upon hearing of which Zichmni resolved to equip his fleet and go in search of the new country; Antonio Zeno being the second in command. But "the preparation for the voyage to Estotland was begun in an evil hour; the fisherman, who was to have been the pilot, died three days before their departure."

However, taking certain mariners who had sailed with the fisherman, Zichmni, began the intended voyage. When he had sailed a small distance to the westward, he was overtaken by a storm which lasted eight days, at the end of which they discovered land, which the natives called Icaria. They were numerous and formidable and would not permit him to come on shore. From this place they sailed six days to the westward with a fair wind; but a heavy gale from the southward drove them four days before it, when they discovered land, in which was a volcano. The air was mild and temperate, it being the height of summer. They took a great quantity of fish, of sea fowl and their eggs. A part who penetrated the country as far as the foot of the volcano, found a spring from which issued "a certain water, like pitch, which ran into the sea." They discovered some of the inhabitants, who were of small stature and wild;

* In the second edition, the word 'Mexico' is changed for 'the West Indies;' and the two following paragraphs are omitted.

and who, at the approach of the strangers, hid themselves in their caves. Having found a good harbour, Zichmni intended to make a settlement; but his people opposing it, he dismissed part of the fleet under Zeno, who returned to Frisland.

The particulars of this narrative were first written by Antonio Zeno in his letters to his brother Carlo, at Venice; from some fragments of which a compilation was made by Francisco Marcolini, and preserved by Ramusio. It was translated by Richard Hakluyt, and printed in the third volume of the second edition of his collection, page 121, &c. From it Ortelius has made an extract in his *Theatrum Orbis*.

Dr. Forster has taken much pains to examine the whole account, both geographically and historically. The result of his inquiry is, that Frisland is one of the Orkneys; that Porland is the cluster of islands called Faro, and that Estland is Shetland.

At first, indeed, he was of opinion that "the countries, described by the Zenos actually existed at that time, but had since been swallowed up by the sea in a great earthquake." This opinion he founded on the probability that all the high islands in the middle of the sea are of volcanic origin; as is evident with respect to Iceland and the Faro islands in the North Sea; the Azores, Teneriffe, Madeira, the Cape de Verdes, St. Helena and Ascension in the Atlantic; the Society Islands, Otaheite, Easter, the Marquesas and other islands in the Pacific. This opinion he was induced to relinquish, partly because "so great a revolution must have left behind it some historical vestiges or traditions;" but principally because his knowledge of the Runic language suggested to him a resemblance between the names mentioned by Zeno and those which are given to some of the islands of Orkney, Shetland and the Hebrides.

However presumptuous it may appear to call in question the opinion of so learned and diligent an inquirer, on a subject which his philological and geographical knowledge must enable him to examine with the greatest precision; yet from the search which I have had opportunity to make, it appears probable to me that his first opinion was right, as far as it respects Frisland, and perhaps Porland. My reasons are these:

1. Dr. Forster says that Frisland was much larger than Iceland; and Hakluyt in his account of Zeno's voyage, speaks of it as "bigger than Ireland." Neither of these accounts can agree with the supposition of its being one of the Orkneys; for Iceland is 346 miles long, and 200 wide. Ireland is 310 in length, and 184 in breadth; but Pomona, the mainland of the Orkneys, is but 22 miles long, and 20 wide.

2. Frisland was seen by Martin Frobisher in each of his three voyages to and from Greenland in the years 1576, 1577 and 1578. In his first voyage he took his departure from Foulca, the westernmost of the Shetland Islands, in latitude $60^{\circ} 30'$, and after sailing W. by N. fourteen days, he made the land of Frisland, "bearing W. N. W. distance 16 leagues, in latitude 61° ." In his second voyage he sailed from the Orkneys W. N. W. twenty-six days, before he came "within making of Frisland;" which he thus describes:—

"July 4th. We made land perfect, and knew it to be Frisland. Found ourselves in lat. 60 and a half deg. and were fallen in with the southernmost part of this land. It is thought to be in bigness not inferior to England; and is called of some authors West Frisland. I think it lieth more west than any part of Europe. It extendeth to the north very far, as seemed to us, and appeareth by a description set out by two brethren, Nicolo and Antonio Zeni; who being driven out from Ireland about 200 years since, were ship-wrecked there. They have in their sea charts described every part; and for so much of the land as we have sailed along, comparing their charts with the coast, we find it very agreeable. All along this coast the ice lieth as a continual bulwark, and so defendeth the country that those who would land there incur great danger." In his third voyage he found means to land on the island. The inhabitants fled and hid themselves. Their tents were made of skins, and their boats were like those of Greenland. From these well authenticated accounts of Frisland, and its situation so far westward of the Orkneys and Shetland, it seems impossible that Dr. Forster's second opinion can be right.

3. One of the reasons which led the doctor to give up his first opinion, that these lands once existed, but had disappeared, was, that so great a revolution must have left some vestige behind. If no person escaped to tell the news, what better vestige can there be,

than the existence of shoals or rocks in the places where these islands once were known to be? In a map prefixed to Crantz's history of Greenland, there is marked a very extensive shoal between the latitudes of 59° and 60° , called "The sunken land of Buss." Its longitude is between Iceland and Greenland, and the author speaks of it in these words:—"Some are of opinion that Frisland was sunk by an earthquake, and that it was situate in those parts where the sunken land of Buss is marked in the maps; which the seamen cautiously avoid, because of the shallow ground and turbulent waves."

Respecting Buss Island, I have met with no other account than what is preserved by Purchas in his abridgment of the journal of James Hall's voyages from Denmark to Greenland. In his first voyage, A. D. 1605, he remarks thus: "Being in the latitude of 59 and a half degrees, we looked to have seen Buss Island; but I do verily suppose the same to be placed in a wrong latitude in the marine charts." In his second voyage (1606) he saw land, which he "supposed to be Buss Island, lying more to the westward than it is placed in the marine charts;" and the next day, viz. July 2d, he writes, "We were in a great current setting S. S. W., which I suppose to set between Buss Island and Frisland over toward America."

In a fourth voyage, made in 1612, by the same James Hall, from England, for the discovery of a north-west passage, of which there is a journal written by John Gatanbe, and preserved in Churchill's Collections, they kept a good look out, both in going and returning, for the island of Frisland, but could not see it. In a map prefixed to this voyage, Frisland is laid down between the latitude of 61° and 62° , and Buss in the latitude of 57° . In Gratton's journal the distance between Shetland and Frisland is computed to be 260 leagues; the southernmost part of Frisland and the northernmost part of Shetland are said to be in the same latitude. There is also a particular map of Frisland preserved by Purchas, in which are delineated several towns and cities; the two islands of Iloso and Ledovo are laid down to the westward of it, and another called Stromio to the eastward.

In a map of the North Seas, prefixed to an anonymous account of Greenland, in Churchill's Collections, we find Frisland laid down in the latitude 62° between Iceland and Greenland.

We have, then, no reason to doubt the existence of these islands as late as the beginning of the last century. At what time they disappeared is uncertain; but that their place has since been occupied by a shoal, we have also credible testimony.

The appearance and disappearance of islands in the Northern Sea is no uncommon thing. Besides former events of this kind, there is one very recent. In the year 1783, by means of a volcanic eruption, two islands were produced in the sea near the S. E. coast of Iceland. One was supposed to be so permanent that the king of Denmark sent and took formal possession of it as part of his dominions; but the ocean, paying no regard to the territorial claim of a mortal sovereign, has since reabsorbed it in his watery bosom.

These reasons incline me to believe that Dr. Forster's first opinion was well founded, as far as it respects Frisland.

He supposes Porland to be the cluster of islands called Faro. But Porland is said to lie south of Frisland; whereas the Faro Islands lie northwest of Orkney, which he supposes to be Frisland. The learned doctor, who is generally very accurate, was not aware of this inconsistency.

In the account which Hakluyt has given of Martin Frobisher's third voyage, we find that one of his ships, the Buss of Bridgewater, in her return fell in with land fifty leagues S. E. of Frisland, "which (it is said) was never found before,"—the southernmost part of which lay in lat. 57 and a half deg. Along the coast of this island, which they judged to extend twenty-five leagues, they sailed for three days. The existence of this land Dr. Forster seems to doubt; but yet allows that "if it was then really discovered it must have sunk afterwards into the sea, as it has never been seen again; or else these navigators must have been mistaken in their reckoning."

If such an island or cluster of islands did not exist in the situation described by Frobisher, it might be the Porland of Zeno; for the southernmost part of Frisland lay in the latitude of 60 and a half deg.; the southernmost part of this land in 57 and a half deg. in a direction S. E. from it. It was probably called Buss by the English, from the name of Frobisher's vessel which discovered it.

The only proof which can now be produced of this fact must be the actual existence of rocks and shoals in or near the same place. Of this, it is happily in my power to produce the evidence of two experienced shipmasters, of incontestable veracity, now living. The first is Isaac Smith of Malden near Boston, from whose log-book I have made the following extract: "In a voyage from Petersburg to Boston, in the ship Thomas and Sarah, belonging to Thomas Russell, Esq. of Boston, merchant, Thursday, August 11, 1785, course W. N. W.—wind W. S. W. At 4 A. M. discovered a large rock ahead, which for some time we took to be a ship under close-reefed topsail. At 7, being within two miles, saw breakers under our lee, on which account wore ship. There are breakers in two places, bearing S. E.; one a mile, the other two miles from the rock. It lies in lat. $57^{\circ} 33'$, longitude West from London $13^{\circ} 36'$, and may be discovered five leagues off. We sounded and had fifty-six fathoms. The rock appears to be about one hundred yards in circumference, and fifty feet above water. It makes like a hay-stack black below and white on the top." The other is Nathaniel Goodwin of Boston, who, in his homeward passage from Amsterdam, on the 15th of August, 1793, saw the same rock. According to his observation (which however on that day was a little dubious) it lies in lat. $57^{\circ} 48'$, and lon. $13^{\circ} 46'$. He passed within two miles of it to the southward, and saw breakers to the northward of it. Its appearance he describes in the same manner with Smith.

From these authorities I am strongly inclined to believe that the shoal denominated "the sunken land of Buss," is either a part of the ancient Frisland or of some island in its neighborhood; and that the rock and ledges seen by Smith and Goodwin belonged to the cluster once called Porland. If these conclusions be admitted, there can be no suspicion of fiction in the story of Zeno, as far as it respects Prince Zichmni and his expeditions. Shetland may then well enough agree with Estland, which is described by Hakluyt as lying "between Frisland and Norway."

The only place which in Zeno's relation is called by the same name, by which it is now known, is Iceland; though there can be no doubt that Engroeland, or Engreveland is the same with Greenland; where, according to Crantz, there was once a church dedicated to St. Thomas, and situate near a volcano and a hot spring.

But the question is, where shall we find Estotiland? Dr. Forster is positive that "it cannot be any other country than Winland (discovered in 1001), where the Normans made a settlement. The Latin books seen there by the fisherman, he supposes to have been the library of Eric, Bishop of Greenland, who went thither in the twelfth century to convert his countrymen. He is also of opinion that this fisherman had the use of the magnetic needle, which began to be known in Europe about the year 1302 before the time of the Zenos. He also thinks that the country called Drogio is the same with Florida.

In some of the old maps, particularly in Sanson's French Atlas, the name Estotiland is marked on the country of Labrador; but the pompous description of it by the fisherman, whether it be Labrador or Newfoundland, exceeds all the bounds of credibility, and abuses even the license of a traveller. The utmost extent of Zichmni's expedition, in consequence of the fisherman's report, could not be any further westward than Greenland, to which his description well agrees. The original inhabitants were short of stature, half wild, and lived in caverns; and between the years 1380 and 1384 they had extirpated the Normans and the monks of St. Thomas.

The discovery of Estotiland must therefore rest on the report of the fisherman; but the description of it, of Drogio, and the country southwest of Drogio must be ranked in the fabulous history of America, and would probably have been long since forgotten if Christopher Columbus had not made his grand discovery; from the merit of which, his rivals and the enemies of the Spanish nation have uniformly endeavoured to detract.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS—His reasons for seeking India in the west—His first voyage—His second voyage—His third voyage—His fourth voyage—Difficulties, privations, and the hardships he underwent—He is wrecked on Jamaica—His death and character.

THE adventures, which have already been spoken of, were more the result of accident than design; we are now entering on one founded in science and con-

ducted by judgment; an adventure which, whether we regard its conception, its execution, or its consequences, will always reflect the highest honour on him who projected it.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese under the conduct of Prince Henry, and afterward of King John II., were pursuing their discoveries along the western shore of Africa, to find a passage by the south to India,—a genius arose, whose memory has been preserved with veneration in the pages of history, as the instrument of enlarging the regions of science and commerce beyond any of his predecessors. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of the republic of Genoa, was born in the year 1447, and at the age of fourteen entered on a seafaring life, as the proper sphere in which his vigorous mind was destined to perform exploits which should astonish mankind. He was educated in the sciences of geometry and astronomy, which form the basis of navigation; and he was well versed in cosmography, history and philosophy. His active and enterprising genius, though it enabled him to comprehend the old systems, yet would not suffer him to rest in their decisions, however sanctified by time or by venerable names; but determined to examine them by actual experiment, he first visited the seas within the polar circle, and afterwards those parts of Africa which the Portuguese had discovered, as far as the coast of Guinea; and by the time he had attained the age of thirty-seven, he had from his own experience received the fullest conviction that the opinion of the ancients respecting the torrid and frigid zones was void of any just foundation.

When an old system is found erroneous in one point, it is natural to suspect it of farther imperfections; and when one difficulty is overcome, others appear less formidable. Such was the case with Columbus; and his views were accelerated by an incident which threatened to put an end to his life. During one of his voyages, the ship in which he sailed took fire, in an engagement with a Venetian galley, and the crew were obliged to leap into the sea to avoid perishing in the flames. In this extremity Columbus, by the help of a floating oar, swam upwards of two leagues to the coast of Portugal near Lisbon, and met with a welcome reception from many of his countrymen who were settled there.

At Lisbon he married the daughter of Perestrelo, an old seaman, who had been concerned in the discovery of Porto Santo and Madeira; from whose journals and charts he received the highest entertainment. Pursuing his inquiries in geography, and observing what slow progress the Portuguese made in their attempts to find a way round Africa to India, "he began to reflect that as the Portuguese travelled so far southward, it were no less proper to sail westward," and that it was reasonable to expect to find the desired land in that direction.

It must here be remembered that India was in part known to the ancients, and that its rich and useful productions had for many centuries been conveyed into Europe, either by caravans through the deserts of Syria and Arabia, or by the way of the Red Sea, through Egypt into the Mediterranean. This lucrative commerce had been successively engrossed by the Phenicians, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Palmyrenes, the Arabians, the Genoese, and the Venetians. The Portuguese were then seeking it by attempting the circumnavigation of Africa; and their expectation of finding it in that direction was grounded on ancient historical traditions that a voyage had been formerly made by the orders of Necho King of Egypt, from the Red Sea, round the southern part of Africa, to the straits of Hercules; and that the same route had been traversed by Hanno the Carthaginian, by Eudoxus the Egyptian, and others. The Portuguese had consumed about half a century in making various attempts, and had advanced no farther on the western coast of Africa, than just to cross the equator, when Columbus conceived his great design of finding India in the west.

The causes which led him to entertain this idea are distinguished by his son, the writer of his life, into these three; "natural reason, the authority of writers, and the testimony of sailors."

By the help of "reason," he argued in this manner: That the earth and sea composed one globe or sphere. This was known by observing the shadow of the earth in lunar eclipses. Hence he concluded that it might be travelled over from east to west, or from west to east. It had been explored to the east by some European travellers as far as Cipango, or Jap-

an; and as far westward as the Azores or Western Islands. The remaining space, though now known to be more than half, he supposed to be but one third part of the circumference of the globe. If this space were an open sea, he imagined it might be easily sailed over; and if there were any land extending eastward beyond the known limits of Asia, he supposed that it must be nearer to Spain by the west, than by the east. For, it was then a received opinion that the continent and islands of India extended over one third part of the circumference of the globe; that another third part was comprehended between India and the western shore of Spain; therefore it was concluded, that the eastern part of India must be as near to Spain as the western part. This opinion though now known to be erroneous, yet being then admitted as true, made it appear to Columbus very easy and practicable to discover India in the west. He hoped also that between Spain and India, in that direction, there might be found some islands; by the help of which, as resting places in his voyage, he might the better pursue his main design. The probability of the existence of land in that Ocean, he argued, partly from the opinion of philosophers, that there was more land than sea on the surface of the globe; and partly from the necessity of a counterpoise in the west, for the immense quantity of land which was known to be in the east.

Another source, from which he drew his conclusion, was, "the authority of learned men," who had affirmed the possibility of sailing from the western coast of Spain, to the eastern bounds of India. Some of the ancient Geographers had admitted this for truth, and one of them, Pliny, had affirmed that forty days were sufficient to perform this navigation. These authorities fell in with the theory which Columbus had formed; and having, as early as 1474, communicated his ideas in writing to Paul, a learned physician of Florence, he received from him letters of that date, confirming his opinion and encouraging his design; accompanied with a chart, in which Paul had laid down the city of Quisay (supposed to be the capital of China) but little more than two thousand leagues westward from Lisbon, which in fact is but half the distance. Thus, by arguing from true principles, and by indulging conjectures partly well founded and partly erroneous, Columbus was led to the execution of a plan, bold in its conception, and, to his view, easily practicable; for great minds overlook intermediate obstacles, which men of smaller views magnify into insuperable difficulties.

The third ground on which he formed his ideas was "the testimony of mariners;" a class of men who at that time, and in that imperfect state of science, were too prone to mix fable with fact; and were often misled by appearances, which they could not solve. In the sea, between Madeira and the Western Islands, pieces of carved wood and large joints of cane had been discovered, which were supposed to be brought by westerly winds. Branches of pine trees, a covered canoe, and two human bodies of a complexion different from the Europeans and Africans had been found on the shores of these islands. Some navigators had affirmed, that they had seen islands not more than a hundred leagues westward from the Azores. There was a tradition, that when Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, seven Bishops, who were exiled from their country, had built seven cities and churches, on an island called Antilla; which was supposed to be not more than two hundred leagues west of the Canaries; and it was said that a Portuguese ship had once discovered this island, but could never find it again. These stories, partly true and partly fabulous, had their effect on the mind of Columbus. He believed that islands were to be found, westward of the Azores and Canaries; though according to his theory, they were at a greater distance than any of his contemporaries had imagined. His candor led him to adopt an opinion from Pliny respecting floating islands, by the help of which he accounted for the appearances related to him, by his marine brethren. It is not improbable that the large islands of floating ice, driven from the Polar Seas to the southward; or the Fog Banks, which form many singular appearances resembling land and trees, might have been the true foundation of this opinion and of these reports.*

It is not pretended that Columbus was the only person of his age who had acquired these ideas of the form, dimensions and balancing of the globe; but he was one of the few who had begun to think for them-

selves, and he had a genius of that kind, which makes use of speculation and reasoning only as excitements to action. He was not a closet projector, but an enterprising adventurer; and having established his theory on principles, he was determined to exert himself to the utmost to demonstrate its truth by experiment. But deeming the enterprise too great to be undertaken by any but a sovereign state, he first applied (as it is said) to the Republic of Genoa, by whom his project was treated as visionary.* He then proposed his plan to John II. King of Portugal, who, though a Prince of good understanding and of an enterprising disposition, yet was so deeply engaged in prosecuting discoveries on the African coast, with a view to find a way to India round that continent; and had been at so vast an expense without any considerable success, that he had no inclination to accept the terms which Columbus proposed. Influenced however by the advice of Calzadilla, a favourite courtier, he privately gave orders to a ship, bound to the islands of Cape de Verd, to attempt a discovery in the west; but through ignorance and want of enterprise, the navigators, after wandering for some time in the ocean and making no discovery, reached their destined port and turned the project of Columbus into ridicule.

Disgusted with this base artifice, he quitted Portugal, and went to Ferdinand, King of Spain, having previously sent his brother to England to solicit the patronage of Henry VII. But being taken by pirates, and detained several years in captivity, Bartholomew had it not in his power to reveal his project to Henry, till Christopher Columbus had succeeded in Spain. Before this could be accomplished, he had various obstacles to surmount; and it was not till after seven years of painful solicitation that he obtained his request.

The objections made to the proposal of Columbus, by the most learned men in Spain, to whom the consideration of it was referred, will give us some idea of the state of geographical science at that time. One objection was, How should he know more than all the wise and skillful sailors who had existed since the creation? Another was the authority of Seneca, who had doubted whether it were possible to navigate the ocean at any great distance from the shore; but admitting that it were navigable, they imagined, that three years would be required to perform the voyage, which Columbus proposed. A third was, that if a ship should sail westward on a round globe, she would necessarily go down, on the opposite side, and then it would be impossible to return, because it would be like climbing up a hill, which no ship could do with the strongest wind. A fourth objection was grounded on a book of St. Augustine, in which he had expressed his doubt of the existence of antipodes and the possibility of going from one

"March 4, 1748—9, at two in the afternoon, made land, which bore N. E. seven leagues distance by estimation. At five tacked, being about three leagues from said island, wind E. S. E. lat. by observation 49 deg. 40 min.; lon. 24 deg. 30 min., from the Lizard. This island stretches N. W. and S. E. about 5 leagues long, and 9 miles wide. On the south side fine valleys and a great number of birds.

March 5, said island bore N. three leagues, N. W. a reef of rocks three miles. This day a ship's mast came along side. On the south point of said island is a small marshy island."

"A copy of my journal on board the snow St. Paul, of London, bound from South Carolina to London."

WILLIAM OTTON, Commander.

P. S. Captain Otton thought he saw a tail on the island, and would have gone ashore, but had unfortunately stove his boat some time before."

"Commodore Rodney is commissioned to go in quest of an island, which, according to the report of a master of a ship, and some others, on examination before the Lords of the Admiralty, lies about 50° N. and about 300 leagues west of England. Capt. Mordock Mackenzie, an excellent mathematician, and author of the sea charts of the Orkney and Lewis islands, attends him in the Culloden sloop, to bring back an account of what discoveries he may make. As this island lies out of the track of the trade to America, it is supposed to have been missed by navigators to our colonies, though marked in some Dutch maps. If the Commodore discovers it, he is to take possession of it by the name of Rodney's island."

"Friday, April 10, 1752, Commodore Rodney arrived at Woolwich; he had been cruising ten days in quest of an island, and the men at the top mast-head were more than once deceived with what the sailors call fog-banks. About the 6th or 7th day the crew observed branches of trees with their leaves on, and flights of gulls, and pieces of shipwreck, which are generally regarded as certain signs of an adjacent shore, but could not discover any." *Gent. Mag.* for 1751, p. 235; for 1752, p. 53, 189.

N. B. The island, marked in the Dutch maps, could not have been mistaken for this imaginary island, being but a single rock. It is the same that is described in the life of Zeno. Page 52.

* This is said on the authority of Herrera, the royal Spanish historian of Ferdinand Columbus, in the life of his father, says nothing of it; but represents his application to the king of Portugal as the first, and gives this reason for it, "because he lived under him."

* The following account of a curious deception, extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, may elucidate the above observations:—

hemisphere to the other. As the writing of this Holy Father was received the sanction of the church to contradict him was deemed heresy.

For such reasons, and by such reasoners, the proposal of Columbus was at first rejected; but by the influence of John Perez, a Spanish priest, and Lewia Santangel, an officer of the King's household, Queen Isabella was persuaded to listen to his solicitation, and after he had been twice repulsed, to recall him to Court; when she offered to pawn her jewels to defray the expense of the equipment, amounting to no more than 2500 crowns; which sum was advanced by Santangel, and the Queen's jewelry was saved. Thus, to the generous decision of a female mind, we owe the discovery of America.

The condition stipulated between Ferdinand and Isabella on the one part, and Columbus on the other part, were these: "That he, his heirs and successors, should hold the office of Admiral in all those *islands and continents* which he should discover; that he should be Viceroy and Governor of the same, with power of nominating three associates, of whom their majesties should appoint one. That he should have one tenth part of the nett proceeds of all the gold and silver, precious stones, spice and other merchandize which should be found; that he, or a deputy of his own appointing, should decide all controversies respecting the trade; that he should be at one eighth part of the expense of equipping the first fleet, and should receive one eighth part of the profits."

The necessary preparations being made, and a year's provision laid in, on the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from Palos, a port of Spain, on the Mediterranean, with three vessels, one of which was called a carack, and the other two caravels,* having on board the whole, ninety men. Having passed through the straits of Giberalter, he arrived at the Canaries, on the 12th of the same month, where he was detained in refitting one of the caravels, and taking in wood and water, till the 6th of September, when he sailed westward on his voyage of discovery.

This voyage, which is now considered as an easy and pleasant run, between the latitudes of 20 and 30 degrees, with a trade wind, was then the boldest attempt which had ever been made, and filled the minds of the best seamen with apprehension. They were going directly from home, and from all hope of relief, if any accident should befall them. No friendly port nor human being was known to be in that direction. Every bird which flew in the air, every fish which appeared in the sea, and every weed which floated on its surface, was regarded with the most minute attention, as if the fate of the voyage depended on it. A phenomenon which had never before been observed struck them with terror. The magnetic needle appeared to vary from the pole. They began to apprehend that their compass would prove an unfaithful guide; and the trade wind which wafted them along with its friendly wings, they feared would obstruct their return.

To be twenty days at sea, without sight of land, was what the boldest mariner had never before attempted. At the expiration of that time, the impatient sailors began to talk of throwing their commander into the ocean, and returning home. Their murmurs reached his ears; but his active mind was never at a loss for expedients, even in the greatest extremity. By soothing, flattery, and artifice, by inventing reasons for every uncommon appearance, by promising reward to the obedient, and a gratuity to him who should first discover land, in addition to what the king had ordered; and by deceiving them in the ship's reckoning, he kept them on their course for sixteen days longer. In the night of the 11th of October, he himself saw a light, which seemed to be on shore, and on the morning of the 12th, they had the joyful sight of land, which proved to be the island of Guanahana, one of the cluster called Bahamas, in the 25th degree of north latitude.

Thus in the space of thirty-six days, and in the 45th year of his age, Columbus completed a voyage which he had spent twenty years in projecting and executing; a voyage which opened to the Europeans a new world; which gave a new turn to their thoughts, to their spirit of enterprise and of commerce; which enlarged the empire of Spain, and stamped with immortality the name of Columbus.

After spending several months in sailing from one island to another in that vast archipelago, which, from the mistakes of the age received the name of the West Indies. Columbus returned to Spain with the two smaller vessels (the larger having been wreck on the island of

Hispaniola), leaving behind him a colony of thirty-nine men, furnished with a year's provision, and lodged in a fort which have been built of the timber saved from the wreck. During his passage, he met with a violent tempest which threatened him with destruction. In this extremity he gave an admirable proof of his calmness and foresight. He wrote on parchment an account of his discoveries, wrapt it in a piece of oil cloth, and inclosed it in a cake of wax, which he put into a tight cask and threw into the sea. Another parchment, secured in the same manner, he placed on the stern, that if the ship should sink, the cask might float, and possibly one or the other might be driven on shore, or taken up at sea by some future navigator. But this precaution proved fruitless. He arrived safe in Spain, in March, 1493, and was received with the honors due to his merit.

The account which Columbus gave of his new discoveries, the specimens of gold and other valuable productions, and the sight of the natives which he carried from the West India to Spain, were so pleasing that the court determined on another expedition. But first it was necessary to obtain the sanction of the Pope, who readily granted it; and by an imaginary line, drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of one hundred leagues westward of the Azores, he divided between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, all the new countries already discovered or to be discovered; giving the western part to the former, and the eastern to the latter. No provision however was made, in case that they should meet, and their claims should interfere on the opposite side of the globe. The bull containing this famous but imperfect line of demarkation, was signed by Alexander VI. on the second day of May, 1493; and on the 28th of the same month, the King and Queen of Spain, by a written instrument, explained and confirmed the privileges and powers which they had before granted to Columbus, making the office of Viceroy and Governor of the Indies hereditary in his family. On the 25th September following he sailed from Cadiz, with a fleet of seventeen ships, great and small, well furnished with all necessaries for the voyage; and having on board 1500 people, with horses, cattle, and implements to establish plantations.

On Sunday, the third of November, he discovered an island, to which in honor of the day, he gave the name of Dominica. Afterward he discovered in succession other islands, which he called Marigalante, Guadaloupe, Montserrat, Redonda, Antigua, St. Martin's St. Ursula, and St. John. On the 12th of November he came to Navidad, on the north side of Hispaniola, where he had built his fort, and left his colony; but he had the mortification to find that the people were all dead, and that the fort had been destroyed.

The account given by the natives of the loss of the colony, was, that they fell into discord among themselves, on the usual subjects of controversy, women and gold; that having provoked a chief, whose name was Canaubo, he came against them with a superior force, and destroyed them; that some of the natives, in attempting to defend them, had been killed, and others were then ill of their wounds; which, on inspection, appeared to have been made with Indian weapons.

Columbus prudently forbore to make any critical inquiry into the matter; but hastened to establish another colony in a more eligible situation, to the eastward; which he called Isabella, after his royal patroness. He had many difficulties to contend with, besides those which unavoidably attend undertakings of such novelty and magnitude. Nature indeed was bountiful; the soil and climate produced vegetation with a rapidity to which the Spaniards had not been accustomed. From wheat sown at the end of January, full ears were gathered at the end of March. The stones of fruit, the slips of vines, and the joints of sugar cane sprouted in seven days, and many other seeds in half the time. This was an encouraging prospect; but the slow operations of agriculture did not meet the views of sanguine adventurers. The numerous followers of Columbus, some of whom were of the best families in Spain, had conceived hopes of suddenly enriching themselves, by the precious metals of those new regions; and were not disposed to listen to his recommendations of patience and industry in cultivating the earth. The natives were displeased with the licentiousness of their new neighbours; who endeavored to keep them in awe by a display of force. The explosion of fire arms, and the sight of men mounted on horses, were at first objects of terror; but use had rendered them less formidable. Columbus, overburdened with care and fatigue, fell sick, and at his recovery, found a

mutiny among his men; which by a due mixture of resolution and lenity, he had the address to quell. He then endeavored to establish discipline among his own people, and to employ the natives in cutting roads through the woods. Whilst he was present, and able to attend to business, things went on so prosperously that he thought he might safely proceed on his discoveries.

In his former voyage he had visited Cuba; but was uncertain whether it were an island or a part of some continent. He therefore passed over to its eastern extremity; and coasted its southward side, till he found himself entangled among a vast number of small islands, which for their beauty and fertility he called the Garden of the Queen; but the dangerous rocks and shoals which surrounded them, obliged him to stretch farther to the southward; by which means he discovered the island of Jamaica, where he found water and other refreshments for his men, who were almost dead with famine. The hazards, fatigue, and distress of this voyage, threw him into a lethargic disorder, from which he had just recovered, when he returned to his colony and found it all in confusion, from the same causes which had proved destructive to the first.

In his absence, the licentiousness of the Spaniards had provoked several of the chiefs: four of whom had united to destroy them, and had actually commenced hostilities, in which twenty Spaniards were killed. Columbus collected his people, put them into the best order, and by a judicious combination of force and stratagem gained a decisive victory, to which the horses and dogs did not a little contribute.

At his return to Hispaniola, he had the pleasure of meeting his brother Bartholomew, whom he had not seen for several years, and whom he supposed to have been dead. Bartholomew was a man of equal knowledge, experience, bravery and prudence with himself. His patience had endured a severe trial in their long separation. He had many obstacles to surmount before he could get to England and obtain access to the king. He was at Paris when he heard of the success of his brother's first enterprise; who had gone on the second before Bartholomew could get to Spain. On his arrival there, and being introduced to the court, he was appointed to the command of three ships, which were destined to convey supplies to the colony; and he arrived whilst Christopher was absent on his voyage to Cuba and Jamaica. Columbus appointed his brother to command at Isabella, whilst he went into the interior part of the island to perfect his conquest, and reduce the natives to subjection and tribute.

The Indians were so unused to collect gold dust in such quantities as their conquerors demanded it, that they offered to plant the immense plains of Hispaniola, and pay an equivalent in corn. Columbus was struck with the magnanimity of the proposal; and in consequence moderated the tribute. This did not satisfy the avarice of his fellow adventurers, who found means to complain of him to the king's ministers, for his negligence in acquiring the only commodity, which they thought deserved the name of riches. The Indians then desisted from planting their usual quantity of corn, and attempted to subsist chiefly on animal food. This experiment proved injurious to themselves as well as their conquerors; and it was computed, that within four years, from the discovery of the island, one third part of its inhabitants perished.

The complaint against Columbus so wrought on the jealous mind of King Ferdinand, that John Aguado, who was sent in 1495, with supplies to the colony, had orders to act as a spy on his conduct. This man behaved with so little discretion, as to seek matter of accusation, and give out threats against the Admiral. At the same time, the ships which he commanded being destroyed by a hurricane, he had no means left to return; till Columbus, knowing that he had enemies at home and nothing to support himself but his own merit, resolved to go to Spain with two caravels, himself in one and Aguado in the other. Having appointed proper persons to command the several forts; his brother Bartholomew to superintend the whole, and his brother James to be next in authority; he set sail on the tenth of March, 1496, and after a perilous and tedious voyage in the tropical latitudes, arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June.

His presence at Court, with the gold and other valuable articles which he carried home, removed, in some measure, the prejudices which had been excited against him. But his enemies, though silent, were not idle; and in a court where phlegm and languor proved a clog to the spirit of enterprise, they found it

* A carack was a vessel with a deck, a caravel had none

not difficult to obstruct his views; which notwithstanding all discouragements, were still pointed to the discovery of a way to India by the west.

He now demanded eight ships, to carry supplies to his colony, and six to go on discovery. These demands were complied with, and he began his third voyage on the thirtieth of May, 1498. He kept a course so far to the southward, that not only his men, but his provisions and water suffered greatly from excessive heat. The first land he made after leaving the Isles of Cape de Verd, was a large island which he named Trinidad, from its appearance in the form of three mountains. He then passed through a narrow strait and whirlpool into the gulf of Paria; where observing the tide to be rapid, and the water brackish, he conjectured that the land on the western and southern sides of the gulf was part of a continent; and that the fresh water proceeded from some great rivers.

The people on the coast of Paria were whiter than those of the islands. They had about their necks plates of gold and strings of pearl; which they readily exchanged for pieces of tin and brass, and little bells; and when they were questioned whence they obtained the gold and pearls, they pointed to the west.

The Admiral's provision not allowing him to stay long in this place; he passed again through that dangerous strait, to which he gave the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and having satisfied himself, that the land on his left was a continent, he steered to the N. W.; discovering Margarita and several other islands in his course; and on the thirtieth of August arrived at the harbour of St. Domingo, in Hispaniola; to which place his brother had removed the colony in his absence, in consequence of a plan preconcerted between them.

Wearied with incessant care and watching, in this dangerous voyage, he hoped now to enjoy repose; instead of which he found his colony much reduced by deaths; many of the survivors sick, with a disease, the peculiar consequence of their debauchery; and a large number of them in actual rebellion. They had formed themselves into a body; they had gained over many of the Indians, under pretence of protecting them; and they had retired to a distant part of the island, which proved a resort for the seditious and discontented. Their commander was Francis Roldan, who had been Chief Justice of the colony; and their number was so considerable, that Columbus could not command a force sufficient to subdue them. He therefore entered into a negotiation, by offering a pardon to those who would submit, and liberty of returning to Spain to those who desired it. These offers, however impolitic, proved successful. Roldan himself accepted them, and persuaded others to do the same; then, being restored to his office, he tried and condemned the refractory, some of whom were put to death.

An account of this mutiny was sent home to Spain by Columbus and another by Roldan. Each had their advocates at court, and the cause was heard by the king and queen. Roldan and his men were accused of adultery, perjury, robbery, murder, and disturbing the peace of the whole island; whilst Columbus was charged with cruelty to individuals, aiming at independence, and engrossing the tribute. It was insinuated, that not being a native of Spain, he had no proper respect for the noble families, who had become adventurers; and that the debts due to them could not be recovered. It was suggested, that if some remedy were not speedily applied, there was danger that he would revolt, and join with some other prince; and that to compass this design, he had concealed the real wealth of the colony, and prevented the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith.

These insinuations prevailed on the jealousy of Ferdinand, and even staggered the constancy of Isabella. They resolved to appoint a judge, who should examine facts on the spot: and if he should find the Admiral guilty, to supersede him. For this purpose they sent Francis Boradilla, a man of noble rank, but whose poverty alone recommended him to the office. Furnished with these powers, he arrived at St. Domingo, when Columbus was absent; took lodgings in his house; invited accusers to appear against him; seized on his effects, and finally sent him and both his brothers to Spain in three different ships, but all loaded with irons.

The master of the ship in which the Admiral sailed had so much respect for him, that, when he had got to sea, he offered to take off his fetters; but Columbus nobly declined, that he would permit that honor to be done to him, by none but his sovereign. In this hu-

milating confinement, he was delivered to Fonseca, Bishop of Badajoz, who had been the chief instigator of all these rigorous proceedings, and to whom had been committed the affairs of the Indies.

Not content with robbing Columbus of his liberty, this prejudiced ecclesiastic would have deprived him of his well earned reputation of having first discovered the new continent. With the accusations which Columbus had sent home against Roldan, he had transmitted an account of the discovery of the coast of Paria, which he justly supposed to be part of a continent. Ojeda, an active officer, who had sailed with Columbus in his second voyage, was at Court when these dispatches arrived, and saw the draught of the discovery, with the specimens of gold and pearls, which the Admiral had sent home. Being a favorite of Fonseca, he easily obtained leave to pursue the discovery. Some merchants of Seville were prevailed upon to equip four ships; with which, in 1499, Ojeda followed the track of Columbus, and made land on the coast of Paria. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, well skilled in geography and navigation, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage; and by publishing the first book and chart, describing the new world obtained the honor of having it called AMERICA. This however did not happen till after the death of Columbus. Several other adventurers followed the same track, and all supposed that the continent which they had seen, was part of India.

As soon as it was known, that Columbus was arrived at Cadiz, Nov. 5, 1500, in the disgraceful situation above mentioned, the king and queen, ashamed of the orders which they had given, commanded him to be released, and invited him to court, where they apologized for the misbehaviour of their new Governor, and not only promised to recall him, but to restore to the Admiral all his effects. Columbus could not forget the ignominy. He preserved the fetters, hung them up in his apartment, and ordered them to be buried in his grave.

Instead of reinstating him in his government according to the original contract, the king and queen sent Ovando, to Hispaniola, to supersede Bovadilla; and only indulged Columbus in pursuing his darling project, the discovery of India by the west, which he still hoped to accomplish. He sailed again from Cadiz, on the fourth of May, 1502; with four vessels, carrying one hundred and forty men and boys; of which number were his brother Bartholomew and his son Ferdinand, the writer of his life.

In his passage to the Caribbean islands, he found his largest vessel, of seventy tons, unfit for service; and therefore went to St. Domingo, in hope of exchanging it for a better; and to seek shelter from a storm which he saw approaching. To his infinite surprise and mortification, Ovando would not admit him into the port. A fleet of thirty ships was then ready to sail for Spain, on board of which Roldan and Bovadilla were prisoners. Columbus informed Ovando of the prognostics which he had observed, which Ovando disregarded, and the fleet sailed. Columbus then laid three of his vessels under the lee of the shore, and, with great difficulty, rode out the tempest. His brother put to sea; and by his great naval skill saved the ship in which he sailed. Of the fleet bound to Spain, eighteen ships were lost, and in them perished Roldan and Bovadilla.

The enemies of Columbus gave out that he had raised the storm by the art of magic; and such was the ignorance of the age, that the story was believed. What contributed the more to its credit, was, that one of the worst ships of the fleet, on board of which were all the effects which had been saved from the ruined fortune of Columbus, was the first which arrived in Spain. The amount of these effects was "four thousand pesos of gold, each of the value of eight shillings." The remark which Ferdinand Columbus makes on this event, so destructive to the accusers of his father is, "I am satisfied, it was the hand of God, who was pleased to infatuate them; that they might not hearken to good advice; for had they arrived in Spain, they had never been punished as their crimes deserved, but rather favored and preferred as being the Bishop's friends."

After this storm, and another which followed it, Columbus having collected his little squadron, sailed on discovery toward the continent; and, steering to the southwest, came to an island called Guanania, twelve leagues from the coast of Honduras, where he met with a large covered canoe, having on board several pieces of cotton cloth of divers colors, which

the people said they had brought from the westward. The men were armed with swords of wood, in which sharp flints were strongly fixed. Their provision was maize and roots, and they used the berries of cocoa as money. When the Admiral inquired for gold, they pointed to the west, and when he asked for a strait by which he might pass through the land, they pointed to the east. From the specimens of colored cloth, he imagined, that they had come from India; and he hoped to pass thither, by the strait which they described. Pursuing his course to the east and south, he was led to the gulf of Darien; and visited several harbors, among which was one which he called Porto Bello; but he found no passage extending through the land. He then returned to the westward, and landed on the coast of Veragua; where the beauty and fertility of the country invited him to begin a plantation, which he called Belem; but the natives, a fierce and formidable race, deprived him of the honor of first establishing a colony on the continent, by killing some of his people and obliging him to retire with the others.

At sea, he met with tempestuous weather of long continuance, in which his ships were so shattered, that with the utmost difficulty he kept them above water, till he ran them ashore on the island of Jamaica. By his extraordinary address, he procured from the natives two of their largest canoes; in which two of his most faithful friends, Mendez and Fiesco, accompanied by some of his sailors and a few Indians embarked for Hispaniola. After encountering the greatest difficulties in their passage, they carried tidings of his misfortune to Ovando, and solicited his aid. The merciless wretch detained them eight months without any answer, during which time, Columbus suffered the severest hardships from the discontent of his company, and a want of provisions. By the hospitality of the natives, he at first received such supplies, as they were able to spare; but the long continuance of these guests had diminished their store, and the insolence of the mutineers gave a check to their friendship. In this extremity, the fertile invention of Columbus suggested an expedient which proved successful. He knew that a total eclipse of the moon was at hand, which would be visible in the evening. On the preceding day, he sent for the principal Indians, to speak with them, on a matter of the utmost importance. Being assembled, he directed his interpreter to tell them, that the God of heaven, whom he worshipped, was angry with them for withholding provisions from him, and would punish them with famine and pestilence; as a token of which, the moon would in the evening, appear of an angry and bloody color. Some of them received his speech with terror, and others with indifference; but when the moon rose, and the eclipse increased as she advanced from the horizon, they came in crowds, loaded with provisions, and begged the Admiral to intercede with God, for the removal of his anger. Columbus retired to his cabin; and when the eclipse began to go off, he came out and told them, that he had prayed to his God, and had received this answer; that if they would be good for the future, and bring him provision as he should want, God would forgive them; and as a token of it, the moon would put on her usual brightness. They gave him thanks, and promised compliance; and whilst he remained on the island there was no more want of provision.

At the end of eight months, Ovando sent a small vessel to Jamaica, with a cask of wine, two fitches of bacon, and a letter of compliment and excuse, which the officer delivered; and without waiting for an answer, weighed his anchor the same evening and sailed back to Hispaniola. The men who adhered to Columbus and were with him on board the wrecks, wondered at the sudden departure of the vessel, by which they expected deliverance. Columbus, never at a loss for an evasion, told them that the caravel was too small to take the whole company, and he would not go without them. This fiction had the desired effect; those who adhered to him resumed their patience; but the mutineers became so insolent that it was necessary to subdue them by force. In the contest ten of them were killed. Porras, their leader, was made prisoner and the others escaped. Bartholomew Columbus and two others of the Admiral's party were wounded, of whom one died.

The fugitives, having lost their leader, thought it best to submit; and on the next day sent a petition to the Admiral, confessing their fault, and promising fidelity. This promise they confirmed by an oath, of which the imprecation was singular; "they renounced,

in case of failure, any absolution from Priest, Bishop, or Pope, at the time of their death; and all benefit from the sacraments of the church; consenting to be buried like heathens and infidels in the open field." The Admiral received their submission, provided that Porras should continue prisoner, and they would accept a commander of his appointment, as long as they should remain on the island.

At length a vessel, which Mendez had been permitted to buy, with the Admiral's money, at Hispaniola, came to Jamsica, and took them off. On their arrival at St. Domingo, August 13, 1504, Ovando affected great joy, and treated the Admiral with a show of respect; but he liberated Porras, and threatened with punishment the faithful adherents of Columbus. As soon as the vessel was refitted, the Admiral took leave of his treacherous host, and, with his brother, son, and servants embarked for Spain. After a long and distressing voyage, in which the ship lost her masts, he arrived at St. Luca, in May, 1505.

His patroness Isabella had been dead about a year; and with her had expired all the favor which he ever enjoyed in the Court of Ferdinand. Worn out with sickness and fatigue, disgusted with the insincerity of his sovereign, and the haughtiness of his courtiers, Columbus lingered out a year in fruitless solicitation for his violated rights; till death relieved him from all his vexations. He died at Valladolid, on the twentieth of May, 1506, in the 59th year of his age; and was buried in the cathedral of Seville, with this inscription on his tomb.

*A Castilla ya Leon,
Nuevo Mundo dio Colon.*

Translated thus;

To Castile and Leon,
Columbus gave a New World.

In the life of this remarkable man there is no deficiency of any quality which can constitute a truly great character.* His genius was penetrating, and his judgment solid. He had acquired as much knowledge of the sciences as could be obtained at that day; and he corrected what he had learned, by his own observations. His constancy and patience were equal to the most hazardous undertakings. His fortitude surmounted many difficulties; and his invention extricated him out of many perplexities. His prudence enabled him to conceal or subdue his own infirmities; whilst he took advantage of the passions of others, adjusting his behaviour to his circumstances; temporizing, or acting with vigour, as the occasion required.

His fidelity to the ungrateful Prince, whom he served, and whose dominions he enlarged, must render him forever conspicuous as an example of justice; and his attachment to the Queen, by whose influence he was raised and supported, will always be a monument of his gratitude.

To his other excellent qualities may be added his piety. He always entertained, and on proper occasions expressed, a reverence for the Deity, and a firm confidence in his care and protection. In his declining days, the consolations of religion were his chief support; and his last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The persecution and injustice which he suffered, may be traced up to the contract, which he insisted on, before he engaged in the plan of discovery. That a foreigner should attain so high a rank as to be Viceroy for life, and that the honor of an Admiral should be hereditary in his family, to the exclusion of all nobles of Spain, was more than their pride and jealousy could endure; and they constantly endeavoured to depreciate his merit; the only foundation on which his honors were erected.

There is a story recorded by Peter Martyr, a contemporary historian, which exemplifies their malice, and his ingenuity in rising superior to it. After the death of the Queen, the nobility affected to insinuate, that his discoveries were more the result of accident and good fortune, than of any well concerted measures. One day at a public dinner, Columbus having borne much insulting railery on that head, at length called for an egg, and asked whether any of them could set it upright on its little end. They all confessed it to be impossible. Columbus striking it gently, flatted the shell till it stood upright on the table. The company, with a disdainful sneer, cried out, "Any body might have done it."—"Yes," (said Columbus) but none of you thought of it; so I discovered the Indies, and now

every pilot can steer the same course. Many things appear easy when once performed, though before, they were thought impossible. Remember the scoffs that were thrown at me, before I put my design in execution. Then it was a dream, a chimery delusion; now, is what any body might have done as well as I." When this story was told to Ferdinand, he could not but admire the grandeur of that spirit, which at the same time he was endeavoring to depress.

Writers of different countries have treated the character of Columbus according to their prejudices, either national or personal. It is surprising to observe, how these prejudices have descended; and that even at the distance of three centuries, there are some, who affect to deny him the virtues for which he was conspicuous, and the merit of originating a discovery, which is an honor to human reason. His humanity has been called in question, because he carried dogs to the West Indies, and employed them in extirpating the natives. The truth is, that in his second expedition he was accompanied by a number of gentlemen of the best families in Spain; and many more would have gone if it had been possible to accommodate them. These gentlemen carried with them "horses, asses and other beasts which were of a great use in a new plantation." The conflict which Columbus had with the natives was in consequence of the disorderly conduct of these Spaniards; who, in his absence, had taken their goods, abused their women, and committed other outrages, which the Indians could not endure, and therefore made war upon them. In this war he found his colony engaged when he returned from his voyage to Cuba; and there was no way to end it, but by pursuing it with vigour. With two hundred Spaniards, of whom twenty were mounted on "horses followed by as many dogs," he encountered a numerous body of Indians, estimated at one hundred thousand, on a large plain. He divided his men into two parties, and attacked them on two sides; the noise of the fire arms, soon dispersed them, and the horses and dogs prevented them from rallying; and thus a complete victory was obtained. In this instance alone, were the dogs used against the natives. They naturally followed their masters into the field, and the horses to which they were accustomed; but to suppose that Columbus transported them to the West Indies, with a view to destroy the Indians, appears altogether idle, when it is considered that the number is reckoned only at twenty. Excepting in this instance, where he was driven by necessity, there is no evidence, that he made war on the natives of the West Indies; on the contrary, he endeavoured as far as possible to treat them with justice and gentleness. The same cannot be said of those who succeeded him.

Attempts have also been made to detract from his merit as an original discoverer of the New World. The most successful candidate, who has been set up as a rival to him, is MARTIN BEHAIM of Nuremberg, in Germany. His claim to a prior discovery has been so well contested, and the vanity of it so fully exposed by the late Dr. Robertson, that I should not have thought of adding any thing to what he has written, had not a memoir appeared in the second volume of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, in which the pretensions of Behaim are revived by M. OTTO; who has produced some authorities which he had obtained from Nuremberg, an imperial city of Germany, and which appear to him, "to establish in the clearest manner a discovery of America anterior to that of Columbus.

It is conceded that Behaim was a man of learning and enterprise; that he was contemporary with Columbus, and was his friend; that he pursued the same studies and drew the same conclusions; that he was employed by King John II. in making discoveries; and that he met with a deserved honor for the important services which he rendered to the crown of Portugal. But there are such difficulties attending the story of his discovering America, as appear to me insuperable. These I shall state; together with some remarks on the authorities produced by M. Otto.

The first of his authorities contains several assertions which are contradicted by other histories; (1.) That Isabella, daughter of John, King of Portugal, reigned after the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good. (2.) That this lady, when regent of the Duchy of Burgundy, and Flanders, Behaim paid a visit in 1459. And (3.) That having informed her of his designs, he procured a vessel in which he made the discovery of the island of Fayal, in 1460.

It is true that Philip, Duke of Burgundy and Flanders, surnamed the Good, married Isabella the daughter

of King John I. of Portugal; but Philip did not die till 1467, and was immediately succeeded by his son Charles, surnamed the Bold, then thirty-four years of age. There could therefore have been no interregnum, nor female regent, after the death of Philip; and if there had been, the time of Behaim's visit will not correspond with it; that being placed in 1459, eight years before the death of Philip. Such a mistake in point of fact, and of chronology, is sufficient to induce a suspicion that the "archives of Nuremberg" are too deficient in accuracy to be depended on as authorities.

With respect to the discovery of Fayal, in 1460, M. Otto acknowledges that it is "contrary to the received opinion;" and well he might; for the first of the Azores, St. Maria, was discovered in 1431; the second, St. Michael, in 1444; the third, Terceira, in 1445; and before 1449, the islands, St. George, Graciosa, Fayal and Pico, were known to the Portuguese. However, true it may be that Behaim settled in the island of Fayal and lived there twenty years; yet his claim to the discovery of it must have a better foundation than the "archives of Nuremberg," before it can be admitted.

The genuine account of the settlement of Fayal, and the interest which Behaim had in it, is thus related by Dr. Forster, a German author, of much learning and good credit.

"After the death of the infant Don Henry, which happened in 1466, the island of Fayal was made a present by his sister, Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy, to Jobst von Hurter, a native of Nuremberg. Hurter went in 1466, with a colony of more than 2000 Flemings of both sexes, to his property, the isle of Fayal. The Duchess had provided the Flemish emigrants with all necessaries for two years, and the colony soon increased. About the year 1486, Martin Behaim married a daughter of the Chevalier Jobst von Hurter, and had a son by her named Martin.—Jobst von Hurter, and Martin Behaim, both natives of Nuremberg, were lords of Fayal and Pico."

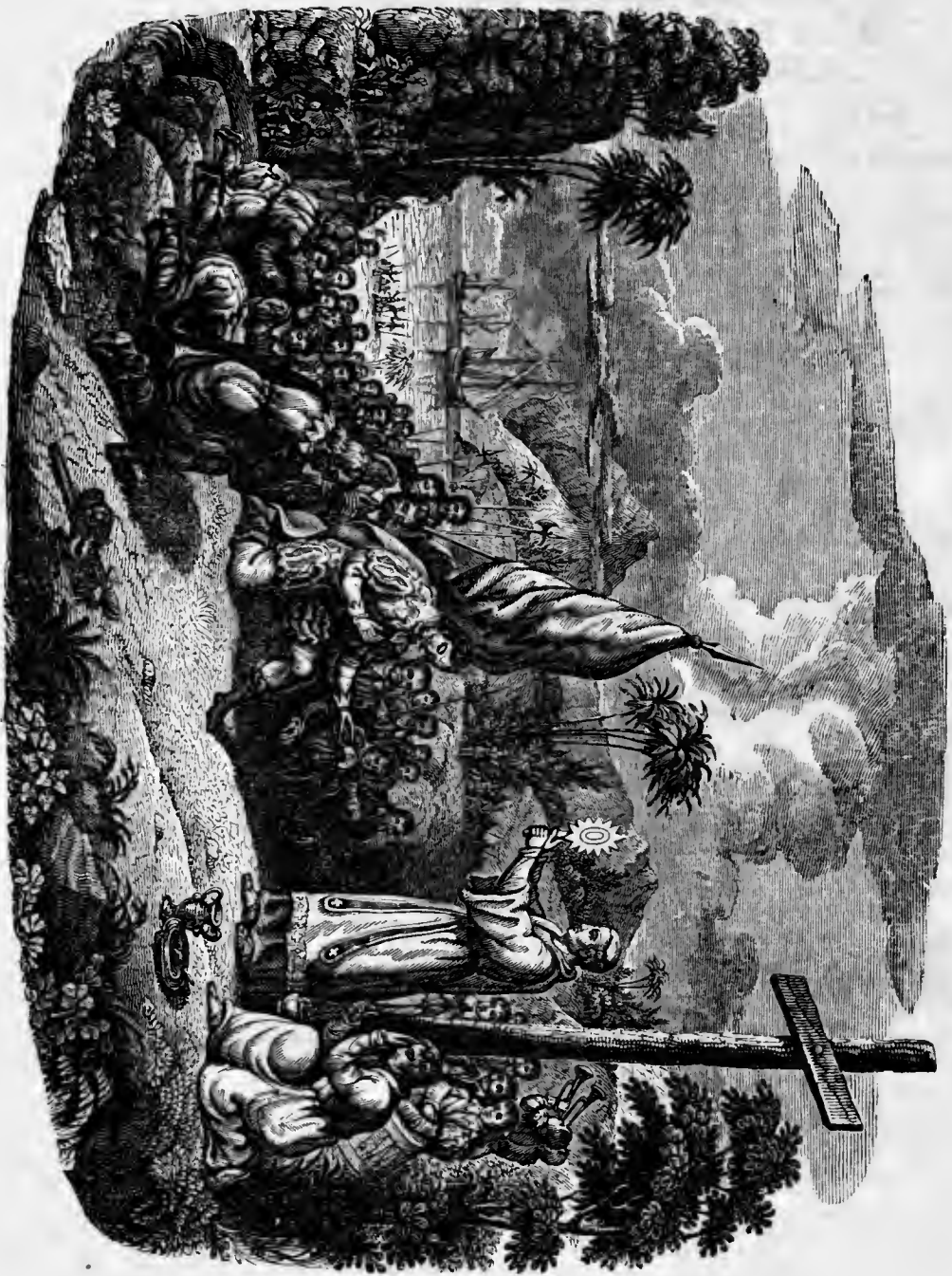
The date of the supposed discovery of America, by Behaim, is placed by M. Otto, in 1484, eight years before the celebrated voyage of Columbus. In the same year we are told that Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva was driven by a storm to the westward for twenty-nine days; and saw an island of which at his return he gave an information to Columbus. From both these supposed discoveries this conclusion is drawn. "That Columbus would never have thought of this expedition to America, had not Behaim gone there before him." Whether it be supposed that Behaim and Sanchez sailed in the same ship, or that they made a discovery of two different parts of America, in the same year, is not easy to understand from the authorities produced; but what destroys the credibility of this plausible tale, is, that Columbus had formed his theory, and projected his voyage, at least ten years before; as appears by his correspondence with Paul, a learned physician of Florence, which bears date in 1474. It is uncertain at what time Columbus first made his application to the King of Portugal, to fit him out for a western voyage; but it is certain that after a negotiation with him on the subject, and after he had found out the secret and unsuccessful attempt, which had been made to anticipate a discovery; he quitted that kingdom in disgust, and went into Spain, in the latter end of the year 1484. The authority of these facts is unquestioned; and from them it fully appears, that a prior discovery of America, by Behaim or Sanchez, made in 1484, could not have been the foundation of the enterprise of Columbus.

M. Otto speaks of letters written by Behaim in 1486, in the German language, and preserved in the "archives of Nuremberg," which support his claim to a prior discovery. As these letters are not produced, no certain opinion can be formed concerning them; but from the date of the letters, and from the letters, and from the voyages which Behaim actually performed in the two preceding years, we may with great probability suppose that they related to the discovery of Congo, in Africa; to which Behaim has an uncontroverted claim.

I will now state the facts relative to this event partly from the authorities cited by M. Otto; and partly from others.

Dr. Robertson places the discovery of Congo and Benin in 1483, and with him Dr. Forster agrees. The authors of the Modern Universal History speak of two voyages to that coast; the first in 1484, the second in 1485; both of which were made by Diego Cam, who is said to have been one of the most expert sailors and of an enterprising genius. From the

* Some of these observations are taken from Dr. Campbell's account of European settlement in America. Vol. I. ch. viii.



LANDING OF COLUMBUS, October 12, 1492.

1990

chronicle of Hartman Schedl, as quoted by M. Otto, we are informed, that Behaim sailed from Cam, in these voyages, which are described in the following terms. "These two, by the bounty of heaven, coasting along the southern ocean, and having crossed the equator, got into the other hemisphere; where, facing to the eastward, their shadows projected towards the south, and right hand." No words could be more completely descriptive of a voyage from Portugal to Congo, as any person may be satisfied by inspecting a map of Africa; but how could M. Otto imagine that the discovery of America was accomplished in such a voyage as this? "Having finished their cruise (continues Schedl) in the space of 26 months, they returned to Portugal, with the loss of many of their seamen, by the violence of the climate." This latter circumstance also agrees very well with the climate of the African coast;* but Schedl says not a word of the discovery of America.

M. Otto goes on to tell us "that the most positive proof of the great services rendered to the crown of Portugal by Behaim, is the recompense bestowed on him by King John II.; who, in the most solemn manner, knighted him in the presence of all his court." Then follows a particular detail of the ceremony of installation, as performed on the 18th of February, 1485, and M. Otto fairly owns that this was "a reward for the discovery of Congo." Now let us bring the detached parts of the story together.

Behaim was knighted on the 18th of February, 1485, for the discovery of Congo, in which he had been employed 26 months preceding; having within that time made two voyages thither, in company with Diego Cam.† It will follow then that the whole of the preceding years, 1484 and 1483, were taken up in these two voyages. This agrees very well with the accounts of the discovery of Congo, in Robertson and Forster, and does not disagree with the modern universal history, as far as the year 1484 is concerned; which unfortunately is the year assigned for Behaim's discovery of "that part of America called Brazil, and his sailing even to the straits of Magellan."

The only thing to Mr. Otto's memoir which bears any resemblance to a solution of this difficulty is this, "We may suppose that Behaim, engaged in an expedition to Congo, was driven by the winds to Fernambouc, and from thence by the currents toward the coast of Goiana." But supposition without proof will avail little; and supposition against proof will avail nothing. The two voyages to Congo are admitted. The course is described; the time is determined; and both of these are directly opposed to the supposition of his being driven by winds and currents to America. For if he had been driven out of his course and had spent "several years in examining the American islands, and discovering the strait which bears the name of Magellan;" and if one of those years was the year 1484, then he could not have spent 26 months preceding February 1485, in the discovery of Congo; but of this we have full and satisfactory evidence; the discovery of America therefore must be given up.

There is one thing further in this memoir which deserves a particular remark, and that is the reason assigned by M. Otto, for which the King of Portugal declined the proposal of Columbus to sail to India by the west. "The refusal of John II. is a proof of the knowledge which that politic and wise prince had already procured of the existence of a new continent, which offered him only barren lands, inhabited by unconquerable savages." This knowledge is supposed to have been derived from the discoveries made by Behaim. But, not to urge again the chronological difficulty with which this conjecture is embarrassed, I will take notice of two circumstances, in the life of Columbus, which militate with this idea. The first is, that when Columbus had proposed a western voyage to King John and he declined it, "the king, by the advice of one Dr. Calzadilla, resolved to send a caravel privately, to attempt that which Columbus had proposed to him; because in case those countries were so discovered, he thought himself not obliged to bestow any great reward. Having speedily equipped a caravel, which was to carry supplies to the islands of Cabo Verde, he sent it that way which the Admiral proposed to go. But those whom he sent wanted the knowledge, constancy and spirit of the Admiral. After wandering many days upon the sea, they turned back to the islands of Cabo Verde, laughing at the

undertaking; and saying it was impossible there should be any land in those seas."

Afterward, "the king being sensible how faulty they were whom he had sent with the caravel, had a mind to restore the Admiral to his favor, and desired that he should renew the discourse of his enterprise; but not being so diligent to put this in execution, as the Admiral was in getting away, he lost that good opportunity; the Admiral, about the end of the year 1484, stole away privately out of Portugal for fear of being stopped by the king." This account does not agree with the supposition of a prior discovery.

The other circumstance is an interview which Columbus had with the people of Lisbon, and the King of Portugal, on his return from his first voyage. For it so happened that Columbus on his return was by stress of weather obliged to take shelter in the port of Lisbon; and as soon as it was known that he had come from the Indies, "the people thronged to see the natives whom he had brought, and hear the news; so that the caravel would not contain them. Some of them praising God for so great a happiness; others storming that they had lost the discovery through their king's incredulity."

When the king sent for Columbus, "he was doubtful what to do; but to take off all suspicion that he came from his conquests, he consented." At the interview, "the king offered him all that he required for the service of their Catholic Majesties, though he thought, that forasmuch as he had been a captain in Portugal, that conquest belonged to him. To which the Admiral answered, that he knew of no such agreement, and that he had strictly observed his orders, which were not to go to the mines of Portugal, [the gold coast] nor to Guinea." Had John II. heard of Behaim's voyage to a western continent, would he not have claimed it by priority of discovery, rather than by the commission which Columbus had formerly borne in his service? Had such a prior discovery been made, could it have been concealed from the people of Lisbon? And would they have been angry that the king had lost it by his incredulity? These circumstances appear to me to carry sufficient evidence, that no discovery of America prior to that of Columbus had come to the knowledge of the King of Portugal.

In answer to the question, "Why are we searching the archives of an imperial city for the causes of an event, which took place in the western extremity of Europe?" M. Otto gives us to understand, that "from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the Germans were the best geographers, the best historians, and most enlightened politicians." Not to detract from the merit of the German literati of those ages, I think we may give equal credit to a learned German author of the present age, Dr. John Reinhold Forster; who appears to have a thorough understanding of the claims not only of his own countrymen, but of others. In his indefatigable researches into the discoveries which have been made by all nations, though he has given due credit to the adventures of Behaim in Congo and Fayal, yet he has not said one word of his visiting America; which he certainly would have done, if in his opinion there had been any foundation for it.

Letters from Paul, a Physician of Florence, to Christopher Columbus, concerning the discovery of the Indies.

LETTER I.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I PERCEIVE your noble and earnest desire to sail to those parts where the spice is produced; and therefore in answer to a letter of yours, I send you another letter, which some days since I wrote to a friend of mine, and servant to the King of Portugal, before the wars of Castile, in answer to another he wrote to me by his highness's order, upon this same account; and I send you another sea chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The copy of the letter is this.

To Ferdinand Martinez, canon of Lisbon, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I AM very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most serene and magnificent king; and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way there is from hence to the Indies, where the spice is produced, by sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the coast of Guinea; yet you now tell me that his highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in practice. Therefore, though I could better show it him with a globe in my hand, and make him

sensible of the figure of the world; yet I have resolved to render it more easy and intelligible, to show this way upon a chart, such as are used in navigation; and therefore I send one to his majesty, made and drawn with my own hand; wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the west, from Ireland in the north, to the farthest part of Guinea, with all the islands that lie in the way. Opposite to which western coast is described the beginning of the Indies, with the islands and places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the north pole toward the equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many leagues you may sail before you come to those places most fruitful in all sorts of spice, jewels, and precious stones. Do not wonder if I term that country where the spice grows west, that product being generally ascribed to the east; because those who shall sail westward will always find those places in the west; and they that travel by land eastward will ever find those places in the east. The strait lines that lie lengthways in the chart, show the distance there is from west to east: the others cross them, show the distance from north to south. I have also marked down in the said chart, several places in India, where ships might put in upon any storm, or contrary winds, or any other accident unforeseen.

Moreover to give you full information of all those places which you are very desirous to know; you must understand, that none but traders live or reside in all those islands, and that there is as great number of ships and seafaring people with merchandise, as in any other part of the world; particularly in a most noble port called *Zacton*, where there are every year a hundred large ships of pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other ships that take in other spice.

This country is mighty populous, and there are many provinces and kingdoms, and innumerable cities under the dominion of a prince called the *Kham*, which name signifies, King of Kings; who for the most part resides in the province of *Cathay*. His predecessors were very desirous to have commerce and be in amity with Christians; and 200 years since, sent ambassadors to the Pope; desiring him to send them many learned men and doctors to teach them our faith; but by reason of some obstacles the ambassadors met with, they returned back, without coming to Rome.

Besides, there came an ambassador to Pope Eugenius IV. who told him the great friendship there was between those princes, their people and the Christians. I discoursed with him a long while upon the several matters of the grandeur of the royal structures, and of the greatness, length and breadth of their rivers. He told me many wonderful things of the multitude of towns and cities founded along the banks of the rivers; and that there were 200 cities upon one river only, with marble bridges over it, of a great length and breadth, and adorned with abundance of pillars. This country deserves as well as any other to be discovered; and there may not only be great profit made there, and many things of value found, but also gold, silver, all sorts of precious stones, and spices in abundance, which are not brought into our parts. And it is certain, that many wise men, philosophers, astrologers, and other persons skilled in all arts, and very ingenious, govern that mighty province, and command their armies.

From Lisbon directly westward, there are in the chart 26 spaces, each of which contains 250 miles, to the most noble and vast city of *Quisay*, which is 100 miles in compass, that is 35 leagues; in it there are ten marble bridges. The name signifies a heavenly city; of which wonderful things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the people, the buildings and the revenues. This space above mentioned is almost the third part of the globe. This city is in the province of *Mango*, bordering on that of *Cathay*, where the king for the most part resides.

From the island *Antilla*, which you call the seven cities, and of which you have some knowledge, to the most noble island of *Cipango* are ten spaces, which make 2500 miles, or 225 leagues; which island abounds in gold, pearls and precious stones; and you must understand, they cover their temples and palaces with plates of pure gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and concealed, and yet may be gone to with safety.

Much more might be said, but having told you what is most material, and you being wise and judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfy your curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my bu-

* See Brookes's Gazetteer, Benin.

† Diego is the Spanish name of James, in Latin *Jacobus*, and in Portuguese, *Jago*. Cam is in Latin, *Canis* or *Canus*, and in Spanish, *Canu*; these different names are found in different authors.

business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfy and serve his highness to the utmost in all the commands he shall lay upon me.

FLORENCE, June 25, 1474.

LETTER II.

To Christopher Columbus, Paul the Physician wisheth health.

I RECEIVED your letters with the things you sent me, which I shall take as a great favor, and commend your noble and ardent desire of sailing from east to west, as it is marked out in the chart I sent you, which would demonstrate itself better in the form of a globe.

I am glad it is well understood, and that the voyage laid down is not only possible but true, certain, honorable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by experience and practice, as I have had in great measure, and by the solid and true information of worthy and wise men, who have come from those parts to this court of Rome; and from merchants who have traded long in those parts and are persons of good reputation. So that when the said voyage is performed, it will be to powerful kingdoms, and to the most noble cities and provinces; rich and abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of spice in great quantities, and store of jewels.

This will moreover be grateful to those kings and princes, who are very desirous to converse and trade with Christians of these our countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have communication with the wise and ingenious men of these parts, as well in point of religion, as in all sciences, because of the extraordinary account they have of the kingdoms and government of these parts.

For which reasons, and many more that might be alleged, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great heart, and all the Portuguese nation, which has ever had notable men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this voyage.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.—His birth and education.—His scientific researches.—His account of his voyage to America.—The first account of America published by him.—The reason of this Continent being named America.—He has no claim to the discovery.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, or more properly Amerigo Vesputti, a Florentine gentleman, from whom America derives its name, was born March 9, 1451, of an ancient family. His father, who was an Italian merchant, brought him up in this business, and his profession led him to visit Spain and other countries. Being eminently skilful in all the sciences subservient to navigation, and possessing an enterprising spirit, he became desirous of seeing the new world, which Columbus had discovered in 1492. He accordingly entered as a merchant on board the small fleet of four ships, equipped by the merchants of Seville and sent out under the command of Ojeda. The enterprise was sanctioned by a royal license.

According to Amerigo's own account he sailed from Cadiz, May, 20, 1497, and returned to the same port October 15, 1498, having discovered the coast of Paria and passed as far as the gulf of Mexico. If this statement is correct, he saw the continent before Columbus; but its correctness has been disproved, and the voyage of Ojeda was not made until 1499, which Amerigo calls his second voyage, falsely representing that he himself had the command of six vessels. He sailed May 20, 1499, under the command of Ojeda, and proceeded to the Antilla islands, and thence to the coast of Guiana and Venezuela, and returned to Cadiz in Nov. 1500. After his return, Emanuel, king of Portugal, who was jealous of the success and glory of Spain, invited him to his kingdom, and gave him the command of three ships to make a third voyage of discovery. He sailed from Lisbon May 10, 1501, and ran down the coasts of Africa as far as Sierra Leone and the Coast of Angola, and then passed over to Brazil in South America, and continued his discoveries to the south as far as Patagonia. He then returned to Sierra Leone and the coast of Guinea, and entered again the port of Lisbon, September 7, 1502.

King Emanuel, highly gratified by his success, equipped for him six ships, with which he sailed on his fourth and last voyage, May 10, 1503. It was his object to discover a western passage to the Molucca islands. He passed the coasts of Africa, and entered the bay of All Saints in Brazil. Having provision for only 20 months, and being detained on the coast of Brazil by bad weather and contrary winds five months, he

formed the resolution of returning to Portugal, where he arrived June 14, 1504. As he carried home with him considerable quantities of the Brazil wood, and other articles of value, he was received with joy. It was soon after this period, that he wrote an account of his four voyages. The work was dedicated Rene II. Duke of Lorraine, who took the title of the king of Sicily, and who died Dec. 10, 1508. It was probably published about the year 1507, for in that year he went from Lisbon to Seville, and King Ferdinand appointed him to draw sea charts with the title of chief pilot. He died at the Island of Tercera in 1514, aged about 63 years, or agreeably to another account, at Seville, in 1512.

As he published the first book and chart, describing the new world, and as he claimed the honor of first discovering the continent, the new world has received from him the name of America. His pretensions however to this first discovery do not seem to be well supported against the claims of Columbus, to whom the honor is uniformly ascribed by the Spanish historians, and who first saw the continent in 1498. Herrera, who compiled his general history of America from the most authentic records, says, that Amerigo never made but two voyages, and those were with Ojeda in 1499 and 1501, and that his relation of his other voyages was proved to be a mere imposition. This charge needs to be confirmed by strong proof, for Amerigo's book was published within ten years of the period assigned for his first voyage, when the facts must have been fresh in the memories of thousands. Besides the improbability of his being guilty of falsifying dates, as he was accused, which arises from this circumstance, it is very possible, that the Spanish writers might have felt a national resentment against him for having deserted the service of Spain. But the evidence against the honesty of Amerigo is very convincing. Neither Martyr nor Benzoni, who were Italians, natives of the same country, and the former of whom was a contemporary, attribute to him the first discovery of the continent. Martyr published the first general history of the new world, and his epistles contain an account of all the remarkable events of his time. All the Spanish historians are against Amerigo. Herrera brings against him the testimony of Ojeda as given in a judicial inquiry. Fonseca, who gave Ojeda the license for his voyage, was not reinstated in the direction of Indian affairs until after the time, which Amerigo assigns for the commencement of his first voyage. Other circumstances might be mentioned; and the whole mass of evidence it is difficult to resist. The book of Amerigo was probably published about a year after the death of Columbus, when his pretensions could be advanced without the fear of refutation from that illustrious navigator. But however this controversy may be decided, it is well known, that the honor of first discovering the continent belongs neither to Columbus nor to Vesputti, even admitting the relation of the latter; but to the Cabots, who sailed from England. A life of Vesputti was published at Florence by Bandini, 1745, in which an attempt is made to support his pretensions.

The relation of his four voyages, which was first published about the year 1507, was republished in the *Novus Orbis*, fol. 1555. His letters were published after his death at Florence.

JOHN CABOT AND SEBASTIAN CABOT.

JOHN CABOT and his son Sebastian.—King Henry VII. grants John Cabot a commission.—He sails with his son on a voyage of discovery.—Appearance of land.—Description of it.—They return to England.—Sebastian sails on a voyage of discovery.

The economical disposition of Henry VII. King of England, induced him to preserve tranquillity in his dominions, which greatly contributed to the increase of commerce and manufactures; and to bring thither merchants from all parts of Europe. The Lombards and the Venetians were remarkably numerous; the former of whom had a street in London appropriated to them and called by their name.

Among the Venetians resident there at that time was John Cabot, a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form an accomplished mariner.—He had three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, all of whom he educated in the same manner. Lewis and Sanctius became eminent men, and settled, the one at Genoa, the other at Venice. Of Sebastian a further account will be given.

The famous discovery made by Columbus caused great admiration and much discourse in the court of Henry, among the merchants of England. To find a way to India by the west, had long been a problem

with men of science as well as a desideratum in the mercantile interest. The way was then supposed to be opened; and the specimens of gold which Columbus had brought home, excited the warmest desire of pursuing that discovery.

Cabot, by his knowledge of the globe, supposed that a shorter way might be found from England to India, by the northwest. Having communicated his project to the king, it was favorably received; and on the fifth of March 1496, a commission was granted to "John Cabot, and his three sons, their heirs and deputies, giving them liberty to sail to all ports of east, west, and north, under the royal banners, and ensigns; to discover countries of the heathen unknown to Christians; to set up the king's banners there; to occupy and possess as his subjects, such places as they could subdue; giving them the rule and jurisdiction of the same, to be holden on condition of paying to the king, as often as they should arrive at Bristol (at which place only they were permitted to arrive,) in wares and merchandise, one fifth part of all their gains; with exemption from all customs and duties on such merchandise as should be brought from their discoveries."

After the granting of this commission, the king gave orders for fitting out two caravels for the purpose of the discovery. These were victualled at the public expense; and freighted by the merchants of London and Bristol, with coarse cloths and other articles of traffic. The whole company consisted of three hundred men.

With this equipment, in the beginning of May, 1497,* John Cabot and his son Sebastian sailed from Bristol towards the northwest, till they reached the latitude of 58°; where meeting with floating ice, and the weather being severely cold, they altered their course to the southwest; not expecting to find any land, till they should arrive at Cathay, the northern part of China, from whence they intended to pass southward to India.

On the 21th of June, very early in the morning, they were surprised with the sight of land; which, being the first that they had seen, they called *Prima Vista*. The description of it is given in these words. "The island which lieth out before the land, he called St. John, because it was discovered on the day of St. John, the Baptist. The inhabitants of this island wear beasts' skins. In their way they use bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. The soil is barren in some places and yieldeth little fruit; but is full of white bears and stags, far greater than ours. It yieldeth plenty of fish, and those very great, as seals and salmon. There are soles above a yard in length; but especially there is great abundance of that kind of fish which the savages call *Bacalao*.—(Cod.) In the same island are lawks and eagles, as black as ravens; also partridges. The inhabitants had plenty of copper."

This land is generally supposed to be some part of the island of Newfoundland; and Dr. Foster thinks that the name, *Prima Vista*, was afterwards changed to *Bona Vista*, now the northern cape Trinity Bay, in latitude 48° 50'. Peter Martyr's account is, that Cabot called the land, *Bacalao*; and there is a small island off the south cape of Trinity Bay, which bears that name: Mr. Priee, in his chronology (citing Galvanus for an authority,) says, that the land discovered by Cabot was in latitude 45°. If this were true, the first discovery was made on the peninsula of Nova Scotia; and as they coasted the land northward, they must have gone into the gulf St. Lawrence, in pursuit of their northwest passage.

The best accounts of the voyage preserved by Hakluyt and Purchas, say nothing of the latitude of *Prima Vista*; but speak of their sailing northward after they had made the land, as far as 67°. Stowe, in his chronicle, says it was on the "north side of Terra de Labrador." This course must have carried them far up the strait which separates Greenland from the continent of America.

Finding the land still stretching to the northward, and the weather very cold in the month of July; the men became uneasy, and the commanders found it necessary to return to *Bacalao*. Having here refreshed themselves, they coasted the land southward till they came into the same latitude with the

* There is no good account of this voyage written by any contemporary author. It is therefore collected from several who have set down facts without much order or precision. To reconcile their contradictions, and deduce conclusions from what they have related, requires much trouble, and leaves an uncertainty with respect to particular circumstances, though the principal facts are well ascertained.

straits of Gibraltar 36°, according to some no farther than 38°; when their provisions falling short, they returned to England; bringing three of the savages as a present to the king. "They were clothed with the skins of beasts, and lived on raw flesh; but after two years, were seen in the king's court clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen."

Nothing more is said of John Cabot, the father; and some historians ascribe the whole of this discovery to Sebastian only; but at the time of this voyage he could not have been more than twenty years old, when though he might accompany his father, yet he was too young to undertake such an expedition himself. The voyage having produced no specimens of gold, and the king being engaged in a controversy with Scotland, no further encouragement was given to the spirit of discovery.

After the king's death, Sebastian Cabot was invited to Spain, and was received in a respectful manner by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. In their service he sailed on a voyage of discovery to the southern parts of the New Continent; and having visited the coast of Brazil, entered a great river to which he gave the name of Rio de la Plata. He sailed up this river one hundred and twenty leagues; and found it divided into many branches; the shores of which were inhabited by numerous people.

After this he made other voyages, of which no particular memorials remain. He was honored by Ferdinand with a commission of Grand Pilot; and was one of the council of the Indies. His residence was in the city of Seville. His character was gentle, friendly and social. His employment was the drawing of charts; on which he delineated all the new discoveries made by himself and others. Peter Martyr speaks of him as a friend with whom he loved familiarly to converse.

In his advanced age, he returned to England, and resided at Bristol. By the favor of the Duke of Somerset, he was introduced to King Edward VI. who took great delight in his conversation, and settled on him a pension of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum for life. He was appointed governor of a company of merchants, associated for the purpose of making discoveries of unknown countries. This is a proof of the great esteem in which he was held as a man of knowledge and experienced in his profession. He had a strong persuasion that a passage might be found to China by the northeast, and warmly patronized the attempt made by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 to explore the northern seas for that purpose. There is still extant a complete set of instructions drawn and subscribed by Cabot, for the direction of the voyage to Cathay, which affords the clearest proof of his sagacity and penetration. But though this, as well as all other attempts of the kind, proved ineffectual to the principal end in view, yet it was the means of opening a trade with Russia, which proved very beneficial to the company.

The last account which we have with Sebastian is, that in 1556, when a company were sending out a vessel called the *Search* thrift, under the command of Stephen Burrough, for discovery; the Governor made a visit on board; which is thus related in the journal of the voyage as preserved by Hakluyt.

"The 27th of April, being Monday, the Right Worshipful Sebastian Cabot came aboard our pinnace, at Gravesend; accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlemen; who, after they had viewed our pinnace, and tasted of such cheer as we could make them, went ashore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards. The good old gentleman Master Cabot gave to the *poor* most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the *Search* thrift, our pinnace. And then at the sign of St. Christopher, he and his friends banqueted; and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself, among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God."

According to the calculation of his age by Dr Campbell, he must at that time have been about eighty years old.

He was one of the most extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. By his ingenuity and industry, he enlarged the bounds of science and promoted the interest of the English nation. Dr. Campbell supposes it was he who first took notice of the variation of the magnetic needle. It had been observed in the

first voyage of Columbus to the West Indies; though probably Cabot might not have known it, till after he had made the same discovery.

JAMES CARTIER.

JAMES CARTIER.—He sails on a voyage of discovery.—Comes in sight of land.—Account of his voyage.—Chaleur Bay discovered.—His interview with the natives.—Donacoona.—The Indian Chief.—His stratagem.—Reception of Cartier and his company by the Indians.—Character, habits, and customs of the Indians.—Cartier makes further discoveries.—Raging of the scurvy in his company.—Cartier takes possession of the country.—He returns to France with two of the natives.—Cartier again sails.—The natives inquire after their brethren.—Kindness of the Indians.

That the English did not prosecute the discovery made by the Cabots, nor avail themselves of the only advantages which it could have afforded them; yet their neighbours of Brittany, Normandy and Biscay wisely pursued the track of those adventurers and took vast quantities of cod on the banks of Newfoundland.

In 1521, John Verazzani, a Florentine, in the service of France, ranged the coast of the new continent from Florida to Newfoundland, and gave it the name of *New France*. In a subsequent voyage he was cut to pieces and devoured by the savages.

It is remarkable that the three great European kingdoms, Spain, England and France, made use of three Italians to conduct their discoveries; Columbus a Genoese; Cabot, a Venetian; and Verazzani, a Florentine. This is a proof that among the Italians, there were at that time persons superior in maritime knowledge to the other nations of Europe; though the penurious spirit of those republics, their mutual jealousy and petty wars, made them overlook the benefits resulting from extensive enterprises, and leave the vast regions of the new world to be occupied by others.

The voyages of Verazzani having produced no addition to the revenue of France, all further attempts to perfect his discoveries were laid aside; but the fishery being found conducive to the commercial interest, it was at length conceived; that a plantation in the neighborhood of the banks might be advantageous. This being represented to King Francis I. by Chabot the Admiral, JAMES CARTIER† of St. Malo, was commissioned to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony.

On the 20th of April 1534, he sailed from St. Malo with two ships of sixty tons, and 122 men; and on the tenth of May came in sight of Bonavista, on the island of Newfoundland. But the ice which lay along the shore obliged him to go southward; and he entered a harbor to which he gave the name of St. Catherine; where he waited for fair weather, and fitted his boats.

As soon as the season would permit he sailed northward, and examined several harbors and islands, on the coast of Newfoundland; in one of which he found such a quantity of birds, that in half an hour, two boats were loaded with them; and after they had eaten as many as they could, five or six barrels full were salted for each ship. This place was called Bird Island.

Having passed Cape de Grat, the northern extremity of the land; he entered the straits of Bellisle and visited several harbors on the opposite coast of Labrador, one of which he called Cartier's Sound. The harbor is described as one of the best in the world; but the land is stigmatized as the place to which Cain was banished; no vegetation being produced among the rocks, but thorns and moss. Yet, had as it was, there were inhabitants in it, who lived by catching seals, and seemed to be a wandering tribe.

In circumnavigating the great island of Newfoundland, they found the weather in general cold; but when they had crossed the gulf in a southwesterly direction to the continent, they came into a deep bay, where the climate was so warm, that they named it Baye de Chaleur, or the Bay of Heat. Here were several kinds of wild berries, roses and meadows of grass. In the fresh waters they caught salmon in great plenty.

Having searched in vain for a passage through the bay, they quitted it, and sailed along the coast eastward, till they came to the smaller bay of Gaspe; where they sought shelter from a tempest, and were detained twelve days in the month of July. In this place Cartier performed the ceremony of taking possession for the King of France. A cross of thirty feet high was erected on a point of land. On this cross was suspended a shield, with the arms of France and

* It is supposed that the island of Cape Breton took its name from the Bretons, the fishermen of Brittany.

† His name is sometimes written Cartier.

the words *Vive le Roy de France*. Before it, the people knelt, uncovered; with their hands extended, and their eyes lifted toward heaven. The natives, who were present, beheld the ceremony at first with silent admiration; but after a while, an old man, clad in a bear's skin, made signs to them that the land was his, and that they should not have it, without his leave. They then informed him by signs, that the cross was intended only as a mark of direction, by which they might again find the port; and they promised to return the next year, and to bring iron and other commodities.

They thought it proper however to conciliate the old man's good will, by entertaining him on board the ship and making him several presents; by which means, they so prevailed on him, that he permitted Cartier to carry two of his sons, young men, to France on the security of a promise that he would bring them back, at his return the next spring.

From Gaspe, he sailed so far into the Great River afterward called St. Lawrence, as to discover land on the opposite side; but the weather being boisterous, and the current setting against him, he thought it best to return to Newfoundland, and then to France; where he arrived safe in the harbor of St. Malo, on the fifth of September.

The discoveries made in this voyage excited further curiosity; and the vice Admiral Melleray represented Cartier's merits to the King, so favorably as to procure for him a more ample equipment. Three ships, one of 120, one of 60 and one of 40 tons, were destined to perform another voyage, in the ensuing spring; and several young men of distinction entered as volunteers, to seek adventures in the new world. When they were ready to sail, the whole company, after the example of Columbus, went in procession to church, on Whitsunday, where the Bishop of St. Malo pronounced his blessing on them. They sailed on the 19th of May 1535. Meeting with tempestuous weather, the ships were separated; and did not join again, till Cartier in the largest ship arrived at Bird Island; where he again filled his boats with fowls, and on the 26th of July was joined by the other vessels.

From Bird Island they pursued the same course as in the preceding summer; and having come into the gulf on the western side of Newfoundland, gave it the name of St. Lawrence. Here they saw abundance of whales. Passing between the island of Assumption (since called Anticosti) and the northern shore, they sailed up the great river, till they came to a branch on the northern side, which the young natives who were on board called Saguenay; the main river they told him would carry him to Hochelaga, the capital of the whole country.

After spending sometime in exploring the northern coast, to find an opening to the northward; in the beginning of September, he sailed up the river, and discovered several islands; one of which, from the multitude of filberts, he called Coudres; and another, from the vast quantity of grapes, he named Bacchus, (now Orleans.) This island was full of inhabitants who subsisted by fishing.

When the ships had come to anchor between the N. W. side of the island and the main, Cartier went on shore with his two young Savages. The people of the country were at first afraid of them; but hearing the youths speak to them in their own language they became sociable, and brought eels and other fish, with a quantity of Indian corn in ears, for the refreshment of their new guests; in return for which, they were presented with such European baubles as were pleasing to them.

The next day, Donacoona, the prince of the place, came to visit them, attended by twelve boats; but keeping ten of them at a distance, he approached with two only, containing sixteen men. In the true spirit of hospitality, he made a speech, accompanied with significant gestures, welcoming the French to his country and offering his service to them. The young savages, Tinguetmi and Domagala answered him, reporting all which they had seen in France, at which he appeared to be pleased. Then approaching the Captain, who held out his hand, he kissed it, and laid it round his own neck, in token of friendship. Cartier, on his part, entertained Donacoona with bread and wine, and they parted mutually pleased.

The next day Cartier went up in his boat to find a harbor for his ships; the season being so far advanced that it became necessary to secure them. At the west end of the isle of Bacchus, he found "a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river

and haven; about three fathoms deep at high water." To this he gave the name of St. Croix, and determined there to lay up his ships.

Near this place was a village called Stadacona, of which Donacona was the lord. It was environed with forest trees, some of which bore fruit; and under the trees, was a growth of wild hemp. As Cartier was returning to his ships, he had another specimen of the hospitable manners of the natives. A company of people, of both sexes, met him on the shore of the little river, singing and dancing up to their knees in water. In return for their courtesy, he gave them knives and beads; and they continued their music till he was beyond hearing it.

When Cartier had brought his ships to the harbor and secured them, he intimated his intention to pass in his boats up the river to Hochelaga. Donacona was loth to part with him; and invented several artifices to prevent his going thither. Among others, he contrived to dress three of his men in black and white skins, with horns on their heads, and their faces besmeared with coal, to make them resemble infernal spirits. They were put into a canoe and passed to the ships; brandishing their horns and making an unintelligible harangue. Donacona, with his people, pursued and took them, on which they fell down as if dead. They were carried ashore into the woods, and all the savages followed them. A long discourse ensued, and the conclusion of the farce was, that these demons had brought news from the god of Hochelaga, that his country was so full of snow and ice, that whoever should adventure thither would perish with the cold. The artifice afforded diversion to the French, but was too thin to deceive them. Cartier determined to proceed; and on the nineteenth of September, with his pinnace and two boats, began his voyage up the river to Hochelaga.

Among the woods on the margin of the river were many vines loaded with white grapes, than which nothing could be a more welcome sight to Frenchmen, though the fruit was not so delicious as they had been used to taste in their own country. Along the banks were many huts of the natives; who made signs of joy as they passed; presented them with fish; piloted them through narrow channels; carried them ashore on their backs, and helped them to get off their boats when aground. Some presented their children to them, and such as were of proper age were accepted.

The water at that time of the year being low, their passage was rendered difficult; but by the friendly assistance of the natives they surmounted the obstructions. On the 25th of September they passed the rapids between the islands in the upper part of the lake Angouleme, (now called St. Peter's) and on the second of October they arrived at the island of Hochelaga; where they had been expected, and preparations were made to give them a welcome reception. About a thousand persons came to meet them, singing and dancing, the men on one side, the women on the other, and the children in a distinct body. Presents of fish and other victuals were brought, and in return were given knives, beads and other trinkets. The Frenchmen lodged the first night in their boats, and the natives watched on the shore, dancing round their fires during the whole night.

The next morning Cartier, with twenty-five of his company, went to visit the town, and were met on the way by a person of distinction, who bade them welcome. To him they gave two hatchets and two knives, and hung over his neck a cross which they taught him to kiss. As they proceeded, they passed through groves of oak, from which acorns were fallen and lay thick on the ground. After this they came to fields of ripe corn, some of which was gathered. In the midst of these fields was situate the town of Hochelaga.

It was of a round form, encompassed with three lines of palisades, through which was one entrance, well secured with stakes and bars. On the inside was a rampart of timber, to which were ascents by ladders, and heaps of stones were laid in proper places for defence. In the town were about fifty long huts built with stakes and covered with bark. In the middle of each hut was a fire, round which were lodging places, floored with bark and covered with skins. In the upper part was a scaffold on which they dried and preserved their corn. To prepare it for eating, they pounded it in wooden mortars, and having mixed it with water, baked it on hot stones. Besides corn they had beans, squashes and pumpkins. They dried their fish and preserved them in troughs. These people lived chiefly

by tillage and fishing, and seldom went far from home. Those on the lower parts of the river were more given to hunting, and considered the Lord of Hochelaga as their sovereign, to whom they paid tribute.

When the new guests were conducted to an open square in the centre of the town; the females came to them, rubbing their hands and faces, weeping with joy at their arrival, and bringing their children to be touched by the strangers. They spread mats for them on the ground, whilst the men seated themselves in a large circle on the outside. The king was then brought into a litter on the shoulders of ten men, and placed on a mat next to the French Captain. He was about fifty years old, and had no mark of distinction but a coronet made of porcupine's quills dyed red; which he took off and gave to the Captain, requesting him to rub his arms and legs which were trembling with the palsy. Several persons, blind, lame and withered with age, were also brought to be touched; as if they supposed that their new guests were messengers from heaven invested with a power of healing diseases. Cartier gratified them as well as he could, by laying his hands on them and repeating some devotional passages from a service book, which he had in his pocket; accompanying his ejaculations with significant gestures, and lifting up his eyes to heaven. The natives attentively observed and imitated all his motions.

Having performed this ceremony, he desired the men, women and children to arrange themselves in separate bodies. To the men he gave hatchets, to the women beads, and to the children rings. He then ordered his drums and trumpets to sound, which highly pleased the company and set them to dancing.

Being desirous of ascending the hill, under which the town was built, the natives conducted them to the summit; where they were entertained with a most extensive and beautiful prospect of mountains, woods, islands and waters. They observed the course of the river above, and some falls of water in it; and the natives informed them that they might sail on it for three months; that it ran through two or three great lakes, beyond which was a sea of fresh water, to which they knew of no bounds; and that on the other side of the mountains there was another river which ran in a contrary direction to the southwest, through a country full of delicious fruits, and free from snow and ice; that there was found such metal as the Captain's silver whistle and the haft of the dagger belonging to one of the company which was gilt with gold. Being shown some copper, they pointed to the northward, and said it came from Saguenay. To this had Cartier gave the name of *Montreal*, which it has ever since retained.

The visit being finished, the natives accompanied the French to their boats, carrying such as were weary on their shoulders. They were loth to part with their guests, and followed them along the shore of the river to a considerable distance.

On the 4th of October, Cartier and his company departed from Hochelaga. In passing down the river, they erected a cross on the point of an island, which, with three others, lay in the mouth of a shallow river, on the north side, called Pouetz. On the eleventh they arrived at the Port de St. Croix, and found that their companions had enclosed the ships with a palisade and rampart, on which they had mounted cannon.

The next day Donacona invited them to his residence, where they were entertained with the usual festivity and made the customary presents. They observed that these people used the leaves of an herb (tobacco) which they preserved in pouches made of skins and smoked in stone pipes. It was very offensive to the French; but the natives valued it as contributing much to the preservation of their health. Their houses appeared to be well supplied with provisions. Among other things which were new to the French, they observed the scalps of five men, spread and dried like parchment. These were taken from their enemies the Toudamani, who came from the south, and were continually at war with them.

Being determined to spend the winter among those friendly people, they traded with them for the provisions which they could spare, and the river supplied them with fish till it was hard frozen.

In December the scurvy began to make its appearance among the natives, and Cartier prohibited all intercourse with them; but it was not long before his own men were taken with it. It raged with uncontrolled violence for above two months, and by the middle of February, out of one hundred and ten persons, fifty were sick at once, and eight or ten had died.

In this extremity Cartier appointed a day of solemn

humiliation and prayer. A crucifix was placed on a tree, and as many as were able to walk, went in procession, through the ice and snow, singing the seven penitential psalms and performing other devotional exercises. At the close of the solemnity Cartier made a vow, that "if it would please God to permit him to return to France, he would go in pilgrimage to our Lady of Roquemadon." But it was necessary to watch as well as pray. To prevent the natives from knowing their weak and defenceless state, he obliged all who were able, to make as much noise as possible with axes and hammers; and told the natives that his men were all busily employed, and that he would not suffer any of them to go from the ships till their work was done. The ships were fast frozen up from the middle of November to the middle of March: the snow was four feet deep, and higher than the sides of the ships above the ice. The severity of the winter exceeded all which they had ever experienced; the scurvy still raged; twenty five men had fallen victims to it, and the others were so weak and low in spirits, that they despaired of ever seeing their native country.

In the depth of this distress and despondency, Cartier, who had escaped the disease, in walking one day on the ice, met some of the natives, among whom was Domagana, one of the young men who had been with him to France and who then resided with his countrymen at Stadacona. He had been sick with the scurvy, his sinews had been shrunk and his knees swollen, his teeth loose, and his gums rotten; but he was then recovered, and told Cartier of a certain tree; the leaves and bark of which he had used as a remedy. Cartier expressed his wish to see the tree; telling him that one of his people had been afflicted with the same disorder. Two women were immediately dispatched, who brought ten or twelve branches, and showed him how to prepare the decoction; which was thus, "to boil the bark and the leaves; to drink of the liquor every other day; and to put the dregs on the legs of the sick."

This remedy presently came into use, on board the ships; and its good effects were so surprising, that within one week they were completely healed of the scurvy; and some who had venereal complaints of long standing were also cured by the same means.

The severity of the winter having continued four months without intermission, at the return of the sun the season became milder, and in April the ice began to break up. On the third of May, Cartier took possession of the country by erecting a cross, thirty-five feet high, on which was hung a shield, bearing the arms of France, with this inscription: FRANCIS PRIMUS, DEI GRATIA, FRANCORUM REX, REGNAT.

The same day being a day of festivity, the two young savages, Taignoagni and Donagana, with Donacona the chief of the place, came on board the ships, and were partly prevailed on and partly constrained to accompany Cartier to France. A handsome present was made to the family of Donacona, but it was with great reluctance that his friends parted with him; though Cartier promised to bring him again at the end of twelve months. On the sixth of May they sailed from the Port of St. Croix; and having touched at St. Peter's in Newfoundland, they arrived at St. Malo in France the sixth of July, 1536.

Whether Cartier performed his vow to God, the history does not tell us; certain it is, however, that he did not perform his promise to his passengers. The zeal for adventures of this kind began to abate. Neither gold nor silver were carried home. The advantages of the fur trade were not fully understood; and the prospect of benefit from cultivation in the short summer of that cold climate, was greatly overbalanced, by the length and severity of a Canadian winter. The natives had been so often told of the necessity of baptism in order to salvation, that on their arrival in France, they were at their own request baptised; but neither of them lived to see their native land again.

The report which Cartier brought home, of the fine country beyond the Lakes, had however made such an impression on the minds of some, that, at the end of four years, another expedition was projected. Francis de la Roche, Lord of Roberval, was commissioned by the King as his Lieutenant,

* This tree was called by the natives, Ameda or Haneda. Mr Hakluyt supposes it to have been the Sassafras; but as the leaves were used with the bark, in the winter, it must have been an evergreen. The dregs of the bark were also applied to the sore legs of the patients. From these circumstances I am inclined to think that it was the spruce pine (*pinus canadensis*) which is used in the same manner by the Indians, and such as have learned of them. Spruce beer is well known to be a powerful anti-scurbutic; and the bark of this and of the white pine serves as a cataplasm for wounds and sores.

Governor in Canada and Hockelaga; and Cartier was appointed his pilot, with the command of five ships. When they were ready to sail, Roberval had not finished his preparations, and was therefore detained. The King's orders to Cartier being positive, he sailed from St. Malo on the 23d of May 1540.

The winds were adverse and the voyage tedious. The ships were scattered, and did not arrive at the place of their destination till the 23d of August; when they came to the port of St. Croix in the river of Canada.

The first inquiry made by the natives was for their countrymen who had been carried away. The answer was, that Donacona was dead, and that the others had become great Lords, were married in France, and refused to return. Neither sorrow nor resentment were shown on this occasion; but a secret jealousy, which had been long working, received strength, from an answer so liable to suspicion.

The history of this voyage being imperfect, it is not possible to say, in what particular manner this jealousy operated. Cartier made another excursion, up the river; and pitched on a place about four leagues above St. Croix to lay up three of his vessels for the winter. The other two he sent back to France, to inform the King of what they had done; and that Roberval had not arrived.

At the new harbour, which he had chosen for his ships, was a small river, running in a serpentine course to the south. On the eastern side of its entrance was a high and steep cliff; on the top of which, they built a fort and called it Charlebourg. Below, the ships were drawn up and fortified, as they had been in the former winter which he spent here. Not far from the fort were some rocks containing chrystals; which they denominated diamonds; and on the shore were picked up certain specks of a yellow substance, which their imaginations refined into gold. Iron ore was found in abundance; and a kind of black slate, with veins of an apparent metallic substance.

In what manner they passed the winter, the defective accounts which we have do not inform us. In the spring of the following year, Cartier and his company having heard nothing of Roberval; and concluding that they were abandoned by their friends and exposed to perish in a climate the most severe, and among people whose conduct toward them was totally changed, determined to return to France. Accordingly having set sail, at the breaking up of the ice, they arrived in the harbor of St. John's in Newfoundland, sometime in June; where they met Roberval, who, with three ships and two hundred persons, male and female, had sailed from Rochelle in April; and were on their way to establish a colony in Canada. Cartier went on board Roberval's ship, and showed him the diamonds and gold which he had found; but told him that the hostile disposition of the natives had obliged him to quit the country; which however he represented to him as capable of profitable cultivation. Roberval ordered him to return to Canada; but Cartier privately sailed out of the harbor in the night, and pursued his voyage to France.

Mortified and disappointed, Roberval continued some time longer at St. John's before he proceeded, and about the end of July arrived at the place which Cartier had quitted. There he erected a fort on a commanding eminence, and another at its foot; in which were deposited all the provision, ammunition, artillery, implements of husbandry, and other materials for the intended colony.

In September, two vessels were sent back to France, to carry specimens of chrystal, and fetch provisions for the next year; the stores which they had brought being much reduced. By the help of the fish which they took in the river, and the game which they procured from the savages; and by well husbanding their provisions, they lingered out a tedious winter, having suffered much from the scurvy, of which about fifty of them died. In addition to this distress, Roberval exercised such severity in his government, that one man was hanged, several were laid in irons, and some of both sexes underwent the discipline of the whip.

In April the ice began to break up; and on the fifth of June he proceeded up the river; leaving De Royeze, his Lieutenant, to command in his absence, with orders to embark for France, if he should not return by the middle of July.

As the account of the expedition ends here, we can only remark that the colony was broken up; and no farther attempt was made by the French to establish themselves in Canada, till after the expiration of half

a century. The last account of Roberval is that, in 1519, he sailed with his brother on some voyage of discovery, and never returned.

In this first visit, which the natives of Canada received from the Europeans, we have a striking instance of their primitive manners. Suspecting no danger, and influenced by no fear, they embraced the stranger with unaffected joy. Their huts were open to receive him, their fires and furs to give warmth and rest to his weary limbs; their food was shared with him or given in exchange for his tridles; they were ready with their simple medicines to heal his diseases and his wounds; they would wade through rivers and climb rocks and mountains to guide him in his way, and they would remember and requite his kindness more than it deserved.

Unhappily for them they set too high a value on their new guest. Imagining him to be of a heavenly origin, they were extravagant and ungarded in their first attachment, and from some specimens of his superiority, obvious to their senses, they expected more than ought ever to be expected from beings of the same species. But when the mistake was discovered, and the stranger whom they adored proved to be no more than human, having the same inferior desires and passions with themselves; especially when they found their confidence misplaced and their generous friendship ill requited; then the rage of jealousy extinguished the virtue of benevolence; and they struggled to rid themselves of him, as an enemy, whom they had received into their bosom as a friend.

On the other hand, it was too common for the European adventurer to regard the man of nature as an inferior being; and whilst he availed himself of his strength and experience, to abuse his confidence, and repay his kindness with insult and injury; to stigmatize him as a heathen and a savage, and to bestow on him the epithets of deceitful, treacherous, and cruel; though he himself had first set the example of these detestable vices.

FERDINANDO DE SOTO.

FERDINANDO DE SOTO—His expedition—His adventures—He penetrates into the interior of the country—His difficulty with the Indians—Encounter with the Indians in which many are killed—His death.

The travels and transactions of this adventurer are of so little importance in the history of America, that I should not have thought them worthy of notice; had it not been, that some gentlemen of ingenuity and learning have had recourse to the expedition of this Spaniard as a means of solving the question respecting the mounds and fortifications, of a regular construction, which within a few years past have been discovered in the thickest shades of the American forest.* Though the opinion seems to have been candidly given up by one of the writers who attempted to defend it; yet as what was published on the subject may have impressed some persons with an idea that these works were of European fabric, I shall briefly relate the history of Soto's march; and the difficulties which attend the supposition that he was the builder of any of these fortifications.

After the conquest of Mexico and Peru, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the insatiable thirst for gold, which had seized the Spanish adventurers, prompted them to search for that bewitching metal wherever there could be any prospect of finding it. Three unsuccessful attempts had been made in Florida, by Ponce, Gomez, and Narvaez; but because these adventurers did not penetrate the interior parts of the continent, FERDINANDO DE SOTO, Governor of Cuba, who had been a companion of the Pizarros in their Peruvian expedition, and had there amassed much wealth, projected a march into Florida, of which country he had the title of Adelantado, or President. He sailed from the port of Havannah, May 18, 1539, with nine vessels, six hundred men,† two hundred and thirteen horses, and a herd of swine, and arrived on the 30th of the same month in the bay of Espiritu Santo, on the western coast of the peninsula of Florida.

Being a soldier of fortune and determined on conquest, he immediately pitched his camp and secured it. A foraging party met with a few Indians who resisted

* If the reader wishes to see a particular investigation of this hypothesis, he may consult the American Magazine, printed at New-York, for December 1787, January and February 1788, and some subsequent numbers; compared with the Columbian Magazine, printed at Philadelphia, for September and November 1788.

† In Prince's Chronology it is said that Soto had 900 men, but he quotes Purchas for his authority, in whose book the number is "six hundred."

them; two were killed, the others escaped, and reported to their countrymen that the warriors of fire had invaded their territories; upon which the smaller towns were deserted and the natives hid in the woods.

Having met with a Spaniard of the party of Narvaez, who had been wrecked on the coast, and had been twelve years a captive with the Indians, Soto made use of him as a messenger to them to inquire for gold and silver; and wherever he could receive any information, respecting these precious metals, thither he directed his march.

His manner of marching was this; The horsemen carried bags of corn and other provisions; the footmen marched by the side of the horses, and the swine were driven before them. When they first landed they had thirteen female swine, which in two years increased to several hundreds; the warmth of the climate being favorable to their propagation, and, the forests yielding them a plenty of food.

The first summer and winter were spent in the peninsula of Florida, not far from the bay of Apalache; and in the beginning of the following spring, having sent back his vessels to Cuba for supplies, and left a part of his men at the port, where he expected the ships to return, he marched towards the north and east, in search of a place called Yupaha, where he had been informed there was gold.

In this march he crossed the river Altamaha, and probably the Ogeechee, and came, as he was informed, within two days' journey of the bay of St. Helena, where the Spaniards had been several years before. In all this march he staid not more than a week in any one place.

He then set his face northward, and having passed a hilly country, came to a district called Chalaque, which is supposed to be the country now called Cherokee, on the upper branches of the river Savannah. Thence he turned westward, in search of a place called Chiaha, and in this route he crossed the Allegany ridge, and came to Chiaha, where his horses and men being excessively fatigued, he rested thirty days. The horses fed in a meadow, and the people lay under the trees, the weather being very hot, and the natives in peace. This was in the months of May and June. During their abode there they heard of a country called Chisca, where was copper and another metal of the same color. This country lay northward, and a party was sent with Indian guides to view it. Their report was, that the mountains were impassable, and Soto did not attempt to proceed any farther in that direction.

From a careful inspection of the maps in the American Atlas, I am inclined to think that the place where Soto crossed the mountains was within the thirty-fifth degree of latitude. In Delisle's map, a village called Canasaga is laid down on the N. W. side of the Allegany, or (as it is sometimes called) the Apalachian ridge of mountains, in that latitude; and Chiaha is said in Soto's journal to be five days westward from Canasaga.

To ascertain the situation of Chiaha, we must observe that it is said to be subject to the Lord of Cosa, which is situate on an eastern branch of the Mobile; and Soto's sick men came down the river from Chiaha in boats. This river could be none but a branch of the Mobile; and his course was then turned toward the south. In this march he passed through Alabama, Tallase, Tascalusa, names which are still known and marked on the maps, till he came to the town of Mavilla, which the French pronounce Mouville and Mabilille. It was then a walled town, but the walls were of wood. The inhabitants had conceived a disgust to the Spaniards, which was augmented by an outrage committed on one of their chiefs, and finally broke out in a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the innocent natives were slain, and many of the Spaniards killed and wounded, and the town was burnt. This was in the latter end of October.

It is probable that Soto intended to pass the winter in the neighborhood of that village, if he could have kept on friendly terms with the Indians; for there he could have had a communication with Cuba. There he heard that the vessels which he had sent to Cuba for supplies were arrived at Ochus (Pensacola,) where he agreed to meet them; but he kept this information secret, because he had not yet made any discoveries which his Spanish friends would think worthy of regard. The country about him was populous and hostile, and being void of gold or silver, was not an object for him to possess at the risk of losing his army, of which above an hundred had already perished. He therefore, after staying twenty-eight days for the recovery of his wounded, determined on a retreat.

In this retreat it has been supposed that he penetrated northward, beyond the Ohio. The truth is, that he began his march from Mavilla, a village near the mouth of the Mobile, on the 18th of November, and on the 17th of December arrived at Chicaca, an Indian village of twenty houses, where they remained till the next April.

The distance, the time, the nature of the country, the course and manner of the march, and the name of the village, all concur to determine this winter station of Soto to be a village of the *Chickasaw* Indians, situated on the upper part of the *Yasou*, a branch of the *Mississippi*, about eighty leagues northwestward from Mobile, and not less than one hundred and forty leagues southwestward from the *Muskogum*, where the great fortifications, which gave rise to this inquiry are found. From *Chicaca*, in the spring, he went westward, and crossed a river within the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, which he called *Rio Grande*, and which is now known to be the *Mississippi*.

On the western side of the *Mississippi*, after rambling all summer, he spent the next winter, at a place called *Auliamque*, where he enclosed his camp with a wall of timber, the work of three days only. Within this enclosure he lodged safely during three months; and in the succeeding spring, the extreme fatigue and anxiety which he had suffered, threw him into a fever, of which he died, May 21, 1542, at *Gua-coya*. To prevent his death from being known to the Indians, his body was sunk in the middle of a river.

His Lieutenant, *Louis de Moscoso*, continued to ramble on the western side of the *Mississippi*, till the next summer; when worn with fatigue, disappointment, and loss of men, he built seven boats, called brigantines, on the *Mississippi*, in which, the shattered remnants, consisting of three hundred and eleven, returned to Cuba, in September, 1543.

The place where Soto died is said to have been on the bank of the *Red river*, a western branch of the *Mississippi*, in lat. 31°. The place where the remnant of his army built their vessels and embarked for Cuba, is called in the journal *Minoya*. They were seventeen days in sailing down the river, and they computed the distance to be two hundred and fifty leagues.*

From this account, faithfully abridged from *Purchas* and compared with the best maps, I am fully persuaded that the whole country through which Soto travelled on the eastern side of the *Mississippi* is comprehended within Florida, Georgia and South Carolina; and that he never went farther northward than the 35th degree of latitude, which is distant two degrees southward from any part of the Ohio. The conclusion then is, that he could not have been the builder of those fortifications still remaining in that part of the continent which lies N. W. of the Ohio. Nor indeed can any works which he erected for the security of his camp be subsisting at this time; for the best of them were made of wood, and were intended to cover his men and protect his horses and swine only during one winter.

The works which have so much excited curiosity and conjecture, are far more numerous, extensive and durable. They are found in various and distant places, in the interior part of the continent, on both sides of the *Mississippi*; on the Ohio and its branches; on James and Potomack rivers in Virginia; in the country of the Six Nations, and on the shores of Lake Erie; where they are exceedingly numerous.

The most obvious mode of solving the question respecting them, is by inquiry of the present natives.—But the structures are too ancient for their tradition; the oldest and wisest men know nothing of their original. The form and materials of these works, indicate the existence of a race of men superior to the present race, in improvement, in design, and in that patience which must have accompanied the labor of erecting them.

Trees which have been found growing on them have been cut down, and from indubitable marks, are known to have been upwards of three hundred years old; nor were these the first growth upon them.

The mounds and ramparts are constructed of earth, and have acquired a firmness and solidity, which render it probable that they are the work of some remote age and some other people, who had different ideas of convenience and were better acquainted with the arts of defence; and in fact were much more numerous than the ancestry of those natives, of whom we or our fathers have had any knowledge. It is to be

* Mr. Prince, in his *Chronology*, says 400, in figures; but *Purchas*, from whom he quotes, says "two hundred and fifty."

hoped that the persons who now occupy and are cultivating the lands where these singular buildings are found, will preserve, as far as they are able, some at least of these monuments of unknown ages; that as they have long resisted the ravages of time, and may possibly baffle the researches of the present generation, they may subsist unimpaired as subjects of speculation to our posterity.

HUMPHREY GILBERT.

Master Hore sails on a voyage of discovery, accompanied by a number of gentlemen of rank and fortune.—They get reduced.—They devour one another.—Sigue of a French vessel with provision by the English.—HUMPHREY GILBERT.—He obtains a commission from Queen Elizabeth.—He sails and is overtaken by a storm.—Is obliged to put back.—His difficulties.—He acquires sail with five ships and arrives in America.—His prepossession.—He takes possession in the name of the Queen.—He establishes slaves.—He sails on his return.—Loss of the *Delight*.—Loss of the vessel with Gilbert on board.

AFTER the discovery of Newfoundland by the Cabots, the passion for adventure, among the English, met with many severe checks. But whilst one adventurer after another was returning home from an unsuccessful voyage, intended to penetrate unknown seas to China; foreigners were reaping the benefit of their partial discoveries.

Within the first forty years we have no account of any attempt made by the English to prosecute the discovery of the new continent, except that in 1536, two vessels containing one hundred and twenty persons, of whom thirty were gentlemen of education and character, under the conduct of "Master Hore of London" made a voyage to Newfoundland; but they were so ill provided, and knew so little of the nature of the country, that they suffered the extremity of famine. For, notwithstanding the immense quantities of fish and fowl to be found on those coasts; they were reduced so low as to watch the nests of birds of prey and rob them of the fish which they brought to feed their young. To collect this scanty supply, with a mixture of roots and herbs, the men dispersed themselves in the woods, until several of them were missing. It was at first thought they were devoured by wild beasts; but it was found that they met with a more tragical fate; the stronger having killed the weaker and feasted on their flesh. In the midst of this distress, a French ship arriving with a supply of provisions, they took her by force, and returned to England; leaving to the Frenchmen their own smaller vessels, and dividing the provision between them. Complaint of this act of piracy was made to King Henry VIII; who knowing the miseries of the unfortunate crew, instead of punishing them, paid the damage out of his own coffers.

Within the succeeding forty years, the English had begun to make some advantage by the fishery; and in 1578, the state of it is thus described. "There are about one hundred sail of Spaniards who come to take cod; who make it all wet, and dry it when they come home; besides twenty or thirty more, who come from Biscay to kill whales for train. These be better appointed for shipping and furniture of munition than any other nation save the English; who commonly are lords of the harbors. As touching their tonnage, I think it may be near five or six thousand. Of Portugals, there are not above fifty sail, whose tonnage may amount to three thousand, and they make all wet. Of the French nation are about one hundred and fifty sail; the most of their shipping is very small, not past forty tons; among which some are great and reasonably well appointed; better than the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards; the burden of them may be about seven thousand. The English vessels have increased in four years from thirty to fifty sail. The trade which our nation hath to Iceland, maketh that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations."

The next year (1579) Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a patent for the discovering, occupying and peopling of "such remote, heathen and barbarous countries as were not actually possessed by any Christian people." In consequence of this grant many of his friends joined him, and preparations were made for an expedition, which promised to be highly advantageous. But before the fleet was ready, some declined and retracted their engagements. Gilbert with a few companions, sailed; but a violent storm, in which one of the ships foundered, caused them to return. This misfortune involved him in debt; and he had no way to satisfy the demands of his creditors, but by grants of land in America. By such means the country was not likely to be peopled, nor the conditions of his patent fulfilled. He was obliged therefore to sell his estate before he could make another attempt;

and after long solicitation, being assisted by some friends, he set sail from Plymouth with five ships, carrying two hundred and sixty men, on the eleventh of June 1583; and on the eleventh of July arrived off the bay of St. John, on the eastern coast of Newfoundland.

Thirty-six fishing vessels were then in the harbor, who refused him admittance. He prepared to enter by force of arms; but previously sent in his boat with his commission from Queen Elizabeth; on sight of which they submitted, and he sailed into the port.

The intention of this voyage was to take formal possession of the island, and of the fishery on its banks, for the crown of England. This was done in the following manner:

On Monday the fifth of August, Admiral Gilbert had his tent pitched on shore, in sight of all the shipping; and being attended by his own people, summoned the merchants and masters of vessels, both Englishmen and others to be present at the ceremony. When they were all assembled, his commission was read, and interpreted to the foreigners. Then a turf and a twig were delivered to him, which he received with a hazy wand. Immediately, proclamation was made, that by virtue of his commission from the Queen, he took possession for the crown of England, of the harbor of St. John, and two hundred leagues every way round it.

He then published three laws, for the government of the territory. By the first, public worship was established according to the mode of the Church of England. By the second, the attending of any thing prejudicial to her Majesty's title was declared treason, according to the laws of England. By the third, the uttering of words to the dishonor of her Majesty was to be punished with the loss of ears and the confiscation of property.

The proclamation being finished, assent and obedience were signified by loud acclamations. A pillar was erected, bearing a plate of lead, on which the Queen's arms were engraven; and several of the merchants took grants of land, in sea farm; on which they might cure their fish, as they had done before.

A tax of provision, by her Majesty's authority, was levied on all the ships. This tax was readily paid; besides which, the Admiral received presents of wine, fruit, and other refreshments, chiefly from the Portuguese.

This formal possession, taken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in consequence of the discovery by the Cabots, is the foundation of the right and title of the crown of England to the territory of Newfoundland and to the fishery on its banks.

As far as the time would permit, a survey was made of the country; one principal object of which was the discovery of mines and minerals. The mineralogist was a Saxon, who is characterized as "honest and religious." This man brought to the Admiral first a specimen of iron, then a kind of ore, which, on the peril of his life, he protested to be silver. The Admiral enjoined secrecy, and sent it on board; intending to have it assayed, when they should get to sea.

The company being dispersed abroad, some were taken sick and died; some hid themselves in the woods, with an intention to go home, by the first opportunity; and others cut one of the vessels out of the harbor and carried her off.

On the 20th of August, the Admiral, having collected as many of his men as could be found, and ordered one of his vessels to stay and take off the sick; set sail with three ships; the *Delight*, the *Hind* and the *Squirrel*. He coasted along the southern part of the island, with a view to make Cape Breton and the Isle of Sable; on which last, he had heard that cattle and swine had been hunted by the Portuguese, thirty years before.

Being entangled among shoals and involved in fogs, the *Delight* struck on a sand bank and was lost. Fourteen men only saved themselves in a boat; the loss of the Saxon miner was particularly noted, and nothing farther was heard of the silver ore. This misfortune determined the Admiral to return to England, without attempting to make any further discoveries, or to take possession of any other part of America. On his passage, he met with bad weather. The *Squirrel* frigate, in which Sir Humphrey sailed, was overloaded on her deck; but he persisted in taking his passage in her, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his friends, in the *Hind*, who would have persuaded him to sail with them. From the circumstance of his returning from his first voyage without accomplishing its object, it had been reported that he was afraid of the sea; had he yielded to the

solicitation of his friends, the stigma might have been indelible.

When the wind abated, and the vessels were near enough, the Admiral was seen constantly sitting in the stern with a book in his hand. On the 9th of September, he was seen for the last time; and was heard by the people in the *Illud* to say, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." In the following night, the lights of his ship suddenly disappeared.—The people in the other vessel kept a good look out for him, during the remainder of the voyage. On the twenty-second of September, they arrived, through much tempest and peril, at Falmouth. But nothing more was seen or heard of the Admiral.

Whilst his zeal for the interest of the Crown, and the settlements of its American dominions, has been largely commended; he has been blamed for his temerity in lavishing his own and other men's fortunes in the prosecution of his designs. This is not the only instance of a waste of property in consequence of sanguine expectations; which, though ruinous to the first adventurers, has produced solid advantages to their successors.

Dr Forster has a remark on one of the incidents of this voyage which is worthy of repetition and remembrance. "It is very clear (says he) in the instance of the Portuguese having stocked the Isle of Sable with domestic animals, that the discoverers of the new world were men of humanity; & desirous of providing for such unfortunate people as might happen to be cast away on those coasts. The false policy of modern times is callous and tyrannical, exporting dogs to devour them. Are these the happy consequences of the so much boasted enlightened state of the present age, and refinement of manners, peculiar to our times? Father of mercies, when will philanthropy again take up her abode in the breasts of men, of Christians, and the rulers of this earth!"

WALTER RALEIGH, AND RICHARD GRENVILLE.

WALTER RALEIGH—Relative of Gilbert—Obtains a commission from Queen Elizabeth—He sails for America—Their arrival—Granganimeo, the Indian chief—Description of an Indian village—Hospitality and kindness of the natives—Return of Raleigh and his party to England with two natives—Virginia, so named by Elizabeth—Another expedition under the command of Sir Richard Grenville—Their arrival in America—Rashness of Grenville—His return—Death of Granganimeo—Winema determines on a revenge—He is ensnared by the English and killed—Departure of the English—Another expedition—Their arrival—A dispute in the company—Governor of Virginia returns to England to solicit supplies—It is ill-success—Disappointments and losses of Raleigh—Departure of the Governor for Virginia—His arrival—Finds the colony deserted and in ruins—He returns to England—Introduction of Tobacco in Europe—Anecdote of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The distinguished figure, which the life of Sir Walter Raleigh makes in the history of England renders unnecessary any other account of him here, than what respects his adventures in America; and particularly in Virginia; of which colony he is acknowledged to have been the unfortunate founder.

He was half brother, by the mother's side, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and was at the expense of fitting out one of the ships of his squadron. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate of his brother, he persisted in his design of making a settlement in America. Being a favorite in the court of Queen Elizabeth, he obtained a patent, bearing date the 25th of March, 1584, for the discovering and planting of any lands and countries which were not possessed by any Christian prince or nation.

About the same time the Queen granted him another patent to license the vending of wine, throughout the kingdom; that by the profits thence arising he might be able to bear the expense of his intended plan of colonization. Further to strengthen his interest, he engaged the assistance of two wealthy kinsmen, Sir Richard Grenville and William Sanderson. They provided two barques, and having well furnished them with men and provisions, put them under the command of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who sailed from the west of England, April 27, 1584.

They took the usual route by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies: the reason of which is thus expressed in the account of this voyage written by Barlow, "because we doubted that the current of the bay of Mexico between the cape of Florida and Havana had been of greater force than we afterwards found it to be."

Taking advantage of the Gulf Stream, they approached the east of Florida; and on the second of

July came into shoal waters; where the odoriferous smell of flowers indicated the land to be near, though not within sight. On the fourth they saw land; along which they sailed forty leagues before they found an entrance. At the first opening, they cast anchor, (July 13,) and having devoutly given thanks to God, for their safe arrival on the coast, they went ashore in their boats, and took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth.

The place where they landed was a sandy island, called Woccon,* about sixteen miles in length and six in breadth, full of cedars, pines, cypress, sassafras, and other trees; among which were many vines loaded with grapes. In the woods they found deer and hares; and in the waters and marshes various kinds of fowl; but no human creature was seen till the third day; when a canoe, with three men, came along by the shore. One of them landed; and, without any fear or precaution, met the Europeans and addressed them in a friendly manner, in his own language. They carried him on board one of their vessels; gave him a shirt and some other trifles, and regaled him with meat and wine. He then returned to his canoe; and with his companions went a fishing. When the canoe was filled, they brought the fish on shore and divided them into two heaps; making signs, that each of the vessels should take one.

The next day, several canoes came; in which were forty or fifty people, and among them was Granganimeo, brother of Wingina King of the country; who was confined at home by the wounds, which he had received in battle, with a neighbouring Prince. The manner of his approach was fearless and respectful. He left his boats at a distance; and came along the shore, accompanied by all his people, till he was abreast of the ships. Then advancing with four men only, who spread a mat on the ground, he sat down on one end; and the four men on the other. When the English went on shore, armed, he beckoned to them to come and sit by him; which they did, and he made signs of joy and friendship, striking with his hand on his head and breast, and then on theirs, to show that they were all one. None of his people spoke a word; and when the English offered them presents, he took them all into his own possession; making signs that they were his servants and that all which they had, belonged to him.

After this interview, the natives came in great numbers and brought skins, coral, and materials for dyes; but when Granganimeo was present, none were permitted to trade, but himself and those who had a piece of copper on their heads. Nothing pleased him so much as a tin plate, in which he made a hole and hung it over his breast, as a piece of defensive armour. He supplied them every day with venison, fish, and fruits, and invited them to visit him at his village, on the north end of an island called Roanoke.

This village consisted of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified with sharp palisades. When the English arrived there in their boat, Granganimeo was absent; but his wife entertained them with the kindest hospitality, washed their feet and their clothes, ordered their boat to be drawn ashore and their oars to be secured; and then seated them with venison, fish, fruits, and homony†. Whilst they were at supper, some of her men came in from hunting, with their bows and arrows in their hands; on which her guests began to mistrust danger; but she ordered their bows to be taken from them, and their arrows to be broken; and then turned them out at the gate. The English however thought it most prudent to pass the night in their boat, which they launched and laid at anchor. At this she was much grieved; but finding all her solicitations ineffectual, she ordered the victuals in the pots to be put on board, with mats to cover the people from the rain; and appointed several persons of both sexes to keep guard on the beach during the whole night.—

* This island is generally supposed to be one of those which lie at the mouth of Albemarle sound, on the coast of North Carolina. Barlow, in his letter to Sir W. Raleigh, preserved by Hakluyt, says, that he, with seven others, went in about "twenty miles into the river Occoman, and the evening following, came to an island called Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which he entered, seven leagues; at the north end thereof was a village." Mr. Stith, who wrote the history of Virginia, and who acknowledges that he had not seen this letter in English but in a Latin translation, supposes, that the island Woccon must lie between cape Hatteras and Cape Fear, and that the distance might be 30 leagues. But it appears from Barlow's letter that the boat went in one day and came in the evening to the north end of Roanoke; the distance is twice mentioned, once in miles and once in leagues. It is no reason therefore, to suppose that Stith's conjecture is in opposition to Barlow. Stith however appears to have been a very close and accurate inquirer, as far as his materials and opportunity permitted.

† Homony is made of Indian corn beaten in a mortar and separated from the bran; then boiled either by itself or in the broth of meat.

Could there be a more engaging specimen of generous hospitality?

These people were characterised as "gentle, loving and faithful; void of guile and treachery; living after the manner of the golden age; caring only to feed themselves, with such food as the soil afforded, and to defend themselves from the cold, in their short winter."

No further discovery was made of the country by these adventurers. From the natives they obtained some uncertain account of its geography, and of a ship which had been wrecked on the coast between twenty and thirty years before. They carried away two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo; and arrived in the west of England about the middle of September.

The account of this discovery was so welcome to Queen Elizabeth, that she named the country *Virginia*; either in memory of her own virginity, or because it retained its virgin purity, and the people their primitive simplicity.

About this time Raleigh was elected knight of the shire, for his native county of Devon; and in the Parliament which was held in the succeeding winter, he caused a bill to be brought into the House of Commons to confirm his patent for the discovery of foreign countries. After much debate, the bill was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent.—In addition to which, the Queen conferred on him the order of Knighthood.

A second expedition being resolved on, Sir Richard Grenville himself took the command, and with seven vessels, large and small, sailed from Plymouth, on the ninth of April, 1585. They went in the usual course by the Canaries and the West Indies; where they took two Spanish prizes; and, after narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear, arrived at Woccon the 26th of June.*

The natives came, as before, to bid them welcome and to trade with them. Manteo, whom they had brought back proved a faithful guide, and piloted them about from place to place. In an excursion of eight days with their boats, they visited several Indian villages, on the islands and on the main, adjoining to Albemarle Sound. At one place, called Aquascoogok, an Indian stole from them a silver cup. Inquiry being made, the offender was detected and promised to restore it; but the promise being not speedily performed, a hasty and severe revenge was taken, by the orders of Grenville; the town was burnt and the corn destroyed in the fields, (July 16) whilst the affrighted people fled to the woods for safety. From this ill judged act of violence, may be dated the misfortunes and failure of this colony.

Leaving one hundred and eight persons to attempt a settlement, Grenville proceeded with his fleet to the island of Hatteras; where he received a visit from Granganimeo, and then sailed for England. On the 13th of September he arrived at Plymouth; with a rich Spanish prize which he had taken on the passage.

Of the colony left in Virginia, Ralph Lane was appointed Governor. He was a military man, of considerable reputation in the service. Philip Amadas, who had commanded in the first voyage, was Admiral. They chose the island of Roanoke in the mouth of Albemarle Sound, as the place of their residence; and their chief employment was to explore and survey the country, and describe the persons and manners of its inhabitants. For these purposes, Sir Walter Raleigh had sent John Withe, an ingenious painter; and Thomas Hariot, a skilful mathematician, and a man of curious observation: both of whom performed their parts with fidelity and success.†

The farthest discovery which they made to the southward of Roanoke was Secotan, an Indian town between the rivers of Pamptico and Neus, distant eighty leagues. To the northward they went about forty leagues, to a nation called Chespeangs, on a small river now called Elisabeth, which falls into

* Mr. Stith mistakes in saying May 26, and Sir William Knelt, who copies for him, adopts the same mistake.

† The drawings which Mr. Withe made were engraven and printed at Frankfurt (1590) by Theodore de Bry. They represented the persons and habits of the natives, their employments, diversions, and superstitions. From these, the prints in Beverly's history of Virginia are copied.

Mr. Hariot wrote a topographical description of the country and its natural history, which is preserved in Hakluyt's collection vol. iii. 221. It was translated into Latin, and published by De Bry in his collection of voyages. It has been supposed that Raleigh himself came to Virginia with this colony. This is a mistake, grounded on a mistranslation of a passage in Hariot's narrative. It is thus expressed in English: "The actions of those who have been by Sir Walter Raleigh therein employed." Which is thus rendered in the Latin translation, "qui generosum W. Waterum Raleigh, in eam rem cum comitibus suis, Stith, &c. 2.

Chesapeake bay, below Norfolk. To the westward they went up Albemarle Sound and Chowan river, about forty leagues, to a nation called Chowanogs; whose king, Menatonona, amused them with a story of a copper mine and a pearl fishery; in search of which they spent so much time and so exhausted their provisions, that they were glad to eat their dogs before they returned to Roanoke.

During this excursion, their friend Granganimeo died; and his brother Wingina discovered his hostile disposition toward the colony. The return of Mr. Lane and his party, from their excursion, gave a check to his malice for a while; but he secretly laid a plot for their destruction; which being betrayed by the English, they seized all the boats on the island. This brought on a skirmish, in which five or six Indians were killed, and the rest fled to the woods. After much jealousy and dissimulation on both sides, Wingina was drawn into a snare; and with eight of his men, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of the English.

In a few days after Wingina's death, Sir Frances Drake, who had been cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and had received orders from the Queen to visit this colony, arrived with his fleet on the coast; and by the unanimous desire of the people, took them all off and carried them to England, where they arrived in July 1586.

Within a fortnight after the departure of this unfortunate colony, Sir Richard Grenville arrived with three ships for their relief. Finding their habitation abandoned, and being unable to gain any intelligence of them, he landed fifty men on the island of Roanoke, plentifully supplied with provisions for two years, and then returned to England.

The next year (1587) three ships were sent, under the command of John White, who was appointed Governor of the colony, with twelve Counsellors. To them Raleigh gave a charter of incorporation for the city of Raleigh, which he ordered them to build on the river Chesapeake, the northern extent of the discovery. After narrowly escaping shipwreck on Cape Fear they arrived at Hatteras, on the 22d of July, and sent a party to Roanoke to look for the second colony of fifty men. They found no person living, and the bones of but one dead. The huts were standing, but were overgrown with bushes and weeds. In conversing with some of the natives, they were informed, that the colony had been destroyed by Wingina's people, in revenge of his death.

Mr. White endeavored to renew a friendly intercourse with those natives; but their jealousy rendered them implacable. He therefore went across the water to the main with a party of twenty-five men, and came suddenly on a company of friendly Indians, who were seated round a fire, one of whom they killed before they discovered the mistake.

Two remarkable events are mentioned as happening at this time; one was the baptism of Manteo, the faithful Indian guide; the other was the birth of a female child, daughter of Ananias Dare, one of the council; which, being the first child born in the colony, was named Virginia.

By this time (August 21) the ships had unloaded their stores and were preparing to return to England. It was evident that a further supply was necessary, and that some person must go home to solicit it. A dispute arose in the Council on this point, and after much altercation, it was determined, that the Governor was the most proper person to be sent on this errand. The whole colony joined in requesting him to proceed, promising to take care of his interest in his absence. With much reluctance he consented, on their subscribing a testimonial of his unwillingness to quit the plantation. He accordingly sailed on the 27th of August, and arrived in England the following November. The nation was in a state of alarm and apprehension on account of the war with Spain, and of the invincible armada, which had threatened it with an invasion. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the Queen's Council of war, as were also Sir Richard Grenville and Mr. Lane. Their time was wholly taken up with public consultations, and Governor White was obliged to wait, till the plan of operations against the enemy could be adjusted and carried into execution.

The next spring, Raleigh and Grenville, who had the command of the militia in Cornwall, and were training them for the defence of the kingdom, being strongly solicited by White, provided two small barks, which sailed from Bideford on the 22d of April 1588.—These vessels had commissions as ships of war, and being more intent on gain to themselves, than relief to the colony, went in chase of prizes, and were both

driven back by ships of superior force, to the great mortification of their patron, and the ruin of his colony.

These disappointments were a source of vexation to Raleigh. He had expended forty thousand pounds, of his own and other men's money, in pursuit of his favorite object, and his gains were yet to come. He therefore made an assignment of his patent (March 7, 1589) to Thomas Smith, and other merchants and adventurers, among whom was Governor White, with a donation of one hundred pounds for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia. Being thus disengaged from the business of colonization; he had full scope for his martial genius in the war with Spain.

His assignees were not so zealous in the prosecution of their business. It was not till the spring of 1590, that Governor White could return to his colony. Then, with three ships, he sailed from Plymouth, and passing through the West Indies in quest of Spanish prizes, he arrived at Hatteras on the 15th of August. From this place they observed a smoke arising on the island of Roanoke, which gave them some hope that the colony was there subsisting; on their coming to the place, they found old trees and grass burning, but no human being. On a post of one of the houses they saw the word *Croatan*, which gave them some hope, that at the island of that name they should find their friends. They sailed for that island: which lay southward of Hatteras; but a violent storm arising, in which they lost their anchors, they were obliged to quit the inhospitable coast and return home; nor was any thing afterward heard of the unfortunate colony.

The next year (1591) Sir Richard Grenville was mortally wounded in an engagement with a Spanish fleet; and died on board the Admiral's ship, where he was a prisoner.

Raleigh, though disengaged from the business of colonizing Virginia, sent five times at his own expense to seek for and relieve his friends; but the persons whom he employed, having more profitable business in the West Indies, either went not to the place, or were forced from it by stress of weather, it being a tempestuous region, and without any safe harbor. The last attempt which he made, was in 1602; the year before his imprisonment; an event which gratified the malice of his enemies, and prepared the way for his death; which was much less ignominious to him than to his sovereign, King James I, the British Solomon; successor to Elizabeth, the British Deborah.*

This unfortunate attempt to settle a colony in Virginia, was productive of one thing which will always render it memorable, the introduction of tobacco into England. Cartier, in his visit to Canada fifty years before, had observed that the natives used this weed fumigation, but it was an object of disgust to Frenchmen. Ralph Lane, at his return in 1586, brought it first into Europe; and Raleigh, who was a man of gaiety and fashion, not only learned the use of it himself, but introduced it into the polite circles; and even the Queen herself gave encouragement to it. Some humorous stories respecting it are still remembered. Raleigh laid a wager with the Queen, that he would determine exactly, the weight of smoke which issued from his pipe. This he did by first weighing the tobacco and then the ashes. When the Queen paid the wager, she pleasantly observed, that many laborers had turned their gold into smoke, but that he was the first who had converted smoke into gold.

It is also related that a servant of Sir Walter, bringing a tankard of ale into his study as he was smoking his pipe, and reading, was so much alarmed at the appearance of smoke, issuing out of his mouth, that he threw the ale into his face, and ran down to alarm the family, crying out that his master was on fire.

King James had so refined a taste, that he not only held this Indian weed in great abhorrence himself, but endeavored, by proclamations and otherwise, to prevent the use of it among his subjects. But all his zeal and authority could not suppress it. Since his time it has become an important article of commerce, by which individuals in Europe and America, as well as colonies and nations, have risen to great opulence.

JOHN DE FUCA.

JOHN DE FUCA—A native of Greece—An account of his adventures and discoveries given by himself—Locke endeavors to procure De Fuca a commission.—Remarks.

WHEN the existence of a western continent was known to the maritime nations of Europe, one great

*As a specimen of the language of that time, let the reader take the following extract from Purchas.

"He [i. e. King James] is beyond comparison a more transcendent, beyond all his predecessors, princes of this realm; beyond the neighboring princes of his own time; beyond the

object of their inquiry was, to find, through some openings which appeared in it, a passage to India and China. For this purpose several expensive and unsuccessful voyages were made; and every hint which could throw any light on the subject was eagerly sought and attended to by those who considered its importance.

JOHN DE FUCA was a Greek, born in the island of Cephalonia, in the Adriatic gulf. He had been employed in the service of Spain, in the West Indies, as a mariner and pilot, above forty years. Having lost his fortune, amounting (as he said) to sixty thousand ducats, when the Acapulco ship was taken, by Capt. Cavendish, an Englishman; and being disappointed of the recompense which he had expected from the court of Spain; he returned in disgust to his native country, by the way of Italy; that he might spend the evening of his life, in peace and poverty, among his friends.

At Florence he met with John Douglas, an Englishman, and went with him to Venice. There, Douglas introduced him to Michael Lock, who had been Consul of the Turkey company at Aleppo, and was then occasionally resident in Venice. (A. D. 1596.)

In conversation with Mr. Lock, De Fuca gave him the following account of his adventures.

"That he had been sent by the Viceroy of Mexico, as pilot of three small vessels, to discover the straits of Anian, on the western coast of America; through which, it was conjectured that a passage might be found, into some of the deep bays on the eastern side of the continent. This voyage was frustrated, by the misconduct of the commander, and the mutiny of the seamen.

"In 1592 the Viceroy sent him again, with the command of a caravel and a pinnace, on the same enterprise. Between the latitudes of 47° and 48° N. he discovered an inlet, into which he entered and sailed more than twenty days. At the entrance was a great headland, with an exceeding high pinnacle or spired rock, like a pillar. Within the strait, the land stretched N. W. and N. E. and also E. and S. E. It was much wider within, than at the entrance, and contained many islands. The inhabitants were clad in the skins of beasts. The land appeared to be fertile like that of New Spain, and was rich in gold and silver.

"Supposing that he had accomplished the intention of the voyage and penetrated into the North Sea; but not being strong enough to resist the force of the numerous savages, who appeared on the shores; he returned to Acapulco, before the expiration of the year."

Such was the account given by De Fuca; and Mr. Lock was so impressed with the sincerity of the relation and the advantages which his countrymen might derive from a knowledge of this strait, that he earnestly urged him to enter into the service of Queen Elizabeth, and perfect the discovery. He succeeded so far, as to obtain a promise from the Greek, though sixty years old, that if the Queen would furnish him with one ship, of forty tons, and a pinnace, he would undertake the voyage. He was the more easily persuaded to this, by a hope that the Queen would make him some recompense for the loss of his fortune by Capt. Cavendish.

Mr. Lock wrote to the Lord Treasurer Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Hakluyt, requesting that they would forward the scheme, and that one hundred pounds might be advanced to bring De Fuca to England. The scheme was approved, but the money was not advanced. Lock was so much engaged in it, that he would have sent him to England at his own expense, but he was then endeavoring to recover at law, his demands from the Turkey company, and could not disburse the money. The pilot therefore returned to Cephalonia; and Lock kept up a correspondence with him, till 1602, when he heard of his death.

Though this account, preserved by Purchas, bears sufficient marks of authenticity; yet it has been rejected as fabulous for nearly two centuries; and is treated so even by the very candid Dr. Foster. Late voyages however, have established the existence of the strait; and De Fuca is no longer to be considered as an impostor; though the gold and silver in his account were but conjectural.

The strait which now bears his name is formed by land, which is supposed to be the continent of America on one side; and by a very extensive cluster of Islands on the other. Its southern entrance

conceit of subjects dazzled with so much brightness; beyond our victorious Deborah, not in sex alone, but as peace is more excellent than war, and Solomon than David; in this also that he is, and we enjoy his present sunshine."

lies in lat. $48^{\circ} 20'$ N. long. 124° W. from Greenwich, and is about seven leagues wide. On the larboard side, which is composed of islands, the land is very mountainous; rising abruptly in high and sharp peaks. On the starboard side, is a point of land terminating in a remarkably tall rock, called the pillar. Within the entrance, the passage grows wider, extending to the S. E., N. and N. W. and is full of islands. On the E. and N. E. at a great distance are seen the tops of mountains, supposed to be on the continent; but the ships trading for furs have not penetrated far to the eastward; the sea otters being their principal object, and the land furs of small consideration. For this reason the eastern boundary of the inland sea is not yet fully explored. The strait turns to the N. and N. W. enclosing a large cluster of islands, among which is situate Nootka Sound, and comes into the Pacific ocean again in latitude $51^{\circ} 15'$, long. $128^{\circ} 40'$. This extremity of the strait is called its northern entrance, and is wider than the southern.

Another strait has been lately seen which is supposed to be that of De Fonte, a Spanish admiral, discovered in 1640; the existence of which has also been treated as fabulous. The cluster of islands, called by the British seamen, Queen Charlotte's, and by the Americans, Washington's Islands, are in the very spot where De Fonte placed the Archipelago of St. Lazarus. The entrance of this strait has been visited by the fur ships. It lies in lat. $54^{\circ} 35'$ and long 131° W.

These recent and well established facts may induce us to treat the relations of foreign voyages with decent respect. The circumnavigation of Africa by the ancient Phenicians, was for several ages deemed fabulous by the learned Greeks and Romans. But its credibility was fully established by the Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century. In like manner the discoveries of De Fuca and De Fonte, which have long been stigmatized by geographers as *pretended*, and marked in their maps as *imaginary*, are now known to have been founded in truth, though from the imperfection of instruments or the inaccuracy of historians, the degrees and minutes of latitude and longitude were not precisely marked, and though some circumstances in their accounts are but conjectural. Farther discoveries may throw new light on the subject, and though, perhaps, a N. W. passage by sea from the Atlantic into the Pacific may not exist; yet bays, rivers and lakes are so frequent in those northern regions of our continent, that an inland navigation may be practicable.

It has been suggested that the company of English merchants who enjoy an exclusive trade to Hudson's Bay have, from interested motives, concealed their knowledge of its western extremities. Whether there be any just foundation for this censure, I do not pretend to determine; but a survey is now said to be making, from which it is hoped, that this long contested question of a N. W. passage will receive a full solution.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD—His Voyage to America—His arrival in Virginia—Description of the Sea-coast—Visit of the Indians—Abandonment of the Colony by the English.

THE unfortunate issue of Raleigh's attempt to make a settlement in America, together with the war with Spain, which continued for several years, gave a check to the spirit of colonizing. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was revived by BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, an intrepid mariner in the west of England. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia does not appear; but on the 26th of March 1602, he sailed from Falmouth in Cornwall, in a small bark with thirty-two men. Instead of going by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies, he kept as far north as the winds would permit, and was the first Englishman who came in a direct course to this part of America.

On the 14th of May they made the land, and met with a shoal of European fabric, in which were eight savages, one of whom was dressed in European clothes, from which they concluded that some unfortunate fishermen of Biscay or Brittany had been wrecked on the coast.

The next day they had again sight of land, which appeared like an island, by reason of a large sound which lay between it and the main. This sound they called Shole Hope. Near this cape they took a great number of cod, from which circumstance they named the land *Cape Cod*. It is described as a low sandy shore, in the lat. 42° . The captain went on shore and found the sand very deep. A young Indian, with plates of copper hanging to his ears, and a bow and arrows in

his hand, came to him, and in a friendly manner offered his service.

On the 16th they coasted the land southerly, and at the end of twelve leagues discovered a point with breakers at a distance; and in attempting to double it, came suddenly into shoal water. To this point of land they gave the name of Point Care; it is now called Sandy Point, and forms the south-eastern extremity of the county of Barnstable, in Massachusetts.

Finding themselves surrounded by shoals and breakers, they lay at anchor till they had examined the coast and soundings in their boat; during which time some of the natives made them a visit. One of them had a plate of copper over his breast, a foot in length and half a foot in breadth; the others had pendants of the same metal at their ears; they all had pipes of tobacco, of which they were very fond.

In surveying the coast they discovered breakers lying off a point of land, which they denominated Gilbert's Point; it is now called Point Gammon, and forms the eastern side of the harbor of Hyennas.

On the 19th they passed the breach of Gilbert's Point, in four and five fathoms of water, and anchored a league or more to the westward of it. Several hummocks and hills appeared, which at first were taken to be islands; these were the high lands of Barnstable and Yarmouth.

To the westward of Gilbert's Point appeared an opening, which Gosnold imagined to have a communication with the supposed sound which he had seen westward of Cape Cod; he therefore gave it the same name, Shole Hope; but finding the water to be no more than three fathoms deep, at the distance of a league, he did not attempt to enter it. From this opening the land tended to the south-west; and in coasting it, they came to an island, to which they gave the name of *Martha's Vineyard*. This island is described as "distant eight leagues from Shole Hope, five miles in circuit, and uninhabited; full of wood, vines, and berries; here they saw deer and took abundance of cod."

From their station off this island, where they rode in eight fathoms, they sailed on the 24th, and doubled the cape of another island, next to it which they called Dover Cliff. This course brought them into a sound, where they anchored for the night, and the next morning sent their boat to examine another cape which lay between them and the main, from which projected a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea, but all above water, and not dangerous. Having passed round them, they came to anchor again in one of the finest sounds they had ever seen; and to which they gave the name of Gosnold's Hope. On the northern side of it was the main; and on the southern, parallel to it, at the distance of four leagues, was a large island, which they called Elizabeth, in honor of their queen. On this island they determined to take up their abode, and pitched upon a small woody islet in the middle of a fresh pond, as a safe place to build their fort. A little to the northward of this large island lay a small one, half a mile in compass, and full of cedars. This they called Hill's Hap. On the opposite shore appeared another similar elevation to which they gave the name of Hap's Hill.

By this description of the coast, it is evident that the sound into which Gosnold entered was Buzzard's Bay. The island which he called Martha's Vineyard, was not that which now goes by that name, but a small island, the easternmost of those which are known by the name of Elizabeth's Islands. It is called by the Indians *Nemimisset*; its present circumference is about four miles, but it has doubtless been diminished since Gosnold's time, by the force of the tides which set into and out of the bay with great rapidity. Its natural productions and pleasant situation answer well to his description; and deer are frequently seen and hunted upon it; but none were ever known to have been on the great island, now called Martha's Vineyard, which is above twenty miles in length, and was always full of inhabitants. For what reason and at what time the name was transferred from the one to the other, I have not yet learned.

The cliff named Dover is supposed to be the eastern head of a small island which was called by the natives *Onky Tonky*, and is now corrupted into *Unele Timmy*. The rocky ledge is called *Rattlesnake Neck*. Hill's Hap consists now of two very small islands, called *Wickpicket's*. There is every appearance that these were formerly united, and there are now a few cedars on them. Hap's Hill, on the opposite part of the main, is a small elevated island, of an oval form, near the mouth of a river which passes through the towns of Wareham and Rochester. It is a conspicuous object to navigators.

The island on which Gosnold and his company took up their abode, is now called by its Indian name *Naushaun*, and is the property of the Honorable JAMES BOWDOIN, of Boston, to whom I am indebted for these remarks on Gosnold's journal, which is extant at large in Purchas's collections.

Near the southwest end of Naushaun is a large fresh pond; such an one as answers Gosnold's description, excepting that there is no islet in the middle of it. The shore is sandy; but what revolution may have taken place within the space of almost two centuries past, we cannot say.

Whilst some of Gosnold's men labored in building a fort and storehouse on the small island in the pond, and a flat boat to go to it, he crossed the bay in his vessel and discovered the mouths of two rivers; one was that near which lay Hap's Hill, and the other, that on the shore of which the town of New Bedford is now built.

After five days absence, Gosnold returned to the island and was received by his people with great ceremony, on account of an Indian chief and fifty of his men who were there on a visit. To this chief they presented a straw hat and two knives; the hat he little regarded, but the knives were highly valued. They feasted these savages with fish and mustard, and diverted themselves with the effect of the mustard on their noses. One of them stole a target but it was restored. They did not appear to be inhabitants, but occasional visitants at the island, for the sake of gathering shell fish. Four of them remained after the others were gone, and helped the English to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as the furs which they bought of the Indians, the vessel was loaded.

After spending three weeks in preparing a storehouse, when they came to divide their provision, there was not enough to victual the ship, and to subsist the planters till the ship's return. Some jealousy also arose about the intentions of those who were going back; and after five days's consultation they determined to give up their design of planting and return to England. On the eighteenth of June they sailed out of the bay through the same passage by which they had entered it; and on the twenty-third of July they arrived at Exmouth, in the west of England.

Gosnold's intention was to have remained with a part of his men, and to have sent Gilbert, the second in command, to England, for farther supplies; but half of so small a company would not have been a sufficient number to resist the savages, had they been disposed to attack them.

After his return to England he was indefatigable in his endeavors to forward the settling of a colony in America, and was one of those who embarked in the next expedition to Virginia, where he had the rank of a counsellor, and where he died in the year 1607.

JOHN SMITH.

JOHN SMITH—His travels and adventures on the Continent—He joins the Austrian army—His Encounter with the Turks—Smith is made Prisoner—He is sold as a slave—His escape and return to England—He meets Gosnold—They sail to Virginia—Difficulties in the company—Smith is taken prisoner by the Indians—He is condemned to death—He is saved by POCAHONTAS, daughter of the Indian Chief—His release—His Discoveries—Smith is made President of Virginia—His Fame among the Indians—His singular Discipline—His Return to England—His Voyage to North Virginia—His Writings—His Death.

THOUGH the early part of the life of this extraordinary man was spent in foreign travels and adventures which have no reference to America, yet the incidents of that period so strongly mark his character, and give such a tincture to his subsequent actions, and are withal so singular in themselves, that no reader (it is presumed) will censure the introduction of them here as impertinent.

He was born at Willoughby, in Lincolnshire, in the year 1579.* From the first dawn of reason, he discovered a roving and romantic genius, and delighted in extravagant and daring actions among his schoolfellows. When about thirteen years of age, he sold his books and satchel, and his puerile trinkets, to raise money, with a view to convey himself privately to sea; but the death of his father put a stop for the present to this attempt, and threw him into the hands of guardians,

* This is determined by an inscription annexed to his portrait on his map of New England—"Etat 37. Anno 1616."

This portrait represents him clad in armour, and under it are these verses:

"Such are the lines that show thy face; but those
That show thy grace and glory brighter be;
Thy faire discoveries and fowle overthrowes
Of salvages much civillized by thee,
Best show thy spirit, and to it glory win,
So thou art brasse without, but golde within."

who endeavored to check the ardor of his genius by confining him to a counting house. Being put apprentice to a merchant at Lynn, at the age of fifteen, he at first conceived hopes that his master would send him to sea in his service, but this hope failing, he quitted his master, and with only ten shillings in his pocket, entered into the train of a young nobleman who was travelling to France. At Orleans he was discharged from his attendance on Lord Bertie, and had money given him to return to England. With this money he visited Paris, and proceeded to the Low Countries, where he enlisted as a soldier, and learned the rudiments of war, a science peculiarly agreeable to his ardent and active genius. Meeting with a Scots gentleman abroad, he was persuaded to pass into Scotland, with the promise of being strongly recommended to King James; but being baffled in this expectation, he returned to his native town, and finding no company there which suited his taste, he built a booth in a wood, and betook himself to the study of military history and tactics, diverting himself at intervals with his horse and lance; in which exercise he at length found a companion, an Italian gentleman, rider to the Earl of Lincoln, who drew him from his sylvan retirement to Tatteral.

Having recovered a part of the estate which his father had left him, he put himself into a better condition than before, and set off again on his travels, in the winter of the year 1596, being then only seventeen years of age. His first stage was Flanders, where meeting with a Frenchman who pretended to be heir to a noble family, he, with his three attendants, prevailed upon Smith to go with them to France. In a dark night they arrived at St. Valery in Picardy, and, by the connivance of the ship master, the Frenchmen were carried ashore with the trunks of our young traveller, whilst he was left on board till the return of the boat. In the mean time they had conveyed the baggage out of his reach, and were not to be found. A sailor on board, who knew the villains, generously undertook to conduct him to Mortaine where they lived, and supplied his wants till their arrival at the place. Here he found their friends, from whom he could gain no recompense; but the report of his sufferings induced several persons of distinction to invite him to their houses.

Eager to pursue his travels, and not caring to receive favors which he was unable to requite, he left his new friends, and went from port to port in search of a ship of war. In one of these rambles, near Dinan, it was his chance to meet one of the villains who had robbed him. Without speaking a word, they both drew; and Smith having wounded and disarmed his antagonist, obliged him to confess his guilt before a number of persons who had assembled on the occasion.

Satisfied with his victory, he retired to the seat of an acquaintance, the Earl of Plover, who had been brought up in England, and having received supplies from him, he travelled along the French coast to Bayonne, and from thence crossed over to Marseilles; visiting and observing every thing in his way which had any reference to naval or military architecture.

At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, in company with a rabble of pilgrims. The ship was forced by a tempest into the harbor of Toulon, and afterwards was obliged by a contrary wind to anchor under the little island of St. Mary, off Nice, in Savoy. The bigotry of the pilgrims made them ascribe their ill fortune to the presence of a heretic on board. They devoutly cursed Smith, and his Queen Elizabeth, and in a fit of pious rage threw him into the sea. He swam to the island, and the next day was taken on board a ship of St. Male which had also put in there for shelter. The master of the ship, who was well known to his noble friend, the Earl of Plover, entertained him kindly, and carried him to Alexandria in Egypt; from thence he coasted the Levant; and on his return had the high satisfaction of a naval engagement with a Venetian ship, which they took and rifled of her rich cargo. Smith was set on shore at Antibes, with a box of a thousand chequins (about two thousand dollars), by the help of which, he made the tour of Italy, crossed the Adriatic and travelled into Stiria, to the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Here he met with an English and an Irish Jesuit who introduced him to Lord Eberspaught, Baron Kizel, and other officers of distinction, and here he found full scope for his genius; for the Emperor being then at war with the Turks, he entered into his army as a volunteer.

He had communicated to Eberspaught a method of conveying at a distance by signals made with torches, which being alternately shown and hidden a certain number of times, designated every letter of the alpha-

bet. He had soon an opportunity of making the experiment. Eberspaught being besieged by the Turks in the strong town of Olmpach, was cut off from all intelligence and hope of succour from his friends. Smith proposed his method of communication to Baron Kizel, who approved it, and allowed him to put it in practice.* He was conveyed by a guard to a hill within view of the town, and sufficiently remote from the Turkish camp. At the display of the signal, Eberspaught knew and answered it, and Smith conveyed to him this intelligence, "Thursday night, I will charge on the East; at the alarm rally thou." The answer was, "I will." Just before the attack, by Smith's advice, a great number of false fires were made on another quarter, which divided the attention of the enemy and gave advantage to the assailants; who, being assisted by a sally from the town, killed many of the Turks, drove others into the river, and threw succours into the place, which obliged the enemy the next day to raise the siege. This well conducted exploit, produced to our young adventurer, the command of a company, consisting of two hundred and fifty horsemen in the regiment of Count Meldrick, a nobleman of Transylvania.

The regiment in which he served being engaged in several hazardous enterprises, Smith was foremost in all dangers and distinguished himself both by his ingenuity and by his valor; and when Meldrick left the Imperial army, and passed into the service of his native prince, Smith followed him.

At the siege of Regal, the Ottomans derided the slow approaches of the Transylvanian army, and sent a challenge, purporting that the Lord Turbisha, to divert the ladies, would fight any single captain of the Christian troops. The honor of accepting this challenge being determined by lot, fell on Captain Smith; who, meeting his antagonist on horseback, within view of the ladies on the battlements, at the sound of music began the encounter, and in a short time killed him, and bore away his head in triumph to his general the Lord Moyzes.

The death of the chief so irritated his friend Gualgo, that he sent a particular challenge to the conqueror, who, meeting him with the same ceremonies, after a smart combat took off his head also. Smith then in his turn sent a message into the town, informing the ladies, that if they wished for more diversion, they should be welcome to his head, in case their third champion could take it. This challenge was accepted by Bonamolgo, who unhorsed Smith and was near gaining the victory. But remounting in a critical moment, he gave the Turk a stroke with his faulchion which brought him to the ground, and his head was added to the number. For these singular exploits he was honored with a military procession, consisting of six thousand men, three led horses, and the Turks' heads on the points of three lances. With this ceremony Smith was conducted to the pavilion of his general, who, after embracing him, presented him with a horse richly furnished, a scymitar and belt worth three hundred ducats, and a commission to be major in his regiment. The prince of Transylvania, after the capture of the place, made him a present of his picture set in gold, and a pension of three hundred ducats per annum, and moreover granted him a coat of arms bearing three Turks' heads in a shield. The patent was admitted and recorded in the college of Heralds in England, by Sir Henry Segar, garter-king-at-arms. Smith was always proud of this distinguishing honor, and these arms are accordingly blazoned in the frontispiece to his history, with this motto,

"Vincere est vivere."

After this, the Transylvanian army was defeated by a body of Turks and Tartars near Retenton, and many brave men were slain, among whom were nine English and Scotch officers, who, after the fashion of that day, had entered into this service from a religious zeal to drive the Turks out of Christendom. Smith was wounded in this battle and lay among the dead. His habit discovered him to the victors as a person of consequence: they used him well till his wounds were healed, and then sold him to the Basha Bogal, who sent him as a present to his mistress Fragabizanda at Constantinople, accompanied with a message, as full

* The method is this: First, three torches are shown in a line equidistant from each other, which are answered by three others in the same manner: then the message being written as briefly as possible, and the alphabet divided into two parts, the letters from A to L are signified by showing and hiding one light, as often as there are letters from A to that letter which you mean. The letters from M to Z by two lights in the same manner. The end of a word is signified by showing three lights. At every letter, the light stands till the other party may write it down and answer by his signal, which is one light.

of vanity as void of truth, that he had conquered in battle a Bohemian nobleman, and presented him to her as a slave.

The present proved more acceptable to the lady than her lord intended. She could speak Italian; and Smith, in that language, not only informed her of his country and quality, but conversed with her in so pleasing a manner as to gain her affections. The connexion proved so tender, that to secure him for herself and to prevent his being ill used or sold again, she sent him to her brother, the Basha of Nalbrantz, in the country of the Cambrian Tartars, on the borders of the sea of Asoph. Her pretence was, that he should there learn the manners and language as well as religion of the Tartars. By the terms in which she wrote to her brother, he suspected her design, and resolved to disappoint her. Within an hour after Smith's arrival he was stripped; his head and beard were shaven, an iron collar was put about his neck; he was clothed with a coat of hair cloth, and driven to labor among other Christian slaves. He had now no hope of redemption, but from the love of his mistress, who was at a great distance, and not likely to be informed of his misfortune; the hopeless condition of his fellow-slaves could not alleviate his despondency.

In the depth of his distress, an opportunity presented for an escape, which to a person of a less courageous and adventurous spirit would have proved an aggravation of misery. He was employed in threshing at a grange, in a large field about a league from the house of his tyrant, who in his daily visits treated him with abusive language, accompanied with blows and kicks. This was more than Smith could bear, wherefore watching an opportunity when no other person was present, he levelled a stroke at him with his threshing instrument, which despatched him. Then hiding his body in the straw and shutting the doors, he filled a bag with grain, mounted the Basha's horse, and betaking himself to the desert, wandered for two or three days, ignorant of the way, and so fortunate as not to meet with a single person who might give information of his flight. At length he came to a post erected in a cross road, by the marks on which he found his way to Muscovy, and in sixteen days arrived at Exapolis on the river Don, where was a Russian garrison, the commander of which understanding he was a Christian, received him courteously; took off his iron collar, and gave him letters to the other governors in that region. Thus he travelled through part of Russia and Poland, till he got back to his friends in Transylvania; receiving presents in his way from many persons of distinction, among whom he particularly mentions a charitable lady, Calmata, being always proud of his connexion with that sex, and fond of acknowledging their favors. At Leipsic he met with his colonel, Count Meldrick, and Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who gave him 1500 ducats to repair his losses. With this money he was enabled to travel through Germany, France, and Spain, and having visited the kingdoms of Morocco, he returned by sea to England; having in his passage enjoyed the pleasure of another naval engagement. At his arrival in his native country he had a thousand ducats in his purse, which, with the interest he had remaining in England, he devoted to seek adventures and make discoveries in North America.

Bartholomew Gosnell, having conceived a favorable idea of America, had made it his business on his return to England, to solicit assistance in prosecuting discoveries. Meeting with Captain Smith, he readily entered into his views, the employment being exactly suited to his enterprising genius. Having engaged Edward Maria Wingfield, a merchant, Robert Hunt, a clergyman, and several others, they prevailed upon a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, to solicit a patent from the crown, by which the adventurers to Virginia became subject to legal direction, and had the support and encouragement of a wealthy and respectable corporation; which was usually styled the South Virginia Company, or the London Company, in distinction from the Plymouth Company, who superintended the affairs of North Virginia. The date of their patent was April 10, 1606, and on the 19th of the following December, three ships, one of one hundred tons, another of forty, and one of twenty, fell down the river Thames for Virginia. The commander was Christopher Newport, an experienced mariner. They had on board the necessary persons and provisions for a colony; and their orders for government were sealed in a box, which was not to be opened till they should arrive in Virginia.

The ships were kept in the Downs by bad weather six weeks, and afterwards had a tempestuous voyage. They took the old route by the Canary and Caribbee

Islands, and did not make the entrance of Chesapeake Bay till the 26th of April, 1607. From the beginning of their embarkation there was a jealousy and dissension among the company. Smith and Hunt were friends, and both were envied and suspected by the others. Hunt was judicious and patient; his office secured him from insult. Smith was ardent and industrious, courteous in his deportment, but liberal in his language. On some suggestions that he intended to usurp the government, and that his confederates were dispersed among the companies of each ship, he was made a prisoner from the time of their leaving the Canaries, and was under confinement when they arrived in the Chesapeake. When the box was opened, it was found that Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Edward M. Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendal were named to be of the council; who were to choose a president from among themselves for one year and the government was vested in them. Matters of moment were to be "examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices." When the council was sworn, Wingfield was chosen president, and a declaration was made of the reasons for which Smith was not admitted and sworn among the others.

Seventeen days from their arrival were spent in seeking a proper place for their first plantation. The southern point of the bay was named Cape Henry, and the northern Cape Charles, in honor of the two sons of King James. To the first great river which they discovered they gave the name of their sovereign; and the northern point of its entrance was called Point Comfort, on account of the good channel and anchorage which they found there. On the flats they took plenty of oysters, in some of which were pearls; and on the plain they found large and ripe strawberries, which afforded them a delicious repast.

Having met with five of the natives, they invited them to their town, Kecoughtan, where Hampton is now built. Here they were feasted with cakes made of Indian corn, and regaled with tobacco and a dance. In return they presented the natives beads and other trinkets. Proceeding up the river, another company of Indians appeared in arms. Their chief, Apamaticca, holding in one hand his bow and arrow, and in the other a pipe of tobacco, demanded the cause of their coming; they made signs of peace, and were hospitably received. On the 13th of May they pitched upon a peninsula, where the ships could lie in six fathom water, moored to the trees, as the place of their intended settlement. Here they were visited by Paspiha, another Indian chief, who being made acquainted with their design, offered them as much land as they wanted, and afterwards sent them a deer for their entertainment. On this spot they pitched their tents, and gave it the name of Jamestown.

Every man was now employed either in digging and planting gardens, or making nets, or in cutting and riving timber to reload the ships. The president at first would admit of no martial exercise, nor allow any fortifications to be made, excepting the boughs of trees thrown together in the form of a half moon. Captain Newport took Smith and twenty more with him to discover the head of James river. In six days they arrived at the falls, and erecting a cross, as they had at Cape Henry, took possession of the country in the name of King James. In this route they visited Powhatan, the principal Indian chief, or emperor. His town consisted of twelve houses, pleasantly situated on a hill, before which were three islands, a little below the spot where Richmond is now built. Captain Newport presented a hatchet to this prince, which he gratefully received; and when some of his Indians murmured at the coming of the English among them, he silenced them by saying, "why should we be offended? they hurt us not, nor take any thing by force; they want only a little ground, which we can easily spare." This appearance of friendship was not much relied on, when, at their return to Jamestown, they found that the company had been surprised at their work by a party of Indians, who had killed one and wounded seventeen others. A double-headed shot from one of the ships had cut off a bough of a tree, which falling among the Indians, terrified and dispersed them. This incident obliged the President to alter the plan of the fort, which was now a triangular palisade with a lunette at each angle, and five pieces of artillery were mounted on the works, which were completed by the 15th of June. It was also found necessary to exercise the men at arms, to mount guard and be vigilant; for the Indians would surprise and molest stragglers, whilst by their superior agility they would escape unhurt.

The ships being almost ready to return, it was thought proper that some decision should be had respecting the allegations against Smith. His accusers affected commiseration, and pretended to refer him to the censure of the company in England, rather than to expose him to legal prosecution which might injure his reputation or touch his life. Smith, who knew both their malice and their impotence, openly scorned their pretended pity and defied their resentment. He had conducted himself so unexceptionably in every employment which had been allotted to him, that he had rendered himself very popular; and his accusers had by a different conduct lost the affections and confidence of the people. Those who had been suborned to accuse him acknowledged their fault, and discovered the secret arts which had been practised against him. He demanded a trial, and the issue was, that the president was adjudged to pay him two hundred pounds; but when his property was seized in part of this satisfaction, Smith generously turned it into the common store for the benefit of the colony. Such an action could not but increase his popularity. Many other difficulties had arisen among them, which, by the influence of Smith and the exhortation of Hunt, their chaplain, were brought to a seemingly amicable conclusion. Smith was admitted to his seat in the council, and on the next Sunday they celebrated the communion. At the same time the Indians came in, and voluntarily desired peace. With the good report of these transactions Newport sailed for England, on the 23d of June, promising to return in twenty weeks with fresh supplies.

The colony thus left in Virginia consisted of one hundred and four persons, in very miserable circumstances, especially on account of provisions, to which calamity their long voyage did not a little contribute, both as it consumed their stock, and deprived them of the opportunity of towing seasonably in the spring. Whilst the ships remained, they could barter with the sailors for bread; but after their departure, each man's allowance was half a pint of damaged wheat and as much barley per day. The river, which at the flood was salt, and at the ebb was muddy, afforded them their only drink; it also supplied them with sturgeon and shell-fish. This kind of food, with their continual labor in the heat of summer, and their frequent watchings by night in all weathers, having only the bare ground to lie on, with but slight covering, produced diseases among them, which, by the month of September, carried off fifty persons, among whom was Captain Gosnold. Those who remained were divided into three watches, of whom, not more than five in each were capable of duty at once. All this time the president, Wingfield, who had the key of the stores, monopolized the few refreshments which remained, and was meditating to desert the plantation privately in the pinnace, and remove to the west Indies. These things rendered him so hateful to the rest, that they deposed him, and elected Ratcliffe in his room: they also removed Kendal from his place in the council; so that by the middle of September, three members only were left.

Ratcliffe, being a man of no resolution nor activity, committed the management of affairs abroad to Smith, in whom his confidence was not misplaced. At the same time the Indians in their neighborhood brought in a plentiful supply of such provisions as they had, which revived their drooping spirits; and Smith seeing the necessity of exertion to secure themselves and provide for the approaching winter, partly by his animating speeches, but more by his example, set them to work in mowing and binding thatch, and in building and covering houses. In these exercises he bore a large share, and in a short time got a sufficiency of houses to make comfortable lodgings for all the people excepting himself. This being done, and the provisions which the natives had brought in being expended, he picked a number of the best hands and embarked in a shallop which they had brought from England, to search the country for another supply.

The party which accompanied Smith in this excursion consisted of six men, well armed, but ill provided with clothing and other necessaries. What was wanting in equipment was to be supplied by resolution and address; and Smith's genius was equal to the attempt. They proceeded down the river to Kecoughtan, [Hampton] where the natives, knowing the needy state of the colony, treated them with contempt, offering an ear of corn in exchange for a musket or a sword, and in like proportion for their scant and tattered garments. Finding that courtesy and gentle treatment would not prevail, and that nothing was to be expected in the way of barter, and moreover provoked by their contempt, Smith ordered his boat to be

drawn on shore and his men to fire at them. The affrighted natives fled to the woods, whilst the party searched their houses, in which they found plenty of corn; but Smith did not permit his men to touch it, expecting that the Indians would return and attack them. They soon appeared, to the number of sixty or seventy, formed into a square, carrying their idol *okee*, composed of skins, stuffed with moss, and adorned with chains of copper. They were armed with clubs and targets, bows and arrows, and advanced singing to the charge. The party received them with a volley of shot, which brought several of them to the ground, and their idol among them; the rest fled again to the woods, from whence they sent a deputation to offer peace and redeem their god. Smith, having in his hands so valuable a pledge, was able to bring them to his own terms; he stipulated that six of them should come unarmed, and load his boat with corn, and on this condition he would be their friend and give them hatchets, beads and copper. These stipulations were faithfully performed on both sides; and the Indians, in addition, presented them with venison, turkeys and other birds, and continued singing and dancing till their departure.

The success of this attempt encouraged him to repeat his excursions by land and water; in the course of which he discovered several branches of James river, and particularly the Chickahamony, from whose fertile banks he hoped to supply the colony with provision. But industry abroad will not make a flourishing plantation without economy at home. What he had taken pains and risked his life to provide, was carelessly and wantonly expended; the traffic with the natives being under no regulation, each person made his own bargain, and by outbidding each other, they taught the Indians to set a higher value on their commodities, and to think themselves cheated when they did not all get the same prices. This bred a jealousy and sowed the seeds of a quarrel with them, which the colony were in a poor condition to maintain, being at variance among themselves.

The shallop being again fitted for a trading voyage, whilst Smith was abroad on one of his usual rambles, and the people being discontented with the indolence of Ratcliffe, their President, and the long sickness of Martin, Wingfield and Kendal, who had been displaced, took advantage of Smith's absence, and conspired with some malecontents to run away with the vessel and go to England. Smith returned unexpectedly, and the plot was discovered. To prevent its execution, recourse was had to arms, and Kendal was killed. Another attempt of the same kind was made by Ratcliffe himself, assisted by Archer; but Smith found means to defeat this also. He determined to keep possession of the country, the value of which was daily rising in his estimation; not only as a source of wealth to individuals, but as a grand national object; and he knew that great undertakings could not be accomplished without labor and perseverance.

As the autumn advanced, the waters were covered with innumerable wild-fowl, which, with the addition of corn, beans and pumpkins, procured from the Indians, changed hunger into luxury, and abated the rage for abandoning the country. Smith had been once up the river Chickahamony, but because he had not penetrated to its source, exceptions were taken to his conduct as too dilatory. This imputation he determined to remove. In his next voyage he went so high that he was obliged to cut the trees which had fallen into the river, to make his way through as far as his boat could swim. He then left her in a safe place, ordering his men not to quit her until his return; then taking two of them, and two Indians for guides, he proceeded in one of their canoes to the meadows at the river's head; and leaving his two men with the canoe, he went with his Indian guides across the meadows. A party of 300 Indians below, had watched the motions of the boat. They first surprised the straggling crew, and made one of them prisoner, from whom they learned that Smith was above. They next found the two men whom he had left with the canoe asleep by a fire, and killed them; then having discovered Smith, they wounded him in the thigh with an arrow. Finding himself thus assaulted and wounded, he bound one of his Indian guides with his garters to his left arm, and made use of him as a shield, whilst he despatched three of his enemies and wounded some others. He was retreating to his canoe, when, regarding his enemies more than his footsteps, he suddenly plunged with his guide into an oozy creek, and stuck fast in the mud. The Indians, astonished at his bravery, did not approach him till, almost dead with cold, he threw away his arms, and begged them to draw

him out, which they did and led him to the fire, where his slain companions were lying. This sight admonished him what he was to expect. Being revived by their chafing his benumbed limbs, he called for the chief, Opecankanough, king of Pamaunkee, to whom he presented his ivory compass and dial. The vibrations of the needle, and the fly under the glass, which they could see but not touch, afforded them much amusement; and Smith, having learned some of their language, partly by means of that, and partly by signs entertained them with a description of the nature and uses of the instrument; and gave them such a lecture on the motions of the heavens and earth as amazed them, and suspended for a time the execution of their purpose. At length, curiosity being satiated, they fastened him to a tree, and prepared to despatch him with their arrows. At this instant, the chief holding up the compass, which he esteemed as a divinity, they laid aside their arms, and forming a military procession, led him in triumph to their village Orapaxe. The order of their march was thus: they ranged themselves in a single file, the king in the midst, before him were borne the arms taken from Smith, and his companions; next after the king came the prisoner, held by three stout savages, and on each side a file of six. When they arrived at the village, the old men, women and children came out to receive them; after some manoeuvres, which had the appearance of regularity, they formed themselves round the king and his prisoner into a circle, dancing and singing, adorned with paint, furs and feathers, brandishing their rattles, which were made of the tails of rattlesnakes. After three dances, they dispersed, and Smith was conducted to a long hut, guarded by forty men. There he was so plentifully feasted with bread and venison, that he suspected their intention was to fatten and eat him. One of the Indians, to whom Smith had formerly given beads, brought him a garment of furs to defend him from the cold. Another, whose son was then sick and dying, attempted to kill him, but was prevented by the guard. Smith being conducted to the dying youth, told them that he had a medicine at Jamestown which would cure him, if they would let him fetch it; but they had another design, which was to surprise the place, and to make use of him as a guide. To induce him to perform this service, they promised him his liberty, with as much land and as many women as would content him. Smith magnified the difficulty and danger of their attempt, from the ordnance, mines and other defences of the place, which exceedingly terrified them; and to convince them of the truth of what he told them, he wrote on a leaf of his pocket-book an inventory of what he wanted, with some directions to the people at the fort, how to affright the messengers who went to deliver the letter. They returned in three days, reporting the terror into which they had been thrown; and when they produced the things for which he had written, the whole company were astonished at the power of his divination by the *speaking leaf*.

After this they carried him through several nations, inhabiting the banks of the Potomack and Rapahanock, and at length brought him to Pamaunkee, where they performed a strange ceremony, by which they intended to divine, whether his intentions towards them were friendly or hostile. The manner of it was this: early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on each side, on one of which he was placed, and the guard retired. Presently, an Indian priest, hideously painted, and dressed in furs and snake skins, came skipping in, and after a variety of uncouth noises and gestures, drew a circle with meal round the fire: then came in three more in the same frightful dress, and after they had performed their dance, three others. They all sat opposite to him in a line, the chief priest in the midst. After singing a song, accompanied with the music of their rattles, the chief priest laid down five grains of corn, and after a short speech, three more; this was repeated till the fire was encircled. Then continuing the incantation, he laid sticks between the divisions of the corn. The whole day was spent in these ceremonies, with fasting, and at night a feast was prepared of the beast meats which they had. The same tricks were repeated the two following days. They told him that the circle of meal represented their country, the circle of corn the sea shore, and the sticks his country; they did not acquaint him, or he has not acquainted us, with the result of the operation, but he observed that the gunpowder which they had taken from him, was laid up among their corn, to be planted the next spring.

After these ceremonies, they brought him to the emperor Powhatan, who received him in royal state, clothed in a robe of racoon skins, seated on a kind of throne,

elevated above the floor of a large hut, in the midst of which was a fire; at each hand of the prince sat two beautiful girls, his daughters, and along each side of the house, a row of his counsellors, painted and adorned with feathers and shells. At Smith's entrance a great shout was made. The queen of Apamatox brought him water to wash his hands, and another served him with a bunch of feathers instead of a towel. Having feasted him after their manner, a long consultation was held, which being ended, two large stones were brought in on one of which his head was laid, and clubs were lifted up to beat out his brains. At this critical moment Pocahontas, the king's favorite daughter, flew to him, took his head in her arms, and laid her own upon it. Her tender entreaties prevailed. The king consented that Smith should live, to make hatchets for him, and ornaments for her.

Two days, after, Powhatan caused him to be brought to a distant house; where, after another threatening, he confirmed his promise, and told him he should return to the fort, and send him two pieces of cannon, and a grindstone; for which he would give him the country of Capahousick, and for ever esteem him as his son. Twelve guides accompanied him, and he arrived at Jamestown the next day. According to the stipulation, two guns and a large grindstone were offered them; but having in vain tried to lift them, they were content to let them remain in their place. Smith, however, had the guns loaded, and discharged a volley of stones at a tree covered with icicles. The report and effect confounded them; but being pacified with a few toys, they returned, carrying presents to Powhatan and his daughter of such things as gave them entire satisfaction. After this adventure, the young princess, Pocahontas, frequently visited the plantation with her attendants; and the refreshments which she brought from time to time proved the means of saving many lives, which otherwise would have been lost.

Smith's return happened at another critical juncture. The colony was divided into parties, and the malcontents were again preparing to quit the country. His presence a third time, defeated the project; in revenge for which they meditated to put him to death, under pretence that he had been the means of murdering the two men who went with him in the canoe; but by a proper application of valor and strength, he put his accusers under confinement, till an opportunity presented for sending them as prisoners to England.

The misfortunes and mismanagements of this Virginian colony during the period here related, seem to have originated partly in the tempers and qualifications of the men who were appointed to command, and partly in the nature and circumstances of the adventure. There could be no choice of men for the service but among those who offered themselves; and these were previously strangers to each other, as well as different in their education, qualities and habits. Some of them had been used to the command of ships, and partook of the roughness of the element on which they were bred. It is, perhaps, no great compliment to Smith, to say that he was the best qualified of them for command; since the event proved that none of them who survived the first sickness, had the confidence of the people in any degree. It is certain that his resolution prevented the abandonment of the place the first year; his enterprising spirit led to an exploration of the country, and acquainted them with its many advantages; his captivity produced an intercourse with the savages; and the supplies gained from them, chiefly by means of his address, kept the people alive till the second arrival of the ships from England. The Virginians, therefore, justly regard him, if not as the father, yet as the saviour of that infant plantation.

In the winter of 1607, Capt. Newport arrived from England in Virginia. The other ship, commanded by Capt. Nelson, which sailed at the same time, was dismantled on the American coast, and blown off to the West Indies. The supplies sent by the company were received in Virginia with the most cordial avidity; but the general license given to the sailors, to trade with the savages, proved detrimental to the planters, as it raised the prices of their commodities so high, that a pound of copper would not purchase, what before could be bought for an ounce. Newport himself was not free from this spirit of profusion, so common to seafaring men, which he manifested by sending presents of various kinds to Powhatan, intending thereby to give him an idea of the grandeur of the English nation. In a visit which he made to this prince, under the conduct of Smith, he was received and entertained with an equal show of magnificence; but in trading with the savage chief, he found himself outwitted. Powhatan,

in a lofty strain, spoke to him thus: "It is not agreeable to the greatness of such men as we are, to trade like common people for trifles: lay down therefore at once, all your goods, and I will give you the full value for them." Smith perceived the snare, and warned Newport of it; but he, thinking to outbrave the savage prince, displayed the whole of his store. Powhatan then set such a price on his corn, that not more than four bushels could be procured; and the necessary supplies could not have been had, if Smith's genius, ever ready at invention, had not hit on an artifice which proved successful. He had secreted some trifles, and among them a parcel of *blue beads*, which, seemingly in a careless way, he glanced in the eyes of Powhatan. The bait caught him; and he earnestly desired to purchase them. Smith, in his turn, raised the value of them, extolling them as the most precious jewels, resembling the color of the sky, and proper only for the noblest sovereigns in the universe. Powhatan's imagination was all on fire; he made large offers. Smith insisted on more, and at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take between two and three hundred bushels of corn for about two pounds of blue beads, and they parted in very good humour, each one being very much pleased with his bargain. In a subsequent visit to Opecankanough, King of Pamaunkee, the company were entertained with the same kind of splendor and a similar bargain closed the festivity; by which means, the blue beads grew into such estimation, that none but the princes and their families were able to wear them.

Loaded with this acquisition, they returned to Jamestown; where an unhappy fire had consumed several of their houses, with much of their provisions and furniture. Mr. Hunt, the chaplain, lost his apparel and library in this conflagration, and escaped from it with only the clothes on his back. This misfortune was severely felt; the ship staying in port fourteen weeks, and reserving enough for the voyage home, so contracted their stock of provisions, that before the winter was gone, they were reduced to great extremity, and many of them died. The cause of the ship's detention for so long a time was this: In searching for fresh water in the neighborhood of Jamestown, they had discovered in a rivulet some particles of a yellowish isinglass, which their sanguine imaginations had refined into gold dust. The zeal for this precious matter was so strong, that in digging, washing and packing it to complete the lading of the ship, all other cares were absorbed. This was a tedious interval to Capt. Smith; his judgment condemned their folly, his patience was exhausted, and his passion irritated, and the only recompense which he had for this long vexation, was the pleasure of sending home Wingfield and Archer, when the ship departed.

The other ship arrived in the spring, and notwithstanding a long and unavoidable detention in the West Indies, brought them a comfortable supply of provisions. They took advantage of the opening season, to rebuild their houses and chapel, repair the palisades, and plant corn for the ensuing summer, in all which works the example and authority of Smith, were of eminent service. Every man of activity was fond of him, and those of a contrary disposition were afraid of him. It was proposed that he should go into the country of the Monacans, beyond the falls of James river, that they might have some news of the interior parts to send home to the company; but a fray with the Indians detained him at Jamestown, till the ship sailed for England, laden chiefly with cedar, but not without another specimen of the yellow dust, of which Martin was so fond, that he took charge of the packages himself and returned to England. An accession of above one hundred men, among whom were several goldsmiths and refiners, had been made to the colony by the two last ships, and a new member, Matthew Scrivener, was added to the council.

Having finished the necessary business of the season, and despatched the ship, another voyage of discovery was undertaken by Captain Smith and fourteen others. They went down the river in an open barge, June 10, 1608, in company with the ship, and having parted with her at Cape Henry, they crossed the mouth of the bay, and fell in with a cluster of islands without Cape Charles, to which they gave the name of Smith's Isles, which they still bear. Then re-entering the bay they landed on the eastern neck, and were kindly received by Accomack, the prince of that peninsula, a part of which still bears his name. From thence they coasted the eastern shore of the bay, and landed sometimes on the main, and at other times on the low islands, of which they found many, but none fit for habitation. They proceeded

up the bay to the northward and crossed over to the western shore, down which they coasted to the southward, and in this route discovered the mouths of the great rivers, which fall into the bay on that side. One in particular attracted much of their attention, because of a reddish earth which they found there, and from its resemblance to bole-ammoniac, they gave it the name of Bolus river, and it is so named in all the early maps of the country; but in the latter, it bears the Indian name Patapasco; on the north side of which is now the flourishing town of *Baltimore*. They sailed thirty miles up the Potowmack, without seeing any inhabitants; but on entering a creek found themselves surrounded by Indians who threatened them. Smith prepared for an encounter; but on firing a few guns, the Indians, terrified at the noise, made signs of peace, and exchanged hostages. One of the company was by this means carried to the habitation of their prince, and the whole were kindly used. They learned that it was by direction of Powhatan that the Indians were in arms, and had attempted to surprise them; from this circumstance they were led to suspect that Powhatan had been informed of this expedition, by the discontented part of the colony whom Smith had obliged to stay in the country when they would have deserted it.

It was Smith's invariable custom, when he met with the Indians, to put on a bold face, as if they appeared desirous of peace to demand their arms, and some of their children as pledges of their sincerity; if they complied, he considered them as friends; if not, as enemies. In the course of this voyage, he collected some furs, and discovered some colored earths, which the savages used as paints, but found nothing of the mineral kind. At the mouth of the Rappahannock, the boat grounded, and whilst they were waiting for the tide, they employed themselves in sticking with their swords the fishes which were left on the flats. Smith having struck his sword into a stingray, the fish raised its tail, and with its sharp indented thorn, wounded him in the arm. This wound was extremely painful, and he presently swelled to that degree, that they expected him to die, and he himself gave them orders to bury him on a neighboring island. But the surgeon, Dr. Russel, having probed the wound, by the help of a certain oil, so allayed the anguish and swelling, that Smith was able to eat part of the fish for his supper. From this occurrence, the place was distinguished by the name of Stingray Point, which it still bears.

On the 21st of July, they returned to Jamestown. Having, with the colored earths which they had found, disguised their boat and streamers, their old companions were alarmed at their approach, with the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards; this was a trick of Smith's to frighten the old president, who had noted on the public stores, and was building a house in the woods, that he might seclude himself from the sickly, discontented, quarrelsome company. On Smith's arrival, they signified their desire of investing him with the government. Ratcliffe being deposed, it fell to him of course; and having recommended Scrivener to preside in his absence, he entered on another voyage of discovery, being determined to spare no pains for a full exploration of the country.

From the 24th of July to the 7th of September, with twelve men in an open barge, he ranged the bay of Chesapeake, as far northward as the falls of Susquehanna, entering all the rivers that flow into the bay, and examining their shores. In some places the natives were friendly, and in others jealous. Their idea of the strange visitors, was, that they had come "from under the world to take their world from them." Smith's constant endeavor was to preserve peace with them; but when he could not obtain corn in the way of traffic, he never scrupled to use threats, and in some cases violence, and by one or the other method he prevailed so as to bring home a load of provisions for his discontented companions, who without his efforts would not have been able to live. Sickness and death were very frequent, and the latest comers were most affected by the disorders of the climate.

Smith was now established in the presidency, by the election of the council and the request of the company; but the commission gave to a majority of the council the whole power. Newport, at his third arrival, brought over two new members, and Ratcliffe having still a seat, though deposed from the presidency, Smith was obliged in some cases to comply with their opinions, contrary to his own judgment, an instance of which will now be exhibited.

The Virginia Company in London, deceived by false reports, and misled by their own sanguine imaginations, had conceived an expectation not only of finding

precious metals in the country, but of discovering the South Sea, from the mountains at the head of James river; and it was thought, that the journey thither, might be performed in eight or ten days. For the purpose of making this capital discovery, they put on board Newport's ship, a barge capable of being taken to pieces, and put together again at pleasure. This barge was to make a voyage to the head of the river, then to be carried in pieces across the mountains, and to descend the rivers which were supposed to run westward to the South Sea. To facilitate this plan, it was necessary to gain the favor of Powhatan, through whose country the passage must be made; and as means of winning him, a royal present was brought over, consisting of a basin and ewer, a bed and furniture, a chair of state, a suit of scarlet clothes, with a cloak and a crown, all which were to be presented to him in due form; and the crown placed on his head, with as much solemnity as possible. To a person who knew the country and its inhabitants so well as Smith, this project appeared chimerical, and the means whereby it was to be carried on, dangerous. With a small quantity of copper and a few beads, he could have kept Powhatan in good humor, and made an advantage of it for the colony, whereas a profusion of presents he knew would but increase his pride and insolence. The project of travelling over unknown mountains with men already weakened by sickness, and worn out with fatigue, in a hot climate, and in the midst of enemies, who might easily cut off their retreat, was too romantic even for his sanguine and adventurous spirit. His opinion upon the matter cannot be expressed in more pointed language, than he used in a letter to the company. "If the quartered boat was burned to ashes, one might carry her in a bag, but as she is, five hundred cannot, to a navigable place above the falls." His dissent however was ineffectual, and when he found that the voice of the council was for executing it, he lent his assistance to effect as much of it as was practicable.

Previously to their setting out, he undertook, with four men only, to carry notice to Powhatan of the intended present, and invite him to come to Jamestown, that he might receive it there. Having travelled by land twelve miles to Werocomoco, on Pamunkey (York) river, where he expected to meet Powhatan, and not finding him there, whilst a messenger was despatched thirty miles for him; his daughter Pocahontas, entertained Smith and his company with a dance, which for its singularity, merits a particular description.

In an open plain, a fire being made, the gentlemen were seated by it. Suddenly a noise was heard in the adjacent wood, which made them fly to their arms, and seize on two or three old men, as hostages for their own security, imagining that they were betrayed. Upon this the young princess came running to Smith, and passionately embracing him, offered herself to be killed, if any harm should happen to him or his company. Her assurances, seconded by all the Indians present, removed their fears. The noise which had alarmed them was made by thirty girls, who were preparing for the intended ceremony. Immediately they made their appearance, with no other covering than a girdle of green leaves and their skins painted, each one of a different color. Their leader had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin as her girdle, and another on one arm; a bow and arrow in the other hand, and a quiver at her back. The rest of them had horns on their heads, and a wooden sword or staff in their hands. With shouting and singing they formed a ring round the fire, and performed a circular dance for about an hour, after which they retired in the same order as they had advanced. The dance was followed by a feast, at which the savage nymphs were as eager with their carresses as with their attendance; and this being ended, they conducted the gentlemen to their lodging by the light of fire-brands.

The next day Powhatan arrived, and Smith delivered the message from his father, Newport, (as he always called him) to this effect: "That he had brought him from the King of England, a royal present, and wished to see him at Jamestown, that he might deliver it to him; promising to assist him in prosecuting his revenge against the Monacans, whose country they would penetrate even to the sea beyond the mountains." To which the savage prince with equal subtlety and haughtiness, answered, "If your king has sent me a present, I also am a king, and am on my own land. I will stay here eight days. Your father must come to me; I will not go to him, nor to your fort. As for the Monacans, I am able to revenge myself. If you have heard of salt water beyond the mountains,

from any of my people, they have deceived you." Then with a stick he drew a plan of that region on the ground; and after many compliments the conference ended.

The present being put on board the boats, was carried down James river and up the Pamunkee, whilst Newport, with fifty men, went across by land and met the boats, in which he passed the river, and held the proposed interview. All things being prepared for the ceremony of coronation, the present was brought from the boats; the basin and ewer were deposited, the bed and chair were set up, the scarlet suit and cloak were put on, though not till Namontac (an Indian youth whom Newport had carried to England and brought back again), had assured him that these haberdasheries would do him no harm; but they had great difficulty in persuading him to receive the crown, nor would he bend his knee, or incline his head in the least degree. After many attempts, and with actual pressing on his shoulders, they at last made him atoop a little and put it on. Instantly, a signal being given, the men in the boats fired a volley, at which the monarch started with horror, imagining that a design was forming to destroy him in the summit of his glory; but being assured that it was meant as a compliment, his fears subsided, and in return for the baubles of royalty received from King James, he desired Newport to present him his old fur mantle and deer-skin shoes, which, in his estimation, were doubtless a full equivalent; since all this finery could not prevail on the wary chief to allow them guides for the discovery of the inland country, or to approve their design of visiting it. Thus disappointed, they returned to Jamestown, determined to proceed without his assistance.

Smith, who had no mind to go on such a fruitless errand, tarried at the fort with eighty invalids to reload the ship, whilst Newport with all the council, and one hundred and twenty of the healthiest men, began their transmontane tour of discovery. They proceeded in their boats to the falls at the head of the river; from thence they travelled up the country two days and a half, and discovered two towns of the Monacans, the inhabitants of which seemed very indifferent towards them, and used them neither well nor ill. They took one of their petty princes and led him bound to guide them. Having performed this march, they grew wearied and returned, taking with them in their way back certain portions of earth, in which their refiner pretended that he had seen signs of silver. This was all the success of their expedition; for the savages had concealed their corn, and they could neither persuade them to sell it, nor find it to take it by force. Thus they returned to Jamestown, tired, disappointed, hungry and sick, and had the additional mortification of being laughed at by Smith for their vain attempt.

The Virginia Company had not only a view to the discovery of the South Sea, but also to establish manufactures in their colony; and for this purpose had sent over a number of workmen from Poland and Germany, who were skilled in the making pot-ashes and glass, as well as pitch and tar. Had the country been full of people, well cultivated and provided with all the necessities for carrying on these works, there might have been some prospect of advantage; but in a new region, the principal objects are subsistence and defence; these will necessarily occupy the first adventurers to the exclusion of all others. However, Smith was of so generous a disposition, and so indefatigable in doing what he apprehended to be his duty, and in gratifying his employers, that as soon as Newport returned from his fruitless attempt to find the South Sea, he set all who were able to work, that he might, if possible, answer the expectation of the company. Those who were skilled in the manufactures, he left under the care of the council, to carry on their works; whilst he took thirty of the most active with him, about five miles down the river, to cut timber, and make clapboards: this being, as he well knew, an employment the most certain of success. Among these were several young gentlemen, whose hands not having been used to labor, were blighted by the axes, and this occasioned frequent expressions of impatience and profaneness. To punish them, Smith caused the number of every man's oaths to be taken down daily, and at night, as many canss of water to be poured inside his sleeve. This discipline was no less singular than effectual; it so lessened the number of oaths, that scarcely one was heard in a week, and withal it made them perfectly good humored, and reconciled them to their labor. At his return to the fort, he found, not only that business had been neglected, but much provision consumed, and that it was necessary for him to undertake another expedition for corn. He,

therefore, went up the Chickahamony with two boats and eighteen men, and finding the Indians not in a humor for trading, but rather scornful and insolent, he told them that he had come not so much for corn, as to revenge his imprisonment, and the murder of his two men, some time before. Putting his crew in a posture of attack, the Indians fled, and presently sent messengers to treat of peace; for the obtaining which, he made them give him an hundred bushels of corn, with a quantity of fish and fowls; and with this supply he kept the colony from starving, and preserved the ship's provisions for her voyage to England. At her departure, she carried such specimens as could be had of tar, pitch, turpentine, soap-ashes, clapboards, and wainscot; and at Point Comfort met with Scrivener, who had been up the Pamunkey for corn, and had got a quantity of *pocones*, a red root, used in dyeing; these being taken on board, Captain Newport returned to England the third time, leaving about two hundred persons in Virginia.

The harvest of 1608 had fallen short both among the new planters and the natives; and the colony was indebted to the inventive genius and indefatigable perseverance of Smith for their subsistence during the succeeding winter. As long as the rivers were open, he kept the boats continually going among the natives for such supplies as could be obtained; and he never would return empty, if any thing were to be had by any means in his power. Whilst abroad in these excursions, he and his men were obliged frequently to lodge in the woods, when the ground was hard frozen and covered with snow; and their mode of accommodating themselves was, first to dig away the snow and make a fire; when the ground was dried and warmed, they removed the fire to one side, and spread their mats over the warm spot for their bed, using another mat as a screen from the wind; when the ground cooled, they shifted the fire again; by thus continually changing their position, they kept themselves tolerably warm through many cold nights; and it was observed, that those who went on this service and submitted to these hardships, were robust and healthy, whilst those who stayed at home were always weak and sickly.

The supplies procured by trading being insufficient, and hunger very pressing, Smith ventured on the dangerous project of surprising Powhatan, and carrying off his whole stock of provisions. This Indian prince had formed a similar design respecting Smith; and for the purpose of betraying him, had invited him to his seat, promising, that if he would send men to build him a house after the English mode, and give him some guns and swords, copper and beads, he would load his boat with corn. Smith sent him three Dutch carpenters, who treacherously revealed to him the design which Smith had formed. On his arrival with forty-six men, he found the prince so much on his guard, that it was impossible to execute his design. Having spent the day in conversation, (in the course of which Powhatan had in vain endeavored to persuade Smith to lay aside his arms, as being there in perfect security,) he retired in the evening, and formed a design to surprise Smith and his people at their supper; and had it not been for the affectionate friendship of Pocahontas, it would probably have been effected. This amiable girl, at the risk of her life, stole from the side of her father, and passing in the dark through the woods, told Smith with tears in her eyes of the plot, and then as privately returned. When the Indians brought in the supper Smith obliged them to taste of every dish; his arms were in readiness, and his men vigilant; and though there came divers sets of messengers, one after another during the night, under pretence of friendly inquiries, they found them so well prepared, that nothing was attempted, and the party returned in safety.

In a subsequent visit to Opeacancanough, by whom he formerly was taken prisoner, this prince put on the semblance of friendship, whilst his men lay in ambush with bows and arrows. The trick being discovered by one of Smith's party, and communicated to him, he resolutely seized the king by his hair, and holding a pistol to his breast, led him trembling to the ambush, and there, with a torrent of reproachful and menacing words, obliged him to order those very people, not only to lay down their arms, but to load him with provisions. After this, they made an attempt to murder him in his sleep, and to poison him, but both failed of success. The chief of Paspiha meeting him alone in the woods, armed only with a sword, attempted to shoot him, but he closed with the savage, and in the struggle both fell into the river; where, after having narrowly escaped drowning, Smith at last prevailed to gripe him by the throat, and would have cut off his head, but the entre-

ties of the poor victim prevailed on his humanity, he led him prisoner to Jamestown.

This intrepid behavior struck a dread into the savages, and they began to believe what he had often told them, that "his God would protect him against all their power, whilst he kept his promise; which was to preserve peace with them as long as they should refrain from hostilities, and continue to supply him with corn." An incident which occurred about the same time, confirmed their veneration for him. An Indian having stolen a pistol from Jamestown, two brothers, who were known to be his companions, were seized, and one was held as hostage for the other, who was to return in twelve hours with the pistol, or the prisoner was to be hanged. The weather being cold, a charcoal fire was kindled in the dungeon, which was very close, and the vapor had so suffocated the prisoner, that on the return of his brother at the appointed time with the pistol, he was taken out as dead. The faithful savage lamented his fate in the most distressing agony. Smith, to console him, promised, if they would steal no more, that he should be recovered. On the application of spirits and vinegar, he showed signs of life, but appeared delirious; this grieved the brother as much as his death. Smith undertook to cure him of this also, on the repetition of the promise to steal no more. The delirium being only the effect of the spirits which he had swallowed, was remedied by a few hours sleep; and being dismissed, with a present of copper, they went away, believing and reporting that Smith was able to bring the dead to life. The effect was, that not only many stolen things were recovered, and the thieves punished, but that peace and friendly intercourse were preserved, and corn brought in as long as they had any, whilst Smith remained in Virginia.

He was equally severe and resolute with his own men, and finding many of them inclining to be idle, and this idleness in a great measure the cause of their frequent sickness and death, he made an order, "that he who would not work should not eat, unless he were disabled by sickness; and that every one who did not gather as much food in a day as he did himself, should be banished." A recent attempt having been made to run away with the boats, he ordered, that the next person who should repeat this offence, should be hanged. By firmness in the execution of these laws, and by the concurrent force of his own example, in laboring continually, and distributing his whole share of European provisions and refreshments to the sick, he kept the colony in such order, that, though many of them murmured at his severity, they all became very industrious; and withal so healthy, that of two hundred persons, there died that winter and the next spring no more than seven. In the space of three months, they had made a quantity of tar, pitch, and pot-ashes; had produced a sample of glass; dug a well in the fort; built twenty new houses; provided nets and wiers for fishing; erected a block-house on the isthmus of Jamestown; another on Hog Island; and had begun a fortress on a commanding eminence. As the spring came on, they paid such attention to husbandry, as to have thirty or forty acres cleared and fit for planting; and a detachment had been sent to the southward, to look for the long lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, but without success.

Such was the state of the Virginia colony when Captain Samuel Argal arrived on a trading voyage, and brought letters from the company in England, complaining of their disappointment, and blaming Smith as the cause of it. They had conceived an ill opinion of him from the persons whom he had sent home, who represented him as arbitrary and violent towards the colonists, cruel to the savages, and disposed to traverse the views of the adventurers, who expected to grow rich very suddenly.

There was this disadvantage attending the business of colonization in North America at that day, that the only precedents which could be had were those of the Spaniards who had treated the natives with extreme cruelty, and amassed vast sums of gold and silver. Whilst the English adventurers detested the means by which the Spaniards had acquired their riches, they still expected that the same kind of riches might be acquired by other means; it was, therefore, thought politic to be gentle in demeanor and lavish of presents towards the natives, as an inducement to them to discover the riches of their country. On these principles, the orders of the Virginia Company to their servants were framed. But experience had taught Smith, the most discerning and faithful of all whom they had employed, that the country of Virginia would not enrich the adventurers in the time and manner which they expected; yet he was

far from abandoning it as worthless; his aim was thoroughly to explore it; and by exploring, he had discovered what advantages might be derived from it; to produce which, time, patience, expense, and labor, were absolutely necessary. He had fairly represented these ideas to his employers; he had spent three years in their service, and from his own observations had drawn and sent them a map of the country; and he had conducted their affairs as well as the nature of circumstances would permit. He had had a disorderly, factious, discontented, disappointed, set of men to control, by the help of a few adherents; in the face of the native lords of the soil, formidable in their numbers and knowledge of the country, versed in stratagem, tenacious of resentment, and jealous of strangers. To court them by presents, was to acknowledge their superiority, and inflate their pride and insolence. Though savages, they were men and not children. Though destitute of science, they were possessed of reason, and a sufficient degree of art. To know how to manage them, it was necessary to be personally acquainted with them; and it must be obvious, that a person who had resided several years among them, and had been a prisoner with them, was a much better judge of the proper methods of treating them, than a company of gentlemen at several thousand miles distance, and who could know them only by report. Smith had certainly the interest of the plantation at heart, and by toilsome experience, had just learned to conduct it, when he found himself so obnoxious to his employers, that a plan was concerted to supersede him, and reinstate, with a share of authority, those whom he had dismissed from the service.

The Virginia Company had applied to the king to recall their patent and grant another; in virtue of which, they appointed Thomas Lord de la Warre, general, Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, marshal; Sir Ferdinando Waiman, general of horse; and Captain Newport, (the only one of them who had seen the country) vice-admiral. The adventurers having, by the alteration of their patent, acquired a reinforcement both of dignity and property, equipped nine ships; in which were embarked five hundred persons, men, women, and children. Gates, Somers, and Newport, had each a commission, investing either of them who might first arrive, with power to call in the old, and set up the new, commission. The fleet sailed from England in May, 1609, and by some strange policy, the three commanders were embarked in one ship. This ship being separated from the others in a storm, was wrecked on the island of Bermuda; another foundered at sea; and when the remaining seven arrived in Virginia, two of which were commanded by Ratcliffe and Archer, they found themselves destitute of authority; though some of them were full enough of prejudice against Smith, who was then in command. The ships had been greatly shattered in their passage, much of their provision was spoiled, many of their people were sick; and the season in which they arrived was not the most favorable to their recovery. A mutinous spirit soon broke out, and a scene of confusion ensued; the new comers would not obey Smith, because they supposed his commission to be superseded; the new commission was not arrived, and it was uncertain whether the ship which carried it would ever be seen or heard of. Smith would gladly have withdrawn and gone back to England, but his honor was concerned in maintaining his authority till he should be regularly superseded, and his spirit would not suffer him to be trampled on by those whom he despised. Upon due consideration, he determined to maintain his authority as far as he was able; waiting some proper opportunity to retire. Some of the most insolent of the new comers "he laid by the heels." With the more moderate he consulted what was best to be done; and, as a separation seemed to be the best remedy, and it had been in contemplation to extend the settlements, some were induced to go up to the Falls, others to Nansemond, and others to Point Comfort. Smith's year being almost expired, he offered to resign to Martin, who had been one of the old council, but Martin would not accept the command; he, therefore, kept up the form, and as much as he could of the power of government, till an accident, which had nearly proved fatal to his life, obliged him to return to England.

On his return from the new plantation at the Falls, sleeping by night in his boat, a bag of gunpowder took fire, and burnt him in a most terrible manner. Awakening in surprise, and finding himself wrapped in flames, he leaped into the water, and was almost drowned, before his companions could recover him. At his return

to Jamestown, in this distressed condition, Ratcliffe and Archer conspired to murder him in his bed; but the assassin whom they employed, had not courage to fire a pistol. Smith's old soldiers would have taken off their heads; but he thought it prudent to pass by the offence, and take this opportunity, as there was no surgeon in the country, of returning to England. As soon as his intention was known, the council appointed Mr. Percie to preside in his room, and detained the ship three weeks, till they could write letters, and frame complaints against him. He at length sailed for England, about the latter end of September, 1600; much regretted by his few friends, one of whom has left this character of him. "In all his proceedings he made justice his first guide, and experience his second; hating baseness, sloth, pride, and indignity, more than any dangers. He never would allow more for himself than for his soldiers; and upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himself. He would never see us want what he had, or could by any means get for us. He would rather want than borrow; or starve, than not pay. He loved action more than words; and hated covetousness and falsehood worse than death. His adventures were our lives; and his loss our deaths."

There needs no better testimony to the truth of this character, than what is related of the miserable colony after he had quitted it. Without government, without prudence, careless, indolent and factious, they became a prey to the insolence of the natives, to the diseases of the climate and to famine. Within six months, their number was reduced from five hundred to sixty; and when the three commanders, who had been wrecked on Bermuda, arrived, 1610, with one hundred and fifty men in two small vessels, which they had built out of the ruins of their ship, and the cedars which grew on the island; they found the remnant of the colony in such a forlorn condition, that without hesitation, they determined to abandon the country, and were sailing down the river, when they met a boat from the Lord de la Warre, who had come with a fleet to their relief. By his persuasion they resumed the plantation, and to this fortunate incident may be ascribed the full establishment of the colony of Virginia.

Such a genius as Smith's could not remain idle. He was well known in England, and the report of his valor and his spirit of adventure, pointed him out to a number of merchants, who were engaged in the American fishery, as a proper person to make discoveries on the coast of North Virginia. In April, 1614, he sailed from London with two ships, and arrived at the island of Monahigon in latitude 43 1-2°, as it was then computed, where he built seven boats. The design of the voyage was to take whales, to examine a mine of gold, and another of copper, which were said to be there; and if either, or both of these should fail, to make up the cargo with fish and furs. The mines proved a fiction, and by long chasing the whales to no purpose, they lost the best season for fishing; but whilst the seamen were engaged in these services, Smith, in one of his boats, with eight men, ranged the coast, east and west, from Penobscot to Cape Cod; bartering with the natives for beaver and other furs, and making observations on the shores, islands, harbors and head lands; which, at his return to England, he wrought into a map, and presenting it to prince Charles, afterwards the royal martyr, with a request that he would give the country a name, it was for the first time called *New England*. The prince also made several alterations in the names which Smith had given to particular places. For instance, he had called the name of that promontory, which forms the eastern entrance of Massachusetts bay, *Tragabigzanda*; after the name of the Turkish lady to whom he had been formerly a slave at Constantinople; and the three islands which lie off the Cape, the *Turks Head*, in memory of his victory over the three Turkish champions, in his Transylvanian adventures. The former, Charles, in filial respect to his mother, called *Cape Anne*, which name it has ever since retained; the name of the islands has long since been lost; and another cluster to which he gave his own name, *Smith's Isles*, and which name the prince did not alter, are now, and have for more than a century been called the *Isles of Shoals*; so that the most pointed marks of his discoveries on the coast of New England, have, either by his own complaisance to the son of his sovereign, or by force of time and accidents become obsolete. When he sailed for England in one of the ships, he left the other behind to complete her lading, with orders to sell the fish in Spain. The master, Thomas Hunt, decoyed twenty-four of the natives on board, and sold them in Spain for slaves. The

memory of this base transaction was long preserved among the Americans, and succeeding adventurers suffered on account of it.

At Smith's return to England he put in at Plymouth, where, relating his adventures, and communicating his sentiments to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, he was introduced to the Plymouth Company of adventurers to North Virginia, and engaged in their service. At London he was invited by the South Virginia Company to return to their service; but made use of his engagement with the Plymouth adventurers as an excuse for declining their invitation. From this circumstance it seems, that they had been convinced of his former fidelity, notwithstanding the letters and reports which they had formerly received to his disadvantage.

During his stay in London, he had the very singular pleasure of seeing his friend Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan. Having been made a prisoner in Virginia, she was there married to Mr. John Rolfe, and by him was brought to England. She was then about twenty-two years of age; her person was graceful and her deportment gentle and pleasing. She had been taught the English language and the Christian religion, and baptized by the name of Rebecca. She had heard that Smith was dead, and knew nothing to the contrary, till she arrived in England.

The fame of an Indian princess excited great curiosity in London; and Smith had the address to write a handsome letter to the queen, setting forth the merits of his friend, and the eminent services she had done to him and the colony of Virginia. She was introduced by the Lady de la Warre; the queen and royal family received her with much complacency, and she proved herself worthy of their notice and respect. At her first interview with Smith she called him father; and because he did not immediately return the salutation and call her child she was so overcome with grief, that she hid her face and would not speak for some time. She was ignorant of the ridiculous affectation which reigned in the court of James; which forbade Smith assuming the title of father, to the daughter of a king; and when informed of it she despised it; passionately declaring, that she loved him as a father, and had treated him as such in her own country, and would be his child wherever she went. The same pedantic affectation caused her husband to be looked upon as an offender, for having, though a subject, invaded the mysterious rights of royalty in marrying above his rank. This marriage, however, proved beneficial to the colony, as her father had thereby become a friend to them, and when she came to England, he sent with her Uttamacomac, one of his trusty counsellors; whom he enjoined to inquire for Smith, and tell him whether he was alive. Another order which he gave him was, to bring him the number of people in England; accordingly, on his landing at Plymouth, the obedient savage began his account by cutting a notch on a long stick for every person whom he saw; but soon grew tired of his employment, and at his return told Powhatan that they exceeded the number of leaves on the trees. A third command from his prince was, to see the God of England, and the king, queen, and princes, of whom Smith had told him so much; and when he met with Smith, he desired to be introduced to those personages. He had before this seen the king, but would not believe it; because the person whom they pointed out to him had not given him any thing. "You gave Powhatan," said he to Smith, "a white dog, but your king has given me nothing." Mr. Rolfe was preparing to return with his wife to Virginia, when she was taken ill and died at Gravesend; leaving an infant son, Thomas Rolfe, from whom are descended several families of note in Virginia, who hold their lands by inheritance from her.

Smith had conceived such an idea of the value and importance of the American continent, that he was fully bent on the business of plantation, rather than fishing and trading for furs. In this he agreed with his friend Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the few other active members of the council of Plymouth, but it had become an unpopular theme. One colony had been driven home from Sagadahock by the severity of the season and the deaths of their leaders. Men who were fit for the business were not easily to be obtained, those who had formerly been engaged were discouraged, and it required great strength of mind as well as liberality of purse, to set on foot another experiment. After much trouble in endeavoring to unite persons of opposite interests, and stimulate those who had sustained former losses to new attempts, he obtained one ship of two hundred tons, and another of fifty, with

which he sailed in 1615. Having proceeded about one hundred and twenty leagues, they were separated in a storm; the smaller one commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer pursued her voyage; but Smith having lost his masts was obliged to put back under a jury-mast to Plymouth. There he put his stores on board a small bark of sixty tons, and thirty men, of whom sixteen were to assist him in beginning a new colony.

Meeting with an English pirate, his men would have had him surrender; but though he had only four guns, and the pirate thirty-six, he disdained to yield. On speaking with her, he found the commander and some of the crew to be his old shipmates, who had run away with the ship from Tunis, and were in distress for provisions; they offered to put themselves under his command, but he rejected the proposal and went on his voyage. Near the Western Islands he fell in with two French pirates; his men were again thrown into a panic, and would have struck, but he threatened to blow up the ship, if they would not fight; and by firing a few running shot, he escaped them also. After this he was met by four French-men-of-war, who had orders from their sovereign to seize pirates. He showed them his commission under the great seal; but they perfidiously detained him whilst they suffered his ship to escape in the night, and return to Plymouth. They knew his enterprising spirit, and were afraid of his making a settlement in New England, so near to their colony of *Acadia*; and they suspected, or at least pretended to suspect, that he was the person who had broken up their fishery at Port Royal (which was really done by Captain Argal) the year before.

When their cruise was finished, they carried him to Rochelle; and notwithstanding their promises to allow him a share of the prizes which they had taken whilst he was with them, they kept him as a prisoner on board a ship at anchor. But a storm arising, which drove all the people below, he took the boat, with an half pike for an oar, thinking to make his escape in the night. The current was so strong that he drifted to sea, and was near perishing. By the turn of the tide he got ashore, on a marshy island, where some fowls found him in the morning almost dead with cold and hunger. He gave them his boat to carry him to Rochelle, where he learned that the ship which had taken him, with one of her prizes, which was very rich, had been driven on shore in that storm, and lost, with her captain and one half of the men.

Here he made his complaint to the judge of the Admiralty, and produced such evidence in support of his allegations, that he was treated with fair words; but it does not appear that he got any recompense. He met here and at Bourdeaux with many friends, both French and English, and at his return to England, published in a small quarto, an account of his two last voyages, with the depositions of the men who were in the ship when he was taken by the French. To this book he prefixed his map of New England; and in it gave a description of the country, with its many advantages, and the proper methods of rendering it a valuable acquisition to the English dominions. When it was printed, he went all over the west of England, giving copies of it to all persons of note; and endeavoring to excite the nobility, gentry, and merchants, to engage with earnestness in the business of colonizing America. He obtained from many of them fair promises, and was complimented by the Plymouth Company with the title of *Admiral of New England*. But the former ill success of some too sanguine adventurers, had made a deep impression, and a variety of cross incidents, baffled all his attempts.

However, his experience and advice were of eminent service to others. The open frankness and generosity of his mind led him to give all the encouragement which he could to the business of fishing and planting in New England, for which purpose, in 1622, he published a book, entitled, "*New England's Tryals*," some extracts from which are preserved by Purchas. No man rejoiced more than myself in the establishment of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts.

When the news of the massacre of the Virginian planters by the Indians, 1622, arrived in England, Smith was all on fire to go over to revenge the insult. He made an offer to the company that if they would allow him one hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with the necessary provisions and equipments, he would range the country, keep the natives in awe, protect the planters, and make discoveries, of the hitherto unknown parts of America; and for his own risk and pains would desire nothing but what he would "produce from the proper labor of the savages." On this

proposal the company was divided, but the pusillanimous and avaricious party prevailed; and gave him this answer, "that the charges would be too great; that their stock was reduced; that the planters ought to defend themselves; but, that if he would go at his own expense, they would give him *leave*, provided he would give them one-half of the *pillage*." Such an answer could be received only with contempt.

When the king in 1621, instituted a commission for the reformation of Virginia, Smith, by desire of the commissioners, gave in a relation of his former proceedings in the colony, and his opinion and advice respecting the proper methods of remedying the defects in government, and carrying on the plantation with a prospect of success.* These with many other papers he collected and published in 1627, in a thin folio, under the title of "The General History of Virginia, New England, and the Somer Isles." The narrative part is made up of journals and letters of those who were concerned with him in the plantation, intermixed with his own observations. His intimate friend, Mr. Purchas, had published most of them two years before in his "Pilgrims."

In 1629, at the request of Sir Robert Cotton, he published a history of the early part of his life, entitled, "The true Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith." This work is preserved entire in the second volume of Churchill's Collections, and from it the former part of this account is compiled. In the conclusion he made some addition to the history of Virginia, Bermuda, New England, and the West Indies, respecting things which had come to his knowledge after the publication of his general history. He stated the inhabitants of Virginia in 1623 at five thousand, and their cattle about the same number. Their produce was chiefly tobacco; but those few who attended to their gardens had all sorts of fruit and vegetables in great abundance and perfection. From New England they received salted fish; but of fresh fish their own rivers produced enough, besides an infinite quantity of fowl; as their woods did of deer and other game. They had two brew houses; but they cultivated the Indian corn in preference to the European grain. Their plantations were scattered; some of their houses were palisaded; but they had no fortifications nor ordnance mounted.

His account of New England is, that the country had been represented by adventurers from the West of England, as rocky, barren, and desolate: but that since his account of it had been published, the credit of it was so raised, that forty or fifty sail went thither annually on fishing and trading voyages. That nothing had been done to any purpose in establishing a plantation, till "about an hundred Brownists went to New Plymouth; whose humorous ignorance caused them to endure a wonderful deal of misery with infinite patience."

He then recapitulates the history of his American adventures in the following terms. "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith: how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with a hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, and by the King of Pamaunkey, tied to a tree to be shot to death; led up and down the country to be shown for a wonder; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idol, before whom they conjured three days, with strange dances and invocations; then brought before their Emperor Powhatan, who commanded him to be slain; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Jamestown, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty, to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations on the rivers falling into the Bay of Chesapeake; how he was stung almost to death by the poisonous tail of a fish called a stingray; how he was blown up with gunpowder and returned to England to be cured.

"Also how he brought New England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the pirates, left alone among French men-of-war, and his ship ran from him; his sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France, in a little boat, he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split or driven on shore by the isle Rhee, the general and most of his men drowned; when God, to whom be all honor and praise, brought him safe on shore to the admiration of all who escaped;

you may read at large in his general history of Virginia, the Somer Islands, and New England."

This was probably his last publication, for he lived but two years after. By a note in Josselyn's voyage, it appears that he died in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age.

It would have given singular pleasure to the compiler of these memoirs, if he could have learned from any credible testimony that Smith ever received any recompense for his numerous services and sufferings. The sense which he had of this matter, in 1627, shall be given in his own words. "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands; but I see those countries stand before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

DE MONTS, POUTRINCOURT, AND CHAMPLAIN.

DE MONTS.—His Patent for Acadia.—His Fort at St. Croix.—He quits Acadia.—POUTRINCOURT.—SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN.—He sails up the St. Lawrence.—Builds a Fort at Quebec.—He covers the Lake.—Surrenders Quebec to the English.—His Death and Character.

AFTER the discovery of Canada by Cartier, the French continued trading to that country for furs, and fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Acadia, where they found many excellent and convenient harbors, among which Canseau was early distinguished as a place extremely suitable for the fishery. One Savalet, an old mariner, who frequented that port, had before 1609 made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts.

Henry IV. King of France, perceived the advantages which might arise to his kingdom from a farther exploration of the northern parts of America; and therefore gave encouragement to those who were desirous of making adventures. In 1598, the Marquis de la Roche obtained a commission of Lord-Lieutenant, and undertook a voyage with a view to establish a colony, consisting of convicts taken out of the prisons. Happening in the course of his voyage to fall in with the isle of Sable, a low, sandy island, lying about twenty-five leagues southward of Canseau, he there landed forty of his miserable crew, to subsist on the cattle and swine with which the place had been stocked by the Portuguese, for the relief of shipwrecked seamen. The reason given for choosing this forlorn place for the disembarkation of his colony, was, that they would be out of all danger from the savages, till he should find a better situation for them on the continent, when he promised to return and take them off. Whether he ever reached the continent is uncertain, but he never again saw the isle of Sable. Returning to France he engaged in the wars, was made a prisoner by the Duke of Mercen, and soon after died. The wretched exiles subsisted on such things as the place afforded, and clothed themselves with the skins of seals. At the end of seven years, King Henry, in compassion, sent a fisherman to bring them home. Twelve only were then alive. The fisherman, concealing from them the generous intention of their sovereign, took all the skins which they had collected as a recompense for his services, some of which being black foxes were of great value. The king had them brought before him in their seal skin habits and long beards. He pardoned their former crimes, and made each of them a present of fifty crowns. When they discovered the fraud of the fisherman, they instituted a process against him at law, and recovered large damages; by means of which they acquired so much property as to enter into the same kind of traffic.

The king also granted to Pontgrave de Chauvin, an exclusive privilege of trading at Tadousac, the mouth of the river Saguenay; to which place he made two voyages, and was preparing for a third when he was prevented by death.

The next voyager of any note was SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, of Brouage; a man of a noble family; who, in 1603, sailed up the river of Canada, as far as Cartier had gone in 1535. He made many inquiries of the natives concerning their country, its rivers, falls, lakes, mountains and *mines*. The result of his inquiry was, that a communication was formed by means of two lakes, with the country of the Iroquois towards the south; that towards the west there were more and greater lakes of fresh water, to one of which they knew no limits; and that to the northward there was an inland sea of salt water. In the course of this voyage,

Champlain anchored at a place called Quebec, which in the language of the country signified a strait; and this was thought to be a proper situation for a fort and settlement. He heard of no mines but one of copper, far to the northward. With this information he returned to France, in the month of September.

On the eighth of November in the same year, King Henry granted to the Sieur De Monts, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, a patent, constituting him lieutenant-general of all the territory of *L'Acadia*, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with power to subdue the inhabitants and convert them to the Christian faith. This patent was published in all the maritime towns of France; and De Monts having equipped two vessels, sailed for his new government on the 7th of March, 1604, taking with him the aforesaid Samuel Champlain for a pilot. Monsieur De Pouturincourt, who had been for a long time desirous to visit America.

On the 6th of May, they arrived at a harbor on the southeast side of the peninsula of Acadia, where they found one of their countrymen, Rossignol, trading with the Indians without license. They seized his ship and cargo; leaving him only the poor consolation of giving his name to the harbor where he was taken. The provisions found in his ship were a seasonable supply, and without them the enterprise must have been abandoned. This place is now called Liverpool.

From Port Rossignol they coasted the peninsula to the southwest, and having doubled Cape Sable, came to anchor in the bay of St. Mary, where Aubry, a priest, going ashore, was lost in the woods, and a Protestant was charged with having murdered him, because they had sometimes had warm disputation on religious subjects. They waited for him several days, firing guns and sounding trumpets, but in vain; the noise of the sea was so great, that no other sound could be heard. Concluding that he was dead, they quitted the place after sixteen days, intending to examine that extensive bay on the west of their peninsula, to which they gave the name of La Baye Francoise; but which is now called the Bay of Fundy. The priest was afterwards found alive but almost starved to death.

On the eastern side of this bay they discovered a narrow strait, into which they entered, and soon found themselves in a spacious bason, environed with hills, from which descended streams of fresh water; and between the hills ran a fine navigable river, which they called L'Equille. It was bordered with fertile meadows, and full of delicate fish. Pouturincourt, charmed with the beauty of the place, determined here to make his residence, and having received a grant of it from De Monts, gave it the name of Port Royal [Annapolis].

From Port Royal, De Monts sailed farther into the great bay, to visit a copper mine. It was a high rock, on a promontory, between two bays. [Ménis.] The copper, though mixed with stone, was very pure, resembling that called Rozette copper. Among these stones they found chrystals, and a certain shining stone of a blue color. Specimens of these stones were sent to the king.

In farther examining the bay they came to a great river, which they called St. John's, full of islands, and swarming with fish. Up this river they sailed fifty leagues, and were extremely delighted with the vast quantity of grapes which grew on its banks. By this river they imagined that a shorter communication might be had with the Baye de Chaleur and the port of Tadousac, than by the sea.

From the river St. John they coasted the bay south-westerly, till they came to an island in the middle of a river which Champlain had previously explored. Finding its situation safe and convenient, De Monts resolved there to build a fort and pass the winter. To this island he gave the name of St. Croix; * because that

* This is a station of much importance. It has given rise to a controversy between the United States and the British government, which is not yet terminated. I shall therefore give a description of this island and its surrounding waters, from a translation of Mark Lescarbot's history of the voyages of De Monts, in which he himself was engaged, and therefore had seen the place which he describes. This translation is to be found at large in Churchill's Collections, vol. viii. 736, and an abridgement of it in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. v. 1619.

"Leaving St. John's river, they came, following the coast twenty leagues from that place, to a great river, which is properly sea (i. e. salt water) where they fortified themselves in a little island seated in the midst of this river, which the said Champlain had been to discover and view. And, seeing it strong by nature, and of easy defence and keeping; besides that the season began to shew away, and therefore it was behoofful to provide of lodging, without running any farther, they resolved to make their abode there."

"Before we speak of the ship's return to France it is meet

* Agreeably to Smith's advice to these commissioners, King Charles I. at his accession dissolved the company, in 1626, and reduced the colony under the immediate direction of the crown, appointing the governor and council, and ordering all patents and processes to issue in his own name.

two leagues higher there were brooks which "came cross-wise to fall within this large branch of the sea."

The winter proved severe, and the people suffered so much by the scurvy, that thirty-six of them died; the remaining forty, who were all sick, lingered till the spring, (1605,) when they recovered by means of the fresh vegetation. The remedy which Cartier had found in Canada was here unknown.

As soon as his men were recovered, De Monts resolved to seek a comfortable station in a warmer climate. Having victualled and armed his pinnace, he sailed along the coast to Norombago, a name which had been given by some European adventurers to the Bay of Penobscot; from thence he sailed to Kennebec, Casco, Saco, and finally came to Malebarre, as Cape Cod was then called by the French. In some of the places which he had passed, the land was inviting, and particular notice was taken of the grapes; but the savages appeared numerous, unfriendly and thievish. De Monts' company being small, he preferred safety to pleasure, and returned first to St. Croix, and then to Port Royal; where he found Dupont, in a ship from France, with fresh supplies, and a reinforcement of forty men. The stores which had been deposited at St. Croix were removed across the bay, but the buildings were left standing. New houses were erected at the mouth of the river which runs into the basin of Port Royal: there the stores and people were lodged; and De Monts having put his affairs in as good order as possible, in the month of September embarked for France, leaving Dupont as his lieutenant, with Champlain and Champdore to perfect the settlement, and explore the country.

During the next winter they were plentifully supplied by the savages with venison, and a great trade was carried on for furs. Nothing is said of the scurvy; but they had short allowance of bread; not by reason of any scarcity of corn, but because they had no other

to tell you, how hard the isle of St. Croix is to be found out, to them that were never there. For there are so many isles and great bays to go by (from St. John's) before one be at it, that I wonder how one might ever pierce so far as to find it. There are three or four mountains, eminent above the others, on the sides; but on the north side, from whence the river runneth down, there is but a sharp pointed one, about two leagues distant. The woods of the mainland are fair and admirable high, and well grown, as in like manner is the grass. There is right over against the island fresh water brooks, very pleasant and agreeable; where divers of Mons. De Monts men did their business, and builded there certain cabins. As for the nature of the ground, it is most excellent, and most abundantly fruitful. For the said Mons. De Monts having caused there some piece of ground to be tilled, and the same sowed with rye; he was not able to tarry for the maturity thereof to reap it; and notwithstanding the grain fallen hath grown and increased so wonderfully, that two years after, we reaped and did gather of it as fair, big, and weighty as in France, which the soil has brought forth without any tillage; and yet at this present (1609) it doth continue still to multiply every year.

"The said island containeth some half a league in circuit, and at the end of it, on the sea side, there is a mount, or small hill, which is, as it were, a little isle, severed from the other, where Mons. De Monts his cannon were placed. There is also a little chapel, built after the savage fashion. At the foot of which chapel there is such store of muscuses as is wonderful, which may be gathered at low water, but they are small.

"Now let us prepare and hoist up sails. Mons. de Poutin-court made the voyage into these parts, with some men of good sort, not to winter there; but as it were to seek out his seat, and find out a land that might like him. Which he having done, had no need to sojourn there any longer. So then, the ships being ready for the return, he shipped himself, and those of his company in one of them.

"During the foresaid navigation, Mons. de Monts his people, did work about the fort; which he seated at the end of the island, opposite to the place where he had lodged his cannon. Which was wisely considered, to the end to command the river up and down. But there was an inconvenience; the said fort did lie toward the north, and without any shelter, but of the trees that were on the isle shore, which all about he commanded to be kept and not cut down.

"The most urgent things being done, and hoary snowy father being come, that is to say winter, then they were forced to keep within doors, and to live every one at his home. During which time, our men had three special commodities in this island, want of wood (for that which was in the said isle was spent in buildings), lack of fresh water, and the continual watch made by night, fearing some surprise from the savages that had lodged themselves at the foot of said island, or some other enemy. For the malediction and rage of many Christians is such, that one must take heed of them much more than of infidels. When they had need of water or wood, they were constrained to cross over the river, which is thence as broad of every side as the river of Seine."

By a gentleman who resided several years in those parts, I have been informed, that an island which answers to the description lies in the eastern part of the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and there the river St. Croix was supposed to be by the commissioners who negotiated the peace in 1763, who had Mitchell's map before them; but in a map of the coast of New England and Nova Scotia, published in London, 1767, by Robert Sayer, and said to be drawn by Captain Holland, the river St. Croix is laid down at the western part of the bay; the breadth of which is about six or seven leagues.

mill to grind it than the hand-mill, which required hard and continual labor. The savages were so averse to this exercise, that they preferred hunger to the task of grinding corn, though they were offered half of it in payment. Six men only died in the course of this winter.

In the spring of 1606, Dupont attempted to find what De Monts had missed in the preceding year, a more southerly settlement. His bark was twice forced back with adverse winds: and the third time was driven on rocks and bilged at the mouth of the port. The men and stores were saved; but the vessel was lost. These fruitless attempts proved very discouraging; but Dupont employed his people in building a bark and shallop, that they might employ themselves in visiting the ports, whither their countrymen resort to dry their fish, till new supplies should arrive.

De Monts and Poutin-court were at that time in France, preparing, amidst every discouragement, for another voyage. On the thirteenth of May, they sailed from Rochelle, in a ship of one hundred and fifty tons; and on the 27th of July arrived at Port Royal, in the absence of Dupont, who had left two men only to guard the fort. In a few days he arrived, having met with one of their boats which they had left at Canseau, and great was the joy on both sides at their meeting.

Poutin-court now began his plantation; and having cleared a spot of ground, within fifteen days he sowed European corn and several sorts of garden vegetables. But notwithstanding the beauty and fertility of Port Royal, De Monts had still a desire to find a better place to the southward. He therefore prevailed on Poutin-court to make another voyage to Cape Malebarre; and so earnest was he to have this matter accomplished, that he would not wait till the next spring, but prepared a bark to go to the southward as soon as the ship was ready to sail.

On the 28th of August, the ship and the bark both sailed from Port Royal. In the ship, De Monts and Dupont returned to France; whilst Poutin-court, Champlain, Champdore and others crossed the bay to St. Croix, and thence sailed along the coast, touching at many harbors in their way till they arrived in sight of the Cape, the object of their voyage. Being entangled among the shoals, their rudder was broken and they were obliged to come to anchor, at the distance of three leagues from the land. The boat was then sent ashore to find a harbor of fresh water; which by the information of one of the natives was accomplished. Fifteen days were spent in this place; during which time a cross was erected, and possession taken for the King of France; as De Monts had done two years before at Kennebec. When the bark was repaired and ready to sail, Poutin-court took a walk into the country, whilst his people were baking bread. In his absence some of the natives visited his people and stole a hatchet. Two guns were fired at them and they fled. In his return he saw several parties of the savages, male and female, carrying away their children and their corn, and hiding themselves as he and his company passed. He was alarmed at this strange appearance; but much more so, when early the next morning a shower of arrows came flying among his people, two of whom were killed and several others wounded. The savages having taken their revenge, fled; and it was in vain to pursue them. The dead were buried at the foot of the cross; and whilst the funeral service was performing, the savages were dancing and yelling in mock concert at a convenient distance, but within hearing. When the French retired on board their bark, the savages took down the cross, dug up the bodies and stripped them of their grave clothes, which they carried off in triumph.

This unhappy quarrel gave Poutin-court a bad idea of the natives. He attempted to pass farther round the cape, but was prevented by contrary winds, and forced back to the same harbor, where the savages offering to trade, six or seven of them were seized and put to death.

The next day another attempt was made to sail farther; but the wind came against them. At the distance of six or seven leagues they discovered an island; but the wind would not permit them to approach it; they therefore gave it the name of Douteuse, or Doubtful. This was probably either Nanucket or Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard; and if so, the contest with the Indians was on the south shore of Cape Cod, where are several harbors and streams of fresh water. To the harbor where he lay, he gave the name of Port Fortune.

It was now late in the season and no prospect appeared of obtaining any better place for a settlement; besides, he had two wounded men whose lives were in

danger. He therefore determined to return, which he did by the shortest and most direct course; and after a perilous voyage, in which the rudder was again broken, and the bark narrowly escaped shipwreck, he arrived at Port Royal on the 14th of November.

The manner in which they spent the third winter was social and festive. At the principal table, to which fifteen persons belonged, an order was established, by the name of L'ordre de bon temps. Every one took his turn to be caterer and steward, for one day, during which he wore the collar of the order and a napkin, and carried a staff. After supper he resigned his accoutrements, with the ceremony of drinking a cup of wine, to the next in succession. The advantage of this institution was, that each one was emulous to be prepared for his day, by previously hunting or fishing, or purchasing fish and game of the natives, who constantly resided among them, and were extremely pleased with their manners.

Four only died in this winter; and it is remarked that these were "sluggish and fretful." The winter was mild and fair. On a Sunday in the middle of January, after divine service, they "sport and had music on the river;" and the same month they went two leagues, to see their corn-field, and dined cheerfully in the sun shine.

At the first opening of the spring (1607) they began to prepare gardens; the produce of which was extremely grateful; as were also the numberless fish which came into the river. They also erected a water-mill, which not only saved them much hard labor at the hand-mill, but gave them more time for fishing. The fish which they took were called herrings and pilchards; of which they pickled several hogsheds to be sent home to France.

In April they began to build two barks, in which they might visit the ports frequented by the fishermen, and learn some news from their mother country, as well as get supplies for their subsistence. Having no pitch to pay the seams, they were obliged to cut pine trees and burn them in kilns, by which means they obtained a sufficiency.

On Ascension day a vessel arrived from France, destined to bring supplies; a large share of which, the crew had ungenerously consumed during their voyage. The letters brought by this vessel informed them that the company of merchants, associated with De Monts, was discouraged; and that their ship was to be employed in the fishery at Canseau. The reason of this proceeding was, that contrary to the king's edict, the Hollanders had intruded themselves into their fur trade in the river of Canada, having been conducted by a treacherous Frenchman; in consequence of which the king had revoked the exclusive privilege which he had given to De Monts for ten years. The aversion of these Hollanders was so great, that they had opened the graves of the dead, and taken the beaver skins in which the corpses had been buried. This outrage was so highly resented by the savages at Canseau, that they killed the person who had shown the places where the dead were laid. This news was extremely unwelcome, as it portended the destruction of the colony.

Poutin-court however was so well pleased with his situation, that he determined to return to it, though none but his own family should accompany him. He was very desirous to see the issue of his attempt at agriculture, and therefore detained the vessel as long as he could, and employed his bark in small voyages about the bay, to trade for furs and gather specimens of iron and copper to be transported to France. When they were all ready to sail, he tarried eleven days longer than the others, that he might carry home the first fruits of his harvest. Leaving the buildings and part of the provision with the standing corn, as a present to the friendly natives, he finally sailed from Port Royal, on the 11th of August, and joined the other vessels at Canseau; from which place he proceeded to France, where they arrived in the latter end of September.

Specimens of the wheat, rye barley, and oats were shown the king; which, with other productions of the country, animal and mineral, were so highly acceptable, that he renewed and confirmed to De Monts the privilege of trading for beavers, that he might have it in his power to establish a colony. In consequence of which the next spring several families were sent to renew the plantation, who found that the savages had gathered several barrels of the corn which had been left standing; and had reserved one for their friends whom they expected to return.

The revocation of the exclusive patent given to De Monts, was founded on complaints made by the masters of fishing vessels, that the branch of commerce in

which they were engaged would be ruined. When this patent was restored, it was limited to one year; and on this condition, that he should make an establishment in the river St. Lawrence. De Monts therefore quitted his connexion with Acadia, and the company of merchants, with whom he had been connected, fitted out two ships for the port of Tadousac, in 1603. The fur trade was of very considerable value, and the company made great profits; but De Monts finding their interests hurt by his connexion with them, withdrew from the association.

Poutrincourt resolving to prosecute his plantation at Port Royal, the grant of which had been confirmed to him by the king, sent Biencourt, his son, to France, (1609) for a supply of men and provisions. One condition of the grant was, that attempts should be made to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, it was therefore necessary to engage the assistance of some ecclesiastics. The first who embraced the proposal were the Jesuits, by whose zealous exertions a contribution was soon made for the purpose; and two of their order, Biard and Masse, embarked for the new plantation. It was not long before a controversy arose between them and the proprietor, who said "it was his part to rule them on earth, and theirs only to guide him to heaven." After his departure for France, his son Biencourt, disdaining to be controlled by those whom he had invited to reside with him, threatened them with corporeal punishment, in return for their spiritual anathemas. It became necessary then that they should separate. The Jesuits removed to Mount Desart, where they planted gardens and entered on the business of their mission, which they continued till 1613 or 1614; when Sir Samuel Argal from Virginia broke up the French settlements in Acadia. In the encounter one of these Jesuits was killed and the other was made prisoner. Of the other Frenchmen, some dispersed themselves in the woods and mixed with the savages; some went to the river St. Lawrence and strengthened the settlement which Champlain had made there; and others returned to France.

Two advantages were expected to result from establishing a colony in the river St. Lawrence; one was an extension of the fur trade, and another was the hope of penetrating westward, through the lakes, to the Pacific ocean, and finding a nearer communication with China. One of the vessels sent by the company of merchants, in 1608, to that river was commanded by Champlain. In his former voyage he had marked the strait above the Isle of Orleans, as a proper situation for a fort; because the river was there contracted in its breadth, and the northern shore was high and commanding. He arrived there in the beginning of July, and immediately began to clear the woods, to build houses, and prepare fields and gardens. Here he spent the winter, and his company suffered much by the scurvy. The remedy which Cartier had used, was not to be found, or the savages knew nothing of it. It is supposed that the former inhabitants had been extirpated, and a new people held possession.

In the spring of 1609, Champlain, with two other Frenchmen and a party of the natives, went up the river, now called Sorel, and entered the lakes, which lie toward the south, and communicate with the country of the Iroquois. To the largest of these lakes Champlain gave his own name, which it has ever since retained. On the shore of another which he called Lake Sacrament, now Lake George, they were discovered by a company of the Iroquois, with whom they had a skirmish. Champlain killed two of them with his musket. The scalps of fifty were taken and brought to Quebec in triumph.

In the autumn, Champlain went to France, leaving Capt. Pierre to command; and in 1610 he returned to Quebec, to perfect the colony, of which he may be considered as the founder.

After the death of Henry IV, he obtained of the Queen Regent, a commission as lieutenant of New France, with very extensive powers. This commission was confirmed by Lewis XIII; and Champlain was continued in the government of Canada.

The religious controversies, which prevailed in France, augmented the number of colonists. A settlement was made at Trois Rivières, and a brisk trade was carried on at Tadousac. In 1626, Quebec began to assume the face of a city, and the fortress was rebuilt with stone; but the people were divided in their religious principles, and the Hugonot party prevailed.

In this divided state, (1629) the colony was attacked by an armament from England under the conduct of Sir David Kirk. He sailed up the river St. Lawrence, and appeared before Quebec, which was then so miserably

supplied, that they had but seven ounces of bread to a man for a day. A squadron from France, with provision for their relief, entered the river; but, after some resistance, was taken by the English. This disappointment increased the distress of the colony and obliged Champlain to capitulate. He was carried to France in an English ship; and there found the minds of the people divided, with regard to Canada; some thinking it not worth regaining, as it had cost the government vast sums, without bringing any return; others deeming the fishery and fur trade to be great national objects, especially as they proved to be a nursery for seamen. These sentiments, supported by the solicitation of Champlain, prevailed; and by the treaty of St. Germain's, in 1632, Canada, Acadia and Cape Breton were restored to France.

The next year Champlain resumed his government, and the company of New France were restored to their former rights and privileges. A large recruit of inhabitants, with a competent supply of Jesuits, arrived from France; and with some difficulty a mission was established among the Hurons; and a seminary of the order was begun at Quebec. In the midst of this prosperity Champlain died, in the month of December, 1635; and was succeeded the next year by De Montmagny.

Champlain is characterized as a man of good sense, strong penetration and upright views; volatile, active, enterprising, firm and valiant. He aided the Hurons in their wars with the Iroquois, and personally engaged in their battles; in one of which he was wounded. His zeal for the propagation of the Catholic religion was so great that it was a common saying with him, that "the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire."

FERDINANDO GORGES,

AND
JOHN MASON.

FERDINANDO GORGES—His perseverance—His defence before the Commons—His complaint against the Dutch—His expense and loss—His misfortunes and death—JOHN MASON—His connection with Gorges—His plantation at Piscataqua—His great expense and loss—Massachusetts Colony established—Independence of the Colony suspected—Province of Maine—Its plan of government—Protected by Massachusetts—Purchased by Massachusetts.

We know nothing concerning Gorges in the early part of his life. The first account we have of him, is the discovery which he made of a plot which the Earl of Essex had laid to overthrow the government of Queen Elizabeth, the tragical issue of which is too well known to be here repeated. Gorges, who had been privy to the conspiracy at first, communicated his knowledge of it to Sir Walter Raleigh, his intimate friend, but the enemy and rival of Essex.

There was not only an intimacy between Raleigh and Gorges, but a similarity in their genius and employment; both were formed for intrigue and adventure; both were indefatigable in the prosecution of their sanguine projects; and both were naval commanders.

During the war with Spain, which occupied the last years of Queen Elizabeth, Gorges, with other adventurous spirits, found full employment in the navy of their mistress. When the peace, which her successor, James I. made in 1604, put an end to their hopes of honor and fortune by military enterprises, Sir Ferdinando was appointed Governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. This circumstance, by which the spirit of adventure might seem to have been repressed, proved the occasion of its breaking out with fresh ardor, though in a pacific and mercantile form, connected with the rage for foreign discoveries, which after some interruption, had again seized the English nation.

Lord Arundel, of Wardour, had employed a Captain Weymouth in search of a northwest passage to India. This navigator having mistaken his course, fell in with a river on the coast of America, which, by his description, must have been either Kennebec, or Penobscot. From thence he brought to England, five of the natives, and arrived in the month of July, 1605, in the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges commanded, who immediately took three of them into his family. Their names were Manida, Sketwarroes and Tasquantum; they were all of one language, though not of the same tribe. This accident proved the occasion, under God's providence, of preparing the way for a more perfect discovery than had yet been made of this part of North America.

Having gained the affections of these savages by kind treatment, he found them very docile and intelligent; and from them he learned by inquiry, many particulars concerning their country, its rivers, harbors, islands, fish and other animals; the numbers, dispo-

sition, manners and customs of the natives; their government, alliances, enemies, force and methods of war. The result of these inquiries served to feed a sanguine hope of indulging his genius and advancing his fortune by a more thorough discovery of the country.

His chief associate in this plan of discovery, was Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who, by his acquaintance with divers noblemen, and by their interest at court, obtained from King James a patent for making settlements in America, which was now divided into two districts, and called North and South Virginia. The latter of these districts was put under the care of certain noblemen, knights, and gentlemen who were styled the London Company; the former under the direction of others in Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, who were called the Plymouth Company, because their meetings were usually held there.

By the joint efforts of this company, of which Popham and Gorges were two of the most enterprising members, a ship, commanded by Henry Chalong, was fitted out, and sailed in August, 1606, for the discovery of the country from which the savages had been brought, and two of them were put on board. The orders given to the master were to keep in as high a latitude as Cape Breton till he should discover the main land, and then to range the coast southward till he should find the place from which the natives had been taken. Instead of observing these orders, the captain falling sick on the passage, made a southern course, and first arrived at the island of Porto Rico, where he tarried some time for the recovery of his health; from thence, coming northwardly, he fell in with a Spanish fleet from the Havannah, by whom the ship was seized and carried to Spain.

Captain Prynne, in another ship which sailed from Bristol, with orders to find Chalong, and join with him in a survey of the coast, had better success; for though he failed of meeting his consort, yet he carried home a particular account of the coasts, rivers, and harbors, with other information relative to the country, which made so deep an impression on the minds of the company, as to strengthen their resolution of prosecuting their enterprise.

It was determined to send over a large number of people sufficient to begin a colony. For this purpose George Popham was appointed president; Raleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of ordnance; Robert Davis, sergeant-major; Ellis Best, marshal; Mr. Seamen, secretary; James Davies, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, searcher. All these were to be of the council; and besides these, the colony consisted of one hundred men, who were styled planters. They sailed from Plymouth in two ships, May 31, 1607, and having fallen in with the island of Monahigon, August 11, landed at the mouth of Sagadahock, or Kennebec river, on a peninsula, where they erected a storehouse, and having fortified it as well as their circumstances would admit, gave it the name of Fort St. George.

By means of two natives whom they brought with them to England, viz. Sketwarroes, sent by Gorges, and Dehamida, by Popham, they found a cordial welcome among the Indians, their sachems offering to conduct and introduce them to the Bashaba, or great chief, whose residence was at Penobscot, and to whom, it was expected, that all strangers should make their address.*

The president, having received several invitations, was preparing to comply with their request, and had advanced some leagues on his way, but contrary winds and bad weather obliged him to return, to the great grief of the sachems, who were to have attended him. The Bashaba hearing of their disappointment, sent his son to visit the president, and settle a trade for furs.

The ships departed for England in December, leaving behind them only 45 persons of the new colony. The season was too far advanced before their arrival to begin planting for that year, if there had been ground prepared for tillage. They had to subsist on the provisions which they had brought from England, and the fish and game which the country afforded. The severity of an American winter was new to them; and

* The Bashaba of Penobscot was a prince superior in rank to the sachems of the several tribes. All the sachems westward as far as Naumkeeg (Salem), acknowledged subjection to him. He is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the first voyages to New England; but was killed by the Tarratones in 1615, before any effectual settlement was made in the country. We have no account of any other Indian chief in these northern parts of America, whose authority was so extensive.

though it was observed that the same winter was uncommonly severe in England, yet that circumstance being unknown could not alleviate their distress. By some accident their storehouse took fire, and was consumed with the greater part of their provisions, in the middle of the winter; and in the spring of 1688, they had the additional misfortune to lose their president, Captain Popham, by death. The ship which their friends in England by their united exertions sent over with supplies, arrived a few days after with the melancholy news of the death of Sir John Popham, which happened while she lay waiting for a wind at Plymouth. The command of the colony now devolved on Gilbert, but the next ship brought an account of the death of his brother, Sir John Gilbert, which obliged him to return to England, to take care of the estate to which he succeeded. These repeated misfortunes and disappointments, operating with the disgust which the new colonists had taken to the climate and soil, determined them to quit the place. Accordingly, having embarked with their president, they returned to England, carrying with them, as the fruit of their labor, a small vessel, which they had built during their residence here, and thus the first colony which was attempted in New England, began and ended in one year.

The country was now branded as intolerably cold, and the body of the adventurers relinquished the design. Sir Francis Popham, indeed, employed a ship for some succeeding years in the fishing and fur trade; but he, at length became content with his losses, and none of this company but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, had the resolution to surmount all discouragements. Though he sincerely lamented the loss of his worthy friend, the Chief Justice, who had zealously joined him in these hitherto fruitless, but expensive, labors; yet, "as to the coldness of the clime (he says,) he had too much experience in the world to be frightened with such a blast, as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated, and by many degrees colder, were plentifully inhabited, and divers of them stored with no better commodities than these parts afford, if like industry, art and labor be used."

Such persevering ardor in the face of so many discouragements, must be allowed to discover a mind formed for enterprise, and fully persuaded of the practicability of the undertaking.

When he found that he could not be seconded in his attempts for a thorough discovery of the country by others, he determined to carry it on by himself; and for this purpose he purchased a ship, and engaged with a master and crew to go to the coast of New England for the purpose of fishing and traffic, the only inducement which seafaring people could have to undertake such a voyage. On board this ship he put RICHARD VINES, and several others of his own servants, in whom he placed the fullest confidence, and whom he hired at a great expense to stay in the country over the winter, and pursue the discovery of it. These persons having left the ship's company to follow their usual occupation on the coast, travelled into the land, and meeting with the savages who had before returned to America, by their assistance became acquainted with such particulars as Gorges wished to know.

Mr. Vines and his companions were received by the Indians with great hospitality, though their residence among them was rendered hazardous, both by a war which raged among them, and by a pestilence which accompanied or succeeded it.

This war and pestilence are frequently spoken of by the historians of New England as remarkable events in the course of Providence, which prepared the way for the establishment of an European colony. Concerning the war, we know nothing more than this, that it was begun by the Tarratens, a nation who resided eastward of Penobscot. These formidable people surprised the Bashaba, or chief sachem, at his head quarters, and destroyed him with all his family; upon which all the other sachems who were subordinate to him, quarrelled among themselves for the sovereignty; and in these dissensions many of them as well as of their unhappy people perished. Of what particular kind the pestilence was, we have no certain information; but it seems to have been a disorder peculiar to the Indians, for Mr. Vines and his companions, who were intimately conversant with them, and frequently lodged in their wigwams, were not in the least degree affected by it, though it swept off the Indians at such a prodigious rate, that the living were not able to bury the dead.

* Mr. Gookin says, that "he had discoursed with some old Indians who were then youths, who told him, that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding yellow, (which they described by pointing to a yellow garment,) both before they died and afterwards."

and their bones were found several years after lying about the villages where they had resided. The extent of this pestilence was between Penobscot in the east, and Narraganset in the west. These two tribes escaped, while the intermediate people were wasted and destroyed.

The information which Vines obtained for Sir Ferdinando, though satisfactory in one view, produced no real advantage proportionate to the expense. Whilst he was deliberating by what means he should farther prosecute his plan of colonization, Captain Henry Harley, who had been one of the unfortunate adventurers to Sagadahock, came to him, bringing a native of the Island Capawock, now called Martha's Vineyard, who had been treacherously taken from his own country by one of the fishing ships and shown in London as a sight. Gorges received this savage, whose name was Epenow, with great pleasure; and about the same time recovered Assacumet, one of those who had been sent in the unfortunate voyage of Captain Chalong. These two Indians at first scarcely understood each other; but when they had grown better acquainted, Assacumet informed his old master of what he had learned from Epenow concerning his country. This artful fellow had invented a story of a mine of gold in his native island, which he supposed would induce some adventurer to employ him as a pilot, by which means he hoped to get home, and he was not disappointed in his expectation.

Gorges had engaged the Earl of Southampton, then commander of the Isle of Wight, to advance one hundred pounds, and Captain Hobson another hundred, and also to go on the discovery. With this assistance, Harley sailed in June, 1614, carrying with him several land soldiers and the two before mentioned Indians, with a third named Wanape, who had been sent to Gorges from the Isle of Wight. On the arrival of the ship, she was soon piloted to the island of Capawock, and to the harbor where Epenow was to perform his promise. The principal inhabitants of the place, with some of his own kinsmen, came on board, with whom he held a conference, and contrived his escape. They departed, promising to return the next day with furs for traffic. Epenow had pretended that if it were known that he had discovered the secrets of his country, his life would be in danger; but the company were careful to watch him; and to prevent his escape, had dressed him in long clothes, which could easily be laid hold of, if there should be occasion. His friends appeared the next morning in twenty canoes, and lying at a distance, the captain called them to come on board, which they declining, Epenow was ordered to renew the invitation. He, mounting the fore-castle, hailed them as he was directed, and at the same instant, though one held him by the coat, yet being strong and heavy, he jumped into the water. His countrymen then advanced to receive him, and sent a shower of arrows into the ship, which so disconcerted the crew, that the prisoner completely effected his escape. Thus the golden dream vanished, and the ship returned without having performed any services adequate to the expense of her equipment.

The Plymouth Company were much discouraged by the ill success of this adventure; but the spirit of emulation between them and the London Company proved very serviceable to the cause in which they were jointly engaged. For these having sent out four ships under the command of Michael Cooper, to South Virginia, January, 1615, and Captain John Smith, who had been employed by that company, having returned to England, and engaged with the company at Plymouth, their hopes revived. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in concert with Dr. Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, and several others, equipped two vessels, one of two hundred, the other of fifty tons, on board of which (besides the complement of seamen) were sixteen men who were destined to begin a colony in New England. March, 1615, when they had sailed one hundred and twenty leagues, the large ship had lost her masts, and sprung a leak; which obliged them to put back under jury masts to Plymouth. From thence Smith sailed again, (June 24) in a bark of sixty tons, carrying the same sixteen men; but on this second voyage, was taken by four French men-of-war, and carried to France. The vessel of fifty tons, which had been separated from him pursued her voyage, and returned in safety; but the main design of the voyage, which was to effect a settlement was frustrated.

The same year (October) Sir Richard Hawkins, by authority of the Plymouth Company, of which he was president for that year, visited the coast of New England, to try what services he could do them in searching the country, and its commodities; but on his arrival,

finding the natives engaged in war, he passed along the coast to Virginia, and from thence returned to England, by the way of Spain, where he disposed of the fish, which he had taken in the voyage.

After this, ships were sent every season by the London and Plymouth Companies on voyages of profit; their fish and furs came to a good market in Europe, but all the attempts which were made to colonize North Virginia, by some unforeseen accidents failed of success. Gorges, however, had his mind still invariably bent on his original plan, and every incident which seemed to favor his views, was eagerly improved for that purpose. Being possessed of the journals and letters of the several voyagers, and of all the information which could be had, and being always at hand to attend the meetings of the company, he contrived to keep alive their hopes, and was the prime mover in all their transactions.

About this time, Captain Thomas Dermer, who had been employed in the American fishery, and had entered fully into the same views, offered his services to assist in prosecuting the discovery of the country. He was at Newfoundland, and Gorges prevailed on the company to send Captain Edward Rocaft, in a ship, to New England, with orders to wait there till he should be joined by Dermer. Rocaft, on his arrival, met with a French interloper, which he seized, and then sailed with his prize to South Virginia. In the mean time Dermer went to England, and having conferred with Gorges and the company on the intended discovery, went out in a ship which Gorges himself owned, hoping to meet with Rocaft, but was much perplexed at not finding him.

Having ranged and examined every part of the coast, and made many useful observations, which he transmitted to Gorges, he shaped his course for Virginia,* where Rocaft had been killed in a quarrel, and his bark sunk. Dermer being thus disappointed of his consort, and of his expected supplies, returned to the northward. At the island of Capawock, he met with Epenow, who knowing him to be employed by Gorges, and suspecting that his errand was to bring him back to England, conspired with his countrymen, to seize him and his companions, several of whom were killed in the fray, Dermer defended himself with his sword, and escaped, though not without fourteen wounds, which obliged him to go again to Virginia where he died. The loss of this worthy man was the most discouraging circumstance which Gorges had met with, as he himself expresses it, "made him almost resolve never to intermeddle again in any of these courses." But he had in fact so deeply engaged in them, and had so many persons engaged with him, that he could not retreat with honor, whilst any hope of success remained. Soon after this, a prospect began to open from a quarter where it was least expected.

The patent of 1607, which divided Virginia into two colonies, expressly provided that neither company should begin any plantation within one hundred miles of the other. By this interdiction the middle region of North America was neglected, and a bait was laid to attract the attention of foreigners.

The adventurers to South Virginia had prohibited all who were not free of their company from planting or trading within their limits; the northern company had made no such regulations; by this means it happened that the South Virginians could fish on the northern coast, whilst the other company were excluded from all the privileges in the southern parts. The South Virginians had also made other regulations in the management of their business, which the northern company were desirous to imitate. They thought the most effectual way to do this, was to procure an exclusive patent. With this view, Gorges, ever active to promote the interest which he had espoused, solicited of the crown a new charter, which, by the interest of his friends in court, was after some delay obtained. By this instrument, forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen, were incorporated by the style of "the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of New England in America." The date of the charter was November 3, 1620. The territory subject to their jurisdiction was from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and from sea to sea. This charter is the foundation of all the grants which were made of the country of New England.

Before this division was made, a number of families, who were styled *Puritans*, on account of their seeking

* It is said that he was the first who passed the whole extent of Long Island Sound, and discovered that it was not connected with the continent. This was in 1619.

a farther reformation of the Church of England, which they could not obtain, and who had retired into Holland to avoid the severity of the penal laws against dissenters, meditated a removal to America. The Dutch were fond of retaining them as their subjects, and made them large offers, if they would settle in some of their transmarine territories; but they chose rather to reside in the dominions of their native prince, if they could have liberty of conscience. They had, by their agents negotiated with the South Virginia Company, and obtained a permission to transport themselves to America, within their limits; but as to liberty of conscience, though they could obtain no indulgence from the crown under hand and seal, yet it was declared, that "the king would connive at them, provided they behaved peaceably." As this was all the favor which the spirit of the time would allow, they determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and venture to America. After several disasters, they arrived at Cape Cod in the 42d degree of north latitude, a place remote from the object of their intention, which was Hudson's river. The Dutch had their eye on that place, and bribed their pilot not to carry them thither. It was late in the season when they arrived; their permission from the Virginia Company was of no use here; and having neither authority nor form of government, they were obliged for the sake of order, before they disembarked, to form themselves into a body politic, by a written instrument. This was the beginning of the colony of New Plymouth; and this event happened (Nov. 11 1620) a few days after King James had signed the patent for incorporating the council. These circumstances served the interest of both, though then wholly unknown to each other. The council, being informed of the establishment of a colony within their limits, were fond of taking them into their protection, and the colony were equally desirous of receiving that protection as far as to obtain a grant of territory. An agent being despatched by the colony to England, Sir F. Gorges interested himself in the affair, and a grant was accordingly made (1623) to John Pierce, in trust for the colony. This was their first patent; they afterwards (1629) had another made to William Bradford and his associates.

One end which the council had in view, was, to prevent the access of unauthorised adventurers to the coast of New England. The crews of their ships, in their intercourse with the natives, being far from any established government, were guilty of great licentiousness. Besides drunkenness and debauchery, some flagrant enormities had been committed, which not only injured the reputation of Europeans, but encouraged natives to acts of hostility. To remedy these evils the council thought proper to appoint an officer to exercise government on the coast. The first person who was sent in this character, was Captain Francis West, who finding the fishermen too licentious and robust to be controlled by him, soon gave up this ineffectual command. They next appointed Captain Robert Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando. He was like his father, of an active and enterprising genius, and had newly returned from the Venetian war. He obtained of the council a patent for a tract of land on the northeastern side of Massachusetts Bay, containing thirty miles in length and ten in breadth, and by the influence of his father, and of his kinsman Lord Edward Gorges, he was despatched with a commission to be "Lieutenant-general and Governor of New England." They appointed for his council the aforesaid West, with Christopher Levett, and the Governor of New Plymouth for the time being. Gorges came to Plymouth in 1623, published his commission, and made some efforts to execute it. He brought over with him as a chaplain William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman. This was the first essay for the establishment of a general government in New England, and Morrell was to have superintendence in ecclesiastical, as Gorges had in civil affairs; but he made no use of his commission at Plymouth; and only mentioned it in his conversation about the time of his departure.* This general government was a darling object with the Council of Plymouth, but was much dreaded by the planters of New England; however all the attempts which were made to carry it into execution failed of success. Gorges, after about a year's residence in the country, and holding one court at Plymouth, upon a Mr. Weston who had begun a plantation at Wessagusset, (Weymouth) where Gorges himself intended a settlement, was re-

called to England, the supplies which he expected to have received having failed. This failure was owing to one of those cross accidents which continually befall the Council of Plymouth. Though the erection of this board was really beneficial to the nation, and gave a proper direction to the spirit of colonizing, yet they had to struggle with the opposing interests of various sorts of persons.

The Company of South Virginia, and indeed the mercantile interest in general, finding themselves excluded from the privilege of fishing and traffic, complained of this institution as a monopoly. The commons of England were growing jealous of the royal prerogative; and wishing to restrain it; the granting charters of incorporation with exclusive advantages of commerce was deemed a usurpation on the rights of the people. Complaints were first made to the king in council; but no disposition appeared there to countenance them. It happened however, that a parliament was called for some other purposes (February 1624) in which Sir Edward Cook was chosen speaker of the Commons. He was well known as an advocate for the liberties of the people, and an enemy to projectors. The king was at first in a good humor with his parliament, and advantage was taken of a demand for subsidies to bring in a bill against monopolies.

The House being resolved into a committee, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was called to the bar, where the speaker informed him, that the patent granted to the Council of Plymouth was complained of as a grievance; that under color of planting a colony, they were pursuing private gains; that though they respected him as a person of worth and honor, yet the public interest was to be regarded before all personal considerations; and therefore they required that the patent be delivered to the House. Gorges answered, that he was but one of the company, inferior in rank and abilities to many others; that he had no power to deliver it, without their consent, neither in fact, was it in his custody. Being asked where it was, he said, it was for aught he knew, still remaining in the crown-office, where it had been left for the amendment of some errors. As to the general charge he answered; that he knew not how it could be a public grievance; since it had been undertaken for the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the bounds of the nation, the increase of trade, and the employment of many thousands of people; that it could not be a monopoly; for though a few only were interested in the business, it was because many could not be induced to adventure where their losses at first were sure, and their gains uncertain; and, indeed, so much loss had been sustained, that most of the adventurers themselves were weary; that as to the profit arising from the fishery it was never intended to be converted to private use, as might appear by the offers which they had made to all the maritime cities in the West of England; that the grant of exclusive privileges made by the crown, was intended to regulate and settle plantations, by the profits arising from the trade, and was in effect no more than many gentlemen and lords of manors in England enjoyed without offence. He added, that he was glad of an opportunity for such a parliamentary inquiry, and if they would take upon themselves the business of colonization, he and his associates would be their humble servants as far as lay in their power, without any retrospect to the vast expense which they had already incurred in discovering and taking possession of the country, and bringing matters to their then present situation. He also desired, that if any thing further was to be inquired into, it might be given him in detail with liberty of answering by his counsel.

A committee was appointed to examine the patent and make objections; which were delivered to Gorges; accompanied with a declaration from the speaker that he ought to look upon this as a favor. Gorges having acknowledged the favor, employed counsel to draw up answers to the objections. His counsel were Mr. (afterwards Lord) Finch, and Mr. Caltrup, afterwards attorney-general to the court of Wards. Though in causes where the crown and parliament are concerned as parties, counsel are often afraid of wading deeper than they can safely return; yet Gorges was satisfied with the conduct of his counsel, who fully answered the objections, both in point of law and justice; these answers being read, the House asked what further he had to say, upon which he added some observations in point of policy to the following effect:

That the adventurers had been at great cost and pains to enlarge the king's dominions; to employ many seamen, handicraftsmen, and laborers; to settle a flourishing plantation, and advance religion in these savage

countries; matters of the highest consequence to the nation, and far exceeding all the advantage which could be expected from a simple course of fishing, which must soon have been given over, for that so valuable a country could not long remain unpossessed either by the French, Spaniards, or Dutch; so that if the plantations were to be given up, the fishery must inevitably be lost, and the honor, as well as interest of the nation, greatly suffer; that the mischief already done by the persons who were foremost in their complaints was intolerable; for in their disorderly intercourse with the savages, they had been guilty of the greatest excesses of debauchery and knavery, and in addition to all these immoralities, they had furnished them with arms and ammunition; by which they were enabled to destroy the peaceable fishermen, and had become formidable enemies to the planters.

He further added, that he had, in zeal for the interest of his country, deeply engaged his own estate, and sent one of his sons to the American coast, besides encouraging many of his friends to go thither; thus he hoped would be an apology for his earnestness in this plea, as if he had shown less warmth, it might have been construed into negligence and ingratitude.

These pleas however earnest and rational, were to no purpose. The Parliament presented to the king the grievances of the nation, and the patent for New England was the first on the list. Gorges, however, had taken care that the king should be previously acquainted with the objections and answers; and James was so jealous of the prerogative, that though he gave his assent to a declaratory act against monopolies in general, yet he would not recall the patent. However, in deference to the voice of the nation, the council thought fit to suspend their operations. This proved for a while, discouraging to the spirit of adventure, and occasioned the recalling Robert Gorges from his government.

But the Parliament having proceeded with more freedom and boldness in their complaints than suited the feelings of James, he dissolved them in haste, before they could proceed to measures for remedying the disorders in church and state, which had been the subject of complaint; and some of the more liberal speakers were committed to prison. This served to damp the spirit of reformation, and prepared the way for another colony of emigrants to New England.

About the same time, the French ambassador put in a claim in behalf of his court to these territories, to which Gorges was summoned to answer before the king and council, which he did in so ample and convincing a manner, that the claim was for that time silenced. Gorges then, in the name of the Council of Plymouth, complained of the Dutch, as intruders on the English possessions in America, by making a settlement on Hudson's river. To this the States made answer, that if any such things had been done it was without their order, as they had only erected a company for the West Indies. This answer made the council resolve to prosecute their business and remove their intruders.

Hitherto Gorges appears in the light of a zealous, indefatigable and unsuccessful adventurer; but neither his labors, expense, nor ill success were yet come to a conclusion.

To entertain a just view of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, we must consider him both as a member of the Council of Plymouth, pursuing the general interest of American plantations; and at the same time as an adventurer undertaking a settlement of his own in a particular part of the territory which was subject to the jurisdiction of the council. Having formed an intimacy with Captain John Mason, governor of Portsmouth, in the county of Hants, who was also a member of the council; and having (1622) jointly with him procured from the council a grant of a large extent of country, which they called Laconia, extending from the river Merrimack to Sagadahock, and from the ocean to the lakes and river of Canada, they indulged sanguine expectations of success. From the accounts given of the country by some romantic travellers, they had conceived an idea of it as a kind of terrestrial paradise, not only capable of producing all the necessaries and conveniences of life but as already richly furnished by the bountiful hand of nature. The air was said to be pure and salubrious; the country pleasant and delightful, full of goodly forests, fair valleys, and fertile plains; abounding in vines, chestnuts, walnuts, and many other sorts of fruit; the rivers stored with fish and environed with goodly meadows full of timber trees. In the great lake (Lake Champlain) it was said were four islands, full of pleasant woods and meadows, having great store of stags, fallow deer, elks, roebucks, beavers and other game; and these islands were supposed to be commodiously

* This Morrell appears to have been a diligent inquirer into the state and circumstances of the country, its natural productions and advantages, the manners, customs, and government of the natives: the result of his observations he wrought into a poem, which he printed both in Latin and English.

situated for habitation and traffic, in the midst of a fine lake, abounding with the most delicate fish. This lake was thought to be less than 100 miles distant from the sea coast; and there was some secret expectation that mines and precious stones would be the reward of their patient and diligent attention to the business of discovery. Such were the charms of Laconia!

It has been before observed that Gorges had sent over Richard Vines, with some others, on a discovery, to prepare the way for a colony. The place which Vines pitched upon was at the mouth of the river Saco. Some years after, another settlement was made on the river of Agamenticus by Francis Norton, whom Gorges sent over with a number of other people, having procured for them a patent of 12,000 acres on the east side of the river, and 12,000 more on the west side; his son, Ferdinando Gorges being named as one of the grantees; this was the beginning of the town of York. Norton was a lieutenant-colonel, and had raised himself to that rank from a common soldier by his own merit. In this company were several artificers, who were employed in building saw-mills, and they were supplied with cattle and other necessities for the business of getting lumber.

About the same time (viz. 1623) a settlement was begun at the river Piscataqua by Captain Mason and several other merchants, among whom Gorges had a share. The principal design of these settlements was to establish a permanent fishery, to make salt, to trade with the natives, and to prepare lumber for exportation. Agriculture was but a secondary object, though in itself the true source of all opulence and all subsistence.

These attempts proved very expensive and yielded no adequate returns. The associates were discouraged, and dropped off one after another, till none but Gorges and Mason remained. Much patience was necessary, but in this case it could be grounded only on enthusiasm. It was not possible in the nature of things that their interest should be advanced by the manner in which they conducted their business. Their colonists came over either as tenants or as hired servants. The produce of the plantation could not pay their wages, and they soon became their own masters. The charge of making a settlement in such a wilderness was more than the value of the lands when the improvements were made: overseers were appointed, but they could not hold the tenants under command, nor prevent their changing places on every discontent. The proprietors themselves never came in person to superintend their interests, and no regular government was established to punish offenders or preserve order. For these reasons, though Gorges and Mason expended from first to last more than twenty thousand pounds each, yet they only opened the way for others to follow, and the money was lost to them and their posterity.

Whilst their private interest was thus sinking in America, the reputation of the council of which they were members lay under such disadvantage in England as tended to endanger their political existence. As they had been incorporated for the purpose not merely of granting lands, but of making actual plantations in America, they were fond of encouraging all attempts from whatever quarter, which might realize their views and expectations.

The ecclesiastical government at this time allowed no liberty to scrupulous consciences; for which reason, many who had hitherto been peaceable members of the national church, and wished to continue such, finding that no indulgence could be granted, turned their thoughts towards America, where some of their brethren had already made a settlement. They first purchased of the Council of Plymouth a large territory, and afterward obtained of the crown a charter, by which they were constituted a body politic within the realm. In June, 1630, they brought their charter to America, and began the colony of *Massachusetts*. This proved an effectual settlement, and the reasons which rendered it so were the zeal and ardor which animated their exertions; the wealth which they possessed, and which they converted into materials for a new plantation; but principally the *presence* of the adventurers themselves on the spot, where their fortunes were to be expended and their zeal exerted. The difference between a man's doing business by himself and by his substitutes, was never more fairly exemplified than in the conduct of the Massachusetts planters, compared with that of Sir Ferdinando Gorges: what the one had been laboring for above twenty years without any success, was realized by the others in two or three years; in five, they were so far advanced as to be able to send out a colony from themselves to begin another at Connecticut; and in less than ten, they founded an uni-

versity which has ever since produced an uninterrupted succession of serviceable men in church and state.

The great number of people who flocked to this new plantation, raised an alarm in England. As they had manifested their discontent with the ecclesiastical government, it was suspected that they aimed at *independence*, and would throw off their allegiance to the crown. This jealousy was so strong, that a royal order was made to restrain any from coming hither who should not first take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and obtain a license for their removal.

To refute this jealous cavil against the planters of New England, we need only to observe, that at the time when they began their settlement, and for many years after, the lands which they occupied were objects of envy both to the Dutch and French. The Dutch claimed from Hudson, as far as Connecticut river, where they had erected a trading house. The French claimed all the lands of New England; and the governor of Port Royal, when he wrote to Governor Winthrop, directed his letters to him as *governor of the English at Boston in Acadia*. Had the New England planters thrown off their subjection to the crown of England they must have become a prey to one or the other of these rival powers. Of this they were well aware, and if they had entertained any idea of independence, which they certainly did not (*nor did their successors till driven to it by Britain herself*) it would have been the most impolitic thing in the world to have avowed it, in the presence of neighbors with whom they did not wish to be connected.

This jealousy, however groundless, had an influence on the public councils of the nation, as well as on the sentiments of individuals, and contributed to increase the prejudice which had been formed against all who were concerned in the colonization of New England. The merchants still considered the Council of Plymouth, as monopolizing a lucrative branch of trade. The South Virginia Company disrelished their exclusive charter, and spared no pains to get it revoked. The popular party in the Commons regarded them as supporters of the prerogative, and under the royal influence. The high church party were incensed against them as enemies of prelacy, because they had favored the settlement of the Puritans within their territory; and the king himself suspected that the colonies in New England had too much liberty to consist with his notions of government. Gorges was looked upon as the author of all the mischief; and being publicly called upon, declared, "that though he had earnestly sought the interest of the plantations, yet he could not answer for the evils which had happened by them." It was extremely mortifying to him to find that after all his exertions and expenses in the service of the nation, he had become a very unpopular character, and had enemies on all sides.

To remedy these difficulties, he projected the resignation of the charter to the crown; and the division of the territory into twelve lordships, to be united under one general governor. As the charter of Massachusetts stood in the way of this project, he, in conjunction with Mason, petitioned the crown for a revocation of it. This brought on him the ill will of those colonists also, who from that time regarded him and Mason as their enemies. Before the council surrendered their charter, they made grants to some of their own members, of twelve districts, from Maryland to St. Croix, among which the district from Piscataqua to Sagadahock, extending one hundred and twenty miles northward into the country, was assigned to Gorges. In June, 1635, the council resigned their charter, and petitioned the king and the lords of the privy council for a confirmation of the several proprietary grants, and the establishment of a general government. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then three score years of age, was the person nominated to be the general governor. About this time, Mason, one of the principal actors in this affair, was removed by death; and a ship, which was intended for the service of the new government, fell and broke in launching. A *quo warranto* was issued against the Massachusetts charter, but the proceedings upon it were delayed, and never completed. An order of the king in council, was also issued in 1637, for the establishment of the general government, and Gorges was therein appointed governor; but the troubles in Scotland and England, at this time grew very serious and put a check to the business. Soon after, Archbishop Laud and some other lords of council, who were zealous in the affair, lost their authority, and the whole project came to nothing.

Gorges, however, obtained of the crown in 1639, a confirmation of his own grant, which was styled the

Province of Maine, and of which he was made Lord Palatine with the same powers and privileges as the Bishop of Durham in the County Palatine of Durham. In virtue of these powers, he constituted a government within his said province, and incorporated the plantation at Agamenticus into a city, by the name of *Gorgrana*, of which his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was mayor, who resided there about two years, and then returned to England. The council for the administration of government were Sir Thomas Josselyn, Knight, Richard Vines, (Steward,) Francis Champemoun (a nephew to Gorges,) Henry Josselyn, Richard Boniton, William Hooke, and Edward Godfrey.

The plan which he formed for the government of his province was this: It was to be divided into eight counties, and these into sixteen hundreds, the hundreds were to be subdivided into parishes and tythings, as the people should increase. In the absence of the proprietor a lieutenant was to preside. A chancellor was constituted for the decision of civil causes; a treasurer to receive the revenue, a marshal for managing the militia, and a marshal's court, for criminal matters; an admiral, and admiral's court, for maritime causes; a master of ordnance and a secretary. These officers were to be a standing council. Eight deputies were to be elected, one from each county, by the inhabitants, to sit in the same council; and all matters of moment were to be determined by the lieutenant with advice of the majority. This council were to appoint justices, to give licenses for the sale of lands subject to a rent of four pence or sixpence per acre. When any law was to be enacted or repealed, or public money to be raised, they were to call on the counties to elect each two deputies, "to join with the council in the performance of the service;" but nothing is said of their voting as a separate house. One lieutenant and eight justices were allowed to each county; two head constables to every hundred; one constable and four tythingmen to every parish; and in conformity to the institutions of King Alfred, each tythingman was to give an account of the demeanor of the families within his tything to the constable of the parish, who was to render the same to the head constables of the hundred, and they to the lieutenant and justices of the county; who were to take cognizance of all misdemeanors; and from them an appeal might be made to the proprietor's lieutenant and council.

Forms of government, and plans of settlement, are much more easily drawn on paper, than carried into execution. Few people could be induced to become tenants in the neighborhood of such a colony as Massachusetts, where all were freeholders. No provision was made for public institutions; schools were unknown, and they had no ministers, till in pity to their deplorable state, two went thither from Boston on a voluntary mission, and were well received by them. The city of Gorgeana, though a lofty name, was in fact but an inconsiderable village; and there were only a few houses in some of the best places for navigation. The people were without order and morals, and it was said of some of them, that "they had as many shares in a *roman*, as they had in a fishing boat." Gorges himself complained of the prodigality of his servants, and had very little confidence in his own sons, for whose aggrandizement he had been laboring to establish a foundation. He had indeed erected saw-mills and corn-mills, and had received some acknowledgment in the way of rents, but lamented, that he had not reaped the "happy success of those who are their own stewards, and the disposers of their own affairs."

How long Gorges continued in his office as Governor of Plymouth, does not appear from any materials within my reach. In 1625, he commanded a ship of war in a squadron under the Duke of Buckingham, which was sent to the assistance of France, under pretence of being employed against the Genese. But a suspicion having arisen that they were destined to assist Louis against his Protestant subjects at Rochelle, as soon as they were arrived at Dieppe, and found that they had been deceived, Gorges was the first to break his orders and return with his ship to England. The others followed his example, and their zeal for the Protestant religion was much applauded.

When the civil dissensions in England broke out into a war, Gorges took the royal side; and though then far advanced in years, engaged personally in the service of the crown. He was in Prince Rupert's army at the siege of Bristol, in 1643; and when that city was retaken in 1645 by the Parliament's forces, he was plundered and imprisoned. His political principles rendered him obnoxious to the ruling powers, and when it was necessary for him to appear before the commis-

isioners for foreign plantations, he was severely frowned upon and consequently discouraged.

The time of his death is uncertain; he is spoken of in the records of the province of Maine as dead in June, 1647. Upon his decease, his estate fell to his eldest son, John Gorges, who, whether discouraged by his father's ill success, or incapacitated by the severity of the times, took no care of the province, nor do we find any thing memorable concerning him. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants, in 1649, were obliged to combine for their own security. In 1651 they petitioned the Council of State, that they might be considered as part of the Commonwealth of England. The next year, upon the request of a great part of the inhabitants, the colony of Massachusetts, took them under their protection, being supposed to be within the limits of their charter; some opposition was made to this step, but the majority submitted or acquiesced; and considering the difficulties of the times, and the unsettled state of affairs in England, this was the best expedient for their security.

On the death of John Gorges, the propriety descended to his son, Ferdinando Gorges, of Westminster, who seems to have been a man of information and activity. He printed a description of New England in 1658, to which he annexed a narrative written by his grandfather; from which this account is chiefly compiled; but another piece which in some editions is tacked to these, entitled, "Wonder working Providences," was unfairly ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, though written by a Mr. Johnson, of Woburn, in New England.

On the restoration of King Charles II. Gorges petitioned the crown, complaining of the Massachusetts colony for usurping the government of Maine, and extending the boundary lines. In 1664 commissioners were sent to America, who finding the people in the province of Maine divided in their opinions with respect to matters of government, appointed justices in the king's name to govern them; and about the same time the proprietor nominated thirteen commissioners, and prepared a set of instructions, which were entered on the records of the province. But upon the departure of the royal commissioners, the colony resumed its jurisdiction over them. These two sources of government kept alive two parties, each of whom were always ready to complain of the other and justify themselves.

An inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts had been instituted in England, and the colony was ordered to send over agents to answer the complaints of Gorges, and Mason, the proprietor of New Hampshire, who had jointly proposed to sell their property to the crown, to make a government for the Duke of Monmouth. This proposal not being accepted, the colony themselves took the hint, and thought the most effectual way of silencing the complaint would be to make a purchase. The circumstances of the province of Maine were such as to favor their view. The Indians had invaded it; most of the settlements were destroyed or deserted, and the whole country was in trouble; the colony had afforded them all the assistance which was in their power, and they had no help from any other quarter. In the height of this calamity, John Usher, Esq., was employed to negotiate with Mr. Gorges for the purchase of the whole territory, which was effected in the year 1677. The sum of *twelve hundred and fifty pounds* sterling was paid for it, and it has ever since been a part of Massachusetts. It is now formed into two counties, York and Cumberland; but the District of Maine, as established by the laws of the United States, comprehends also the counties of Lincoln, Washington, and Hancock; extending from Piscataqua to St. Croix; a territory large enough when fully peopled, to be formed into a distinct State.*

HENRY HUDSON.

HENRY HUDSON—He sails on a voyage of discovery—arrives at Sandy Hook—The first attempt to sail up the river made by him—Hostility of the natives—He returns to England—He again sails—Mutiny—Hudson's misfortunes.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fruitless attempts which had been made to find a passage to India by the north, the idea was not given up; but it was supposed, that under the direction of some prudent, resolute and experienced commander, the object might yet be attained. A society of wealthy and sanguine adventurers in England, believed the practicability of the passage; and with a resolution and liberality almost unexampled, raised the money to carry on this expensive undertak-

ing. They gave the command of the expedition to HENRY HUDSON, a seaman of enlarged views and long experience; in whose knowledge and intrepidity they could safely confide; and whose enterprising spirit was exceeded by none, and equalled by few of his contemporaries.

When the ship which they had destined for the voyage was ready, Hudson with his crew, according to the custom of seamen in that day, went to church, in April 19, 1607, and there partook of the Lord's Supper. On the 1st of May he sailed from Gravesend; and on the 21st of June discovered land, in lat. 73°, on the eastern coast of Greenland, which he called *Hold with Hope*.

His design was to explore the whole coast of Greenland, which he supposed to be an island, and, if possible, to pass round it, or else directly under the pole. But having sailed as far as the lat. of 82°, he found the sea obstructed by impenetrable ice, and was obliged to return to England, where he arrived on the 15th of September.

By this voyage more of the eastern coast of Greenland was explored than had ever before been known; and the island, afterward called Spitzbergen, was first discovered. It also opened the way to the English, and after them to the Dutch, to prosecute the whale fishery in those northern seas.

The next year the same company of adventurers resolved to make another attempt, and sent Hudson again to find a passage to the northeast. He sailed on the 22d of August, 1608. The highest latitude to which he advanced in this voyage, was 75° 30'. After having made several attempts to pass between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla, which he found impracticable, the season was so far spent, and the winds so contrary, that he had not time to try the strait of Waygats, nor Lumley's Inlet; and therefore thought it his "duty to save victual, wages, and tackle, by a speedy return." He arrived at Gravesend on the 20th of August.*

After his return from his second voyage he went over to Holland, and entered into the service of the Dutch. Their East India Company fitted out a ship for discovery, and put him into the command.† He sailed from Amsterdam on the 25th of March, 1609.‡

The highest latitude which he made in this voyage was 61° 46'; where he found the sea in the neighborhood of Nova Zembla so filled with ice, and covered with fogs, that it was impossible to pass the strait of Waygats to the eastward. He therefore tacked and steered westerly, toward Greenland; intending to fall in with Buss Island, which had been seen by one of Frobisher's ships in 1578; but when he came into the latitude where it was laid down, he could not find it.

He then steered south-westerly; passed the banks of Newfoundland among the French ships which were fishing, without speaking with any of them; and sailed along the coast of America. In this route he discovered Cape Cod and landed there; then pursued his course to the south and west; making remarks on the soundings and currents, till he came to the entrance of Chesapeake Bay. Here he plied off and on for several days, and then turned again to the northward.

In his return along the coast, on the 28th of August, he discovered the great bay, now called Delaware, in the latitude of 39° 5'. In this bay he examined the soundings and currents, and the appearance of the land; but did not go on shore.

From this bay, passing along a low marshy coast skirted with broken islands, on the 2d September he saw high hills to the northward; which I suppose were the Neversinks in New Jersey.

On the 4th of September, he came to an anchor in "a very good harbor" in the latitude 40° 30', which is the bay within Sandy Hook. On the 6th, the boat was sent to survey what appeared to be the mouth of a river, distant four leagues. This was the strait called the Narrows, between Long Island and Staten Island; here was a good depth of water; and within was a

* In the journal of this voyage, written by Hudson himself, is the following remark. "June 15, lat. 75° 7'. This morning one of our company looking overboard saw a mermaid, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and by that time she was close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men. A little after a sea came and overturned her. From the naval upward her back and breasts were like a woman, (as they say that saw her,) her body as big as one of us; her skin very white, and long hair hanging down behind, of color black. In her going down they saw her tail, which was like the tail of a porpoise, and speckled like a mackerel. Their names that saw her were Thomas Hilles, and Robert Raynor.—Purchas, iv. 575.

† This is said on the authority of Dr. Foster. The journal says nothing of it. It was written by Robert Juet his mate.

‡ Smith in his history of New York, following Oldmixon and other second hand authorities, places this voyage in 1608. But as the journals of Hudson's four voyages are extant in Purchas, I take all dates from them.

large opening, and a narrow river, to the west; the channel between Bergen Neck and Staten Island. As the boat was returning, it was attacked by some of the natives, in two canoes. One man, John Colman, was killed; he was buried on a point of land, which, from that circumstance, was called Colman's point. It is probably Sandy Hook, within which the ship lay.

On the 11th, they sailed through the Narrows, and found a "good harbor secure from all winds." The next day, they turned against a N. W. wind, into the mouth of the river, which bears Hudson's name; and came to anchor two leagues within it. On these two days, they were visited by the natives, who brought corn, beans, oysters and tobacco. They had pipes of copper, in which they smoked; and earthen pots, in which they dressed their meat. Hudson would not suffer them to stay on board by night.

From the 12th to the 19th September, he sailed up the river; which he found about a mile wide and of a good depth, abounding with fish, among which were "great store of salmon." As he advanced, the land on both sides was high, till it came very mountainous. This "high land had many points, the channel was narrow, and there were many eddy winds."

From a careful enumeration of the computed distances, in each day's run, as set down in the journal, it appears that Hudson sailed fifty three leagues. To this distance, the river was navigable for the ship; the boat went up eight or ten leagues farther; but found the bottom irregular, and the depth not more than seven feet. It is evident therefore that he penetrated this river, as far as where the city of Albany now stands.

The farther he went up the river, the more friendly and hospitable the natives appeared. They gave him skins in exchange for knives and other trifles. But as he came down, below the mountains, the savages were thievish and troublesome, which occasioned frequent quarrels, in which eight or nine of them were killed. The land on the eastern side of the river near its mouth, was called *Manahata*.

On the 4th of October he came out of the river; and without anchoring in the bay, stood out to sea; and steering directly for Europe, on the 7th November arrived "in the range of Dartmouth in Devonshire." Here the journal ends.

The discoveries made by Hudson in this remarkable voyage, were of great mercantile consequence to his employers. It has been said, that he "sold the country, or rather his right to it, to the Dutch." This however is questionable. The sovereigns of England and France laid equal claim to the country, and it is a matter which requires some discussion, whether the Hollanders were, at that time, so far admitted into the community of nations, as to derive rights which would be acknowledged by the other European powers. However, whilst they were struggling for existence among the nations, they were growing rich by their mercantile adventures; and this capital discovery, made at their expense, was a source of no small advantage to them. They had, for some time before, cast an eye on the fur trade; and had even bribed some Frenchmen to admit them into the traffic at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The discovery of Hudson's river gave them, at once, an entrance of above fifty leagues into the heart of the American continent; in a situation where the best furs could be procured without any interruption from either the French or the English. The place indeed lay within the claim of both these nations; Acadia extended from the latitude of 40° to 48°; and Virginia from 34° to 45°; but the French had made several fruitless attempts to pass southward of Cape Cod; and had but just begun their plantations at Acadia and St. Lawrence. The English had made some efforts to establish colonies in Virginia, one of which was struggling for existence, and others had failed, both in the southern and northern division. Besides, King James, by a stroke of policy peculiar to himself, in dividing Virginia between the North and South Companies, had interlocked each patent with the other; and at the same time interdicted the patentees from planting within one hundred miles of each other. This uncertainty, concurring with other causes, kept the adventurers at such a distance, that the intermediate country, by far the most valuable, lay exposed to the intrusion of foreigners; none of whom knew better than the Dutch, how to avail themselves of the ignorance or inattention of their neighbors in pursuit of gain.

But whether it can at this time be determined or not by what means the Hollanders acquired a title to the country; certain it is, that they understood and pursued the advantage which this discovery opened to them. Within four years, a fort and trading-house

* New State of Maine.

were erected on the spot where Albany is now built; and another fort on the S. W. point of the island, where the city of New York now stands, by a company of merchants who had procured from the States-general a patent for an exclusive trade to Hudson's river.

The transactions between Hudson and his Dutch employers are not stated in the accounts of his voyages. Dr. Foster says that he offered to undertake another voyage in their service, but that they declined it, upon which he returned to England; and again entered into the service of the company, who had before employed him.

The former attempts for a northern passage having been made in very high latitudes, it was now determined, to seek for one, by passing to the westward of Greenland, and examining the inlets of the American continent. For this purpose a ship was fitted out, and the command was given to Hudson; but unhappily, the company insisted that he should take with him as an assistant, one Colburne, a very able and experienced seaman. Their great confidence in Colburne's skill excited Hudson's envy; and after the ship had fallen down the river, he put him on board a pinnace, bound up to London, with a letter to the owners, containing the reasons of his conduct; and then proceeded on his voyage. [April 22, 1610.] This rash step gave the crew an example of disobedience, which was so severely retaliated on himself, as to prove the cause of his ruin.

He went round the north of Scotland, through the Orkney and Faro islands, and on the 11th of May made the eastern part of Iceland. Sailing along its southern shore, in sight of the volcanic mountain Hecla, he put into a harbor in the western part of the island; where he met with a friendly reception from the inhabitants; but found great dissensions among his crew, which he could not appease without much difficulty.

Having doubled the southern promontory of Greenland, he steered N. W. for the American continent. In this passage he was so entangled with floating ice, that he almost despaired of getting clear. But at length with much labor and peril, he forced his way through the strait and into the bay which bears his name. The farther he advanced, the greater were the murmurings among his men. He removed his mate and boatswain and put others in their places. This discipline not only rendered him more unpopular, but inflamed the displaced officers with bitter resentment against him.

The whole summer having been spent in examining the eastern and southern extremities of the deep and extensive bay which he had discovered; in October it was too late to return; the discovery was yet incomplete, and he was loth to leave it. He had taken but half a year's provision from England. It was therefore necessary to husband what was left, and procure more by hunting; which was done in great plenty, by reason of the numerous flights of fowl which succeeded each other through the winter.

In November the ship was frozen up. Soon after the gunner died, and a controversy took place about dividing his clothes. Hudson was partial to Henry Green, a young man of a debauched character, whom he had taken on board; and whose name was not on the ship's books. This young man ungenerously took part with the discontented, and lost Hudson's favor.

They had to struggle with a severe winter, and bad accommodations, which produced scorbutic and rheumatic complaints. These were relieved by a decoction of the buds of a tree filled with a balsamic juice; the liquor was drank, and the buds applied to the swelled joints. This is supposed to have been the *Populus Balsamifera*.

When the spring came on, the birds disappeared, and their provisions fell short. To still the clamor among the discontented, Hudson injudiciously divided the remaining stores, into equal shares, and gave each man his portion; which some devoured at once and others preserved.

The ship being afloat, he began to sail toward the N. W. to pursue the object of his voyage; when, (June 21, 1611) a conspiracy which had been some time in fermentation, broke out into open mutiny. The displaced mate and boatswain, accompanied by the infamous Green and others rose and took command of the ship. They put Hudson, his son, the carpenter, the mathematician, and five others, most of whom were sick and lame, into the shallop; with a small quantity of meal, one gun and ammunition, two or three spears and an iron pot; and then with the

most savage inhumanity turned them adrift. This is the last account of Hudson. Whether he, with his unhappy companions, perished by the sea, by famine, or by the savages, is unknown.

The conspirators put the ship about to the eastward and hasted to get out of the bay. Near Cape Digges, they met with seven canoes of the savages, by whom they were attacked. The perfidious Green was killed, and three others wounded, of whom two died in a few days. The miserable remnant pursued their course homeward, and suffered much by famine; but at length arrived in Ireland, and from thence got to England.

This account of the unfortunate end of Hudson and the return of the ship, is taken from a narrative written by Abacue Pricket, whom the mutineers preserved, in hope that by his connexion with Sir Dudley Digges, one of the owners, they should obtain their pardon.

The most astonishing circumstance in this horrid act of cruelty, is the oath by which the conspirators bound themselves to execute their plot; the form of it is preserved by Pricket, and is in these words.

"You shall swear truth, to God, your prince and country; you shall do nothing but to the glory of God; and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." It is to be hoped, that the absurdity, hypocrisy, and blasphemy of this transaction will ever be unparalleled in the history of human depravity!

END OF VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE beginning of the colony of Virginia has been related in the life of Captain John Smith; to whose ingenuity, prudence, patience, activity, industry and resolution, its subsistence during the first three years is principally to be ascribed. It would have been either deserted by the people, or destroyed by the natives, had he not encouraged the former by his unremitting exertions, and struck an awe into the latter by his military address and intrepidity.

The views of the adventurers in England were intent on present gain; and their strict orders were to preserve peace with the natives. Neither of these could be realized. Cultivation is the first object in all new plantations; this requires time and industry; and till the wants of the people could be supplied by their own labor, it was necessary to have some dependence on the natives for such provisions as they could spare from their own consumption: and when the supply could not be obtained by fair bargain, it was thought necessary to use stratagem or force. Those who were on the spot were the best judges of the time and occasion of using those means; but they were not permitted to judge for themselves. The company of adventurers undertook to prescribe rules, to insist on a rigorous execution of them, and to form various projects which could never be carried into effect. In short, they expected more from their colony than it was possible for it to produce in so short a time, with such people as they sent to reside there, and in the face of so many dangers and difficulties, which were continually presented to them.

After the arrival of Captain Newport in England from his third voyage, the Company of South Virginia, disappointed and vexed at the small returns which the ships brought home, determined on a change of system, they solicited and obtained of the crown a new charter (May 23, 1609), and took into the company a much greater number of adventurers than before. Not less than six hundred and fifty-seven names of persons are inserted in the charter, many of whom were noblemen, and gentlemen of fortune, and merchants; besides fifty-six incorporated companies of mechanics in the city of London; and room was left for the admission of more. The government at home was vested in a council of fifty-two persons, named in the charter; at the head of which was Sir Thomas Smith, the former treasurer; and all vacancies which might happen in the council, were to be filled by the vote of a majority of the company legally assembled. This council in England had the power of appointing governors and other officers to reside in Virginia, and of making laws and giving instructions for the government of the colony. In consequence of this power, the treasurer and council constituted the following officers:

Sir Thomas West, Lord Delaware, Captain-general; Sir Thomas Gates, Lieutenant-general; Sir George Somers, Admiral; Captain Christopher Newport, Vice-Admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, High Marshall; and Sir Ferdinando Wainman, General of Horse.

Several other gentlemen, whose names are not mentioned, were appointed to other offices, all of which

were to be holden *during life*. This may seem a strange way of appointing officers in a new colony, especially when the charter gave the council power to revoke and discharge them. But it is probable that these gentlemen had friends in the company who were persons of wealth and influence, and who thought the offices not worthy of their acceptance, unless they could hold them long enough to make their fortunes. The example of Columbus might have served as a precedent, who had the office of admiral of the West Indies, not only for life, but as an inheritance to his posterity.

SIR THOMAS SMITH.

SIR THOMAS SMITH—He is calumniated—Decree of Chancery in his favor—He resigns his office of Treasurer of the Virginia Company—Two thousand acres of Land granted to him in Virginia—Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company—Lotteries—Supplies obtained by them for Virginia—Tenaciousness of King James.

ALL which is known with certainty of this gentleman is, that he was a London merchant, of great wealth and influence, Governor of the East India and Muscovy Companies, and of the company associated for the discovery of a north-west passage; that he had been sent (1604) ambassador from King James to the Emperor of Russia; that he was one of the assignees of Sir Walter Raleigh's patent, and thus became interested in the colony of Virginia. He had been treasurer of the company under their first charter, and presided in all the meetings of the council and of the company in England; but he never came to America.

It is unfortunate for the memory of Sir Thomas Smith, that both the company and colony of South Virginia were distracted by a malevolent party spirit; and that he was equally an object of reproach on the one hand and of panegyric on the other. To decide on the merit or demerit of his character, at this distance of time, would perhaps require more evidence than can be produced; but candor is due to the dead as well as to the living.

He was a warm friend of Captain John Smith, who, in his account of Virginia, speaks of him with respect, as a diligent and careful overseer, especially in sending supplies to the colony during his residence there; and after his return to England, he depended on Sir Thomas and the council for those accounts of the colony which he has inserted in his history, subsequent to that period.

In a dedication prefixed to a narrative of the shipwreck of Sir George Somers on the Island of Bermuda, Sir Thomas is complimented in the following manner; "Worthy sir, if other men were like you, if all as able as you are were as willing, we should see a flourishing Christian church and commonwealth in Virginia. But let this be your consolation, there is one that is more able and willing than you, even the God of heaven and earth. And know further, for your comfort, that though the burden lie on you and a few more, yet are there many honorable and worthy men of all sorts who will never shrink from you. Go on, therefore, with courage and constancy; and be assured, that though by your honorable embassages and employments, and by your charitable and virtuous courses you have gained a worthy reputation in this world, yet nothing that you ever did or suffered, more honors you in the eyes of all that are godly-wise, than your faithful and unwearied prosecution, your continual and comfortable assistance of those foreign plantations."

But though flattered and complimented by his admirers, yet he had enemies both among the company in England and the colonists in Virginia. By some of his associates he was accused of favoring the growth of tobacco in the colony, to the neglect of other staple commodities which the country was equally capable of producing. It was also alleged, that instead of a body of laws agreeable to the English constitution, a book had been printed and dedicated to him, and sent to Virginia by his own authority, and without the order or consent of the company, containing "laws written in blood;" which, though they might serve for a time of war, being mostly translated from the martial law of the United Netherlands, yet were destructive of the liberties of English subjects, and contrary to the express letter of the royal charter. For this reason many people in England were deterred from emigrating to Virginia, and many persons in the colony were unjustly put to death.

In the colony, the clamor against him was still louder. It was there said, that he had been most scandalously negligent, if not corrupt, in the matter of supplies; that in a certain period called the "starving time," the allowance for a man was only eight ounces

of meal and a half pint of pease per day, and that neither of them were fit to be eaten; that famine obliged many of the people to fly to the savages for relief, who being retaken were put to death for desertion; that others were reduced to the necessity of stealing, which by his sanguinary laws was punished with extreme rigor; that the sick and infirm, who were unable to work, were denied the allowance, and famished for want; that some in these extremities dug holes in the earth, and hid themselves till they perished; that the scarcity was "so lamentable," that they were constrained to eat dogs, cats, snakes, and even human corpses; that one man killed his wife, and put her flesh in pickle, for which he was burnt to death. These calamities were by the colonists so strongly and pointedly laid to the charge of the treasurer, that when they had found a mare which had been killed by the Indians, and were boiling her flesh for food, they wished Sir Thomas was in the same kettle. A list of these grievances was presented to King James; and in the conclusion of the petition, they begged his majesty, that "rather than be reduced to live under the like government again, he would send over commissioners to hang them."

In answer to these accusations, it was said, that the original ground of all these calamities was the unfortunate shipwreck of a vessel loaded with supplies, on the Island of Bermuda. This happened at a time when Captain John Smith was disabled and obliged to quit the colony, which had been supported in a great measure by his exertions. Another source of the mischief was the indolence of the colonists themselves; who regarded only the present moment, and took no care for the future. This indolence was so great, that they would eat their fish raw rather than go to a small distance from the water for wood to dress it. When there was a plenty of sturgeon in the river, they would not take any more than to serve their present necessity, though they knew the season was approaching when these fish return to the sea; nor did they take care to preserve their nets, but suffered them to perish for want of drying and mending. Another cause was the dishonesty of those who were employed in procuring corn from the natives; for having accomplished their object, they went to sea, and turned pirates; some of them united with other pirates, and those who got home to England, protested that they were obliged to quit Virginia for fear of starving. Besides, it was said that when ships arrived with provision, it was embezzled by the mariners, and the articles intended for traffic with the Indians, were privately given away or sold for a trifle; and some of the people venturing too far into their villages were surprised and killed.

The story of the man eating his dead wife was propagated in England by some of the deserters; but when it was examined afterwards by Sir Thomas Gates, it proved to be no more than this. One of the colonists who hated his wife, secretly killed her: then, to conceal the murder cut her body in pieces, and hid them in different parts of the house. When the woman was missed, the man was suspected; his house was searched, and the pieces were found. To excuse his guilt, he pleaded that his wife died of hunger, and that he daily fed on her remains. His house was again searched, and other food was found; on which he was arraigned, confessed the murder, and was put to death; being burned, according to law.

Though calumniated both in England and America, Sir Thomas Smith did not want advocates; and his character for integrity was so well established in England, that when some of the company who had refused to advance their quotas, pleaded his negligence and avarice in their excuse, the Court of Chancery, before whom the affair was carried, gave a decree against them, and they were compelled to pay the sums which they had subscribed.

The charges against him were equally levelled against the council and company; and by their order a declaration was published, in which the misfortunes of the colony are thus summarily represented. "Cast up the reckoning together, want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners, their nets broken, the deer chased, their boats lost, their hogs killed, their trade with the Indians forbidden, some of their men died, some murdered, and most by drinking the brackish water of James Port, weakened and endangered; famine and sickness by all these means increased. Here at home the monies came in so slowly, that the Lord Delaware could not be despatched till the colony was worn and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler nor preacher, they feared neither God nor

man which provoked the Lord, and pulled down his judgments upon them."

Sir Thomas Smith continued in his office of treasurer till 1619; when the prejudice against him became so strong, that by the interest of the Earl of Warwick, who hated him, his removal was in contemplation. At the same time, Sir Thomas, being advanced in years and infirmities, having grown rich, and having a sufficiency of business as governor of the East India Company, thought it prudent to retire from an office of so great a responsibility, attended with so much trouble and so little advantage; and accordingly sent in his resignation to the Council of Virginia. His friends would have dissuaded him from this measure; but he was inflexible. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected his successor; a gentleman of good understanding, and great application to business. At his motion, a gratuity of 2,000 acres of land in Virginia was granted to Sir Thomas. He had been in office upwards of twelve years, in which time the expenses of the plantation had amounted to 80,000*l.*; and though he had declared that he left 4,000*l.* for his successor to begin with, yet it was found on examination, that the company was in debt to a greater amount than that sum.

Several ways were used for the raising of supplies to carry on the colonization of Virginia. One was by the subscriptions of the members of the company; another was by the voluntary donations of other people; and a third was by lotteries. Subscriptions, if not voluntarily paid were recoverable by law; but this method was tedious and expensive. Donations were precarious, and though liberal and well intended, yet they sometimes consisted only of books and furniture for churches and colleges, and appropriations for the education of Indian children. Lotteries were before this time unknown in England; but so great was the rage for this mode of raising money, that within the space of six years the sum of 29,000*l.* was brought into the treasury. This was "the real and substantial food with which Virginia was nourished." The authority on which the lotteries were grounded was the charter of King James (1609), and so tenacious was this monarch of his prerogative, that in a subsequent proclamation he vainly interdicted the "*speaking* against the Virginian Lottery." Yet when the House of Commons (1621) began to call in question some of the supposed rights of royalty, these lotteries and the proclamation which enforced them were complained of and presented among the grievances of the nation. On that occasion an apology was made by the king's friends, "that he never *liked* the lotteries, but gave *way* to them, because he was told that Virginia, could not subsist without them;" and when the Commons insisted on their complaint, the monarch revoked the license by an order of council; in consequence of which the treasury of the company was almost without resources.

THOMAS LORD DELAWARE, SIR THOMAS GATES, SIR GEORGE SOMERS, CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, SIR THOMAS DALE, SIR FERDINANDO WAINMAN.

LORD DELAWARE—arrives in Virginia—He builds two forts on James river—He leaves Virginia—arrives at the Western Islands—Daniel Gookin settles in Virginia—He removes to New England—Sir Thomas Dale, Governor of Virginia—His energetic proceedings—His character as Governor—Sir Thomas Gates—His arrival in Virginia as Governor—His return to England—Sir George Somers, Admiral of Virginia—Dispute with Gates about rank—He is wrecked on Bermuda Island—He arrives in Virginia—His death, burial, and monument—Christopher Newport, commander in the Navy of Queen Elizabeth—New York first settled—Sir Ferdinando Wainman—His arrival in Virginia—His death—Death of Lord Delaware.

The history of these persons is so blended, that a separate account of each cannot be written from any materials in my possession. Their characters, however, may be distinguished in a few words, before I proceed to the history of their united transactions in the employment of the company and colony of Virginia.

LORD DELAWARE is said to have been a worthy peer of an ancient family; a man of fine parts and of a generous disposition; who took much pains, and was at a great expense to establish the colony, in the service of which he suffered much in his health, and finally died at sea (1618,) in his second voyage to America, in or near the mouth of the bay which bears his name.

SIR THOMAS GATES was probably a land officer, between him and Sir George Somers, there was not that cordial harmony which is always desirable between men who are engaged in the same business. Excepting this, nothing is said to his disadvantage.

SIR GEORGE SOMERS was a gentleman of rank and

fortune, of approved fidelity and indefatigable industry; an excellent sea commander, having been employed in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, and having distinguished himself in several actions against the Spaniards in the West Indies. At the time of his appointment to be Admiral of Virginia, he was above sixty years of age. His seat in Parliament was vacated by his acceptance of a colonial commission. He died in the service of the colony (1610) at Bermuda, highly esteemed and greatly regretted.

CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT was a mariner of ability and experience in the American seas. He had been a commander in the navy of Elizabeth, and, in 1595, had conducted an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, where, with three or four ships, he plundered and burned some towns, and took several prizes, with a considerable booty. He was a vain, empty, conceited man, and very fond of parade. By the advantage of going to and fro, he gained the confidence of the council and company in England; and whatever he proposed was adopted by them. Some traits of his character have been given in the life of Captain John Smith. In 1651 he imported fifty men, and seated them on a plantation, which he called Newport's News. Daniel Gookin came with a cargo of cattle from Ireland, and settled first on this plantation. He afterwards removed to New England.

SIR THOMAS DALE is said to have been a gentleman of much honor, wisdom and experience. To him was entrusted the execution of the laws sent over by Sir Thomas Smith; which, though perhaps necessary at that time, (1611) when so many turbulent and refractory persons were to be governed, yet were subversive of that freedom which Englishmen claimed as their birthright, and gave too much power into the hands of a governor. Though his administration was marked with rigor and severity, yet he did much towards advancing the settlements. On a high neck of land in James river, named Varina, he built a town which he called Henrico, in honor of Prince Henry, the remains of which were visible when Mr. Stith wrote his history (1746.) On the opposite side of the river he made a plantation on lands, from which he expelled the Indians, and called it New Bermuda. He staid in Virginia about five years, and returned to England (1616) after which there is no farther account of him.

OF SIR FERDINANDO WAINMAN, nothing is said but that he died soon after his arrival in Virginia with Lord Delaware, in the summer of 1610.

When the new charter of Virginia was obtained, the council and company immediately equipped a fleet, to carry supplies of men and women, with provisions and other necessaries to the colony. The fleet consisted of seven ships, in each of which, beside the captain, went one or more of the counsellors or other officers of the colony; and though there was a dispute about rank between two officers, Somers and Gates, they were placed in one ship with Newport, the third in command. The Governor-general, Lord Delaware, did not sail with this fleet; but waited till the next year, to go with a further supply. The names of the ships and their commanders were as follows:

The Sea-Adventure, Admiral Sir George Somers, with Sir Thomas Gates, and Captain Christopher Newport; the Diamond, Captain Radcliffe and Captain King; the Falcon, Captain Martin and Master Nelson; the Blessing, Gabriel Archer and Captain Adams; the Unity, Captain Wood and Master Pett; the Lion, Captain Webb; the Swallow, Captain Moore and Master Somers.

The fleet was attended by two smaller vessels, one of which was a ketch, commanded by Matthew Fitch, the other a pinnace, in which went Captain Davies and Master Davies.

This fleet sailed from Plymouth on the second day of June, 1609. Though their orders were not to go by the old route of the Canaries, and the West Indies, but to steer directly for Virginia, yet they went as far southward as the twenty-sixth degree of latitude; where the heat was so excessive, that many of the people were taken with calentures. In two ships, thirty-two persons died; others suffered severely, and one vessel only was free from sickness.

The whole fleet kept company till the twenty-fourth of July, when they supposed themselves to be within eight days sail of Virginia, stretching to the northwest, and crossing the Gulf Stream. On that day, began a violent tempest from the northeast, accompanied with a horrid darkness, which continued forty-four hours. In this gale the fleet was scattered. The Admiral's ship, on board of which was the commission for the new government, with the three principal officers, was

wrecked on the island of Bermuda. The ketch foundered at sea. The remainder, much damaged and distressed, arrived one after another in James river, about the middle of August.

The provisions brought by these ships were insufficient for the colony and the passengers. This deficiency proved very detrimental, and occasioned the miseries and reproaches which have been already mentioned. The space of ten months from August, 1609, to the arrival of Lord Delaware, in June, 1610, was known in Virginia for many years after, by the name of "the starving time." But the want of provision was not the only deficiency; there was a total want of principle and of order.

Of the company who arrived at this time, the following description is given by a native Virginian. "A great part of them consisted of unruly sparks, packed off, by their friends, to escape a worse destiny at home. The rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, rakes and libertines, footmen, and such others as were much fitter to ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one. This lowly company were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagancies. They assumed the power of disposing of the government; and conferred it sometimes on one and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, and the next day neither. All was anarchy and distraction."

Such being the character of the people, there could not have been any great hope of success, if the whole fleet had arrived in safety.

The admiral's ship had on board a great quantity of provision. She was separated from the fleet in the storm, and sprang a leak at sea, so that with constant pumping and bailing, they could scarcely keep her above water for three days and four nights; during which time Sir George Somers did not once leave the quarter-deck. The crew, worn out with fatigue and despairing of life, broached the strong liquors, and took leave of each other with an inebriating draught, till many of them fell asleep. In this dreadful extremity, Sir George discovered land; the news of which awoke and revived them, and every man exerted himself to do his duty. At length the ship struck ground in such a position between two rocks, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, that the people and a great part of the cargo were safely landed.

The Bermuda Islands were uninhabited, and had the reputation of being enchanted.* But when the people were on shore they found the air pure and salubrious, and fruits of various kinds growing in luxuriant plenty and perfection. The shore was covered with tortoises, the sea abounded with fish, and in the woods they found wild hogs, which it is supposed had escaped from some vessel wrecked on the island.

Here they remained nine months. The two senior officers lived apart, and each, with the assistance of the men, built a vessel of the cedars which grew on the island, and the iron and cordage saved from the wreck. Sir George Somers labored with his own hands every day till his vessel was completed. One of these vessels was called the *Patience*, the other the *Deliverance*.

It is remarked, that during their abode on this island, they had morning and evening prayers daily; divine service was performed and two sermons were preached every Lord's day, by their chaplain, Mr. Bucke. One marriage was celebrated, and two children were born and baptized. Five of the company died, one of whom was murdered. The murderer was put under confinement, but escaped, and hid himself among the woods and rocks, with another offender, till the departure of the company, when they were left behind. Many of the people were so well pleased with the place, that they were with difficulty prevailed on to quit these pleasant islands.

The lower seams of the vessel were calked with the remains of the useless cables, and a small quantity of tar saved from the wreck. The upper seams were secured with lime made of calcined stones and shells, slaked with fresh water and softened with the oil of tortoises. This cement soon became dry and firm. The wild hogs served for sea-stores, being preserved with salt, crystallized on the rocks.

On the tenth of May, 1610, the company, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons, embarked, and

after encountering some difficulty among the rocks, the next day got clear of the land, and shaped their course for Virginia; where they arrived on the twenty-first, at Point Comfort, and two days after at Jamestown. The colony, reduced to sixty persons, in a sickly, mutinous and starving condition, gave them a mournful welcome. The new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, caused the bell to be rung, and summoned the whole company to the church; where, after an affectionate prayer by Mr. Bucke, the new commission was read and the former president, Mr. Percy, then scarcely able to stand, delivered up the old patent, with his commission.

On a strict examination, it was found that the provisions brought by the two pinnaces, would serve the people not more than sixteen days, and that what they had in the town would be spent in ten. It being seed time, the Indians had no corn to spare, and they were so hostile that no treaty could be holden with them. The sturgeon had not yet come into the river, and many of the nets were useless. No hope remained of preserving the colony; and after mature deliberation, it was determined to abandon the country. The nearest place where any relief could be obtained was Newfoundland; thither they proposed to sail, and there they expected to meet the fishing vessels from England, on board of which the people might be distributed and get passages home, when the season of fishing should be completed.

Having taken this resolution, and buried their ordinance at the gate of the fort, on the seventh of June, at beat of drum, the whole company embarked in four pinnaces. It was with difficulty that some of the people were restrained from setting fire to the town; but the governor, with a select company, remained on shore till the others had embarked, and he was the last that stepped into the boat. About noon they came to sail, and fell down with the ebb, that evening, to Hog Island. The next morning's tide brought them to Mulberry Island Point; where, lying at anchor, they discovered a boat coming up the river with the flood. In an hour's time the boat came along side the governor's pinnace, and proved to be an express from the Lord Delaware, who had arrived, with three ships and a supply of provision, two days before, at Point Comfort; where the captain of the fort had informed him of the intended evacuation; and his lordship immediately despatched his skiff with letters by Captain Edward Brewster, to prevent their departure. On receiving these letters, the governor ordered the anchors to be weighed, and the wind, being easterly, brought them back in the night, to their old quarters at Jamestown.

On the Lord's day, June 10, the ships came to anchor before the town. As soon as Lord Delaware came on shore, he fell down on his knees, and continued some time in silent devotion. He then went to church, and after service, his commission was read, which constituted him "governor and captain-general during his life, of the colony and plantation of Virginia." Sir Thomas Gates delivered up his commission and the colony seal. On this occasion, Lord Delaware made a public address to the people, blaming them for their former idleness and misconduct, and exhorting them to a contrary behavior, lest he should be obliged to draw the sword of justice against delinquents, and cut them off; adding, that he had rather spill his own blood to protect them from injuries.

Having displaced such men as had abused their power, and appointed proper persons to office, he assigned to every man his portion of labor, according to his capacity; among which the culture of vines was not forgotten; some Frenchmen having been imported for the purpose. There had been no division of the lands, but all was common property; and the colony was considered as one great family, fed daily out of the public store. Their employments were under the direction of the government, and the produce of their labors was brought into the common stock. The Indians were so troublesome, that it would not have been prudent for the people to disperse, till they should be better able to defend themselves, or till the savages should be more friendly. They were therefore lodged within the fortifications of Jamestown; their working and fishing parties, when abroad, were well armed or guarded; their situation was hazardous; and the prospect of improvement, considering the character of the majority, was not very flattering. "The most honest and industrious would scarcely take so much pains in a week, as they would have done for themselves in a day; presuming that however the harvest prospered, the general store must maintain them; by which means

they reaped not so much corn from the labors of thirty men, as three men could have produced, on their own lands."

No dependence could be placed on any supply of provisions from this mode of exertion. The stores brought over in the fleet might have kept them alive, with prudent management, for the greater part of a year; but within that time it would be necessary to provide more. The Bermuda Islands were full of hogs, and Sir George Somers offered to go thither with a party to kill and salt them. This offer was readily accepted, and he embarked in his own cedar vessel of thirty tons, accompanied by Captain Samuel Argal, in another.

They sailed together, till by contrary winds they were driven among the shoals of Nantucket and Cape Cod; whence Argal found his way back to Virginia, and was despatched to the Potomack for corn. There he found Henry Spelman, an English youth, who had been preserved from the fury of Powhatan, by his daughter Pocahontas. By his assistance Argal procured a supply of corn, which he carried to Jamestown.

Sir George Somers, after long struggling with contrary winds, was driven to the northeastern shore of America; where he refreshed his men, then pursued the main object of his voyage, and arrived safely at Bermuda. There he began to collect the swine, and prepare their flesh for food; but the fatigues to which he had been exposed by sea and land, proved too severe for his advanced age, and he sunk under the burden. Finding his time short, he made a proper disposition of his estate, and charged his nephew, Matthew Somers, who commanded under him, to return with the provision to Virginia. But the love of his native country prevailed. Having buried the entrails at Bermuda, he carried the corpse of his uncle to England, and deposited it at Whitechurch in Dorsetshire. A monument was afterwards erected at Bermuda to the memory of this excellent man.* The town of St. George was named for him, and the islands were called Somers Islands. The return of this vessel gave the first account in England of the discovery of those islands.

Virginia, thus left destitute of so able and virtuous a friend, was soon after deprived of the presence of its Governor, Lord Delaware. Having built two forts at the mouth of James river, and another at the falls; and having rendered his government respectable in the view both of the English and Indians, he found his health so much impaired, that he was obliged in nine months to quit the country, intending to go to Nevis for the benefit of the warm baths. By contrary winds he was forced to the Western Islands, where he obtained great relief from the fresh fruits of the country; but he was advised not to hazard himself again in Virginia; till his health should be more perfectly restored, by a voyage to England. Sir Thomas Dale and Sir Thomas Gates having previously gone at different times to England, the government was again left in the hands of Mr. Percy; a gentleman of a noble family and a good heart, but of very moderate abilities.

At the time of Lord Delaware's departure (March 28, 1611) the colony consisted of above two hundred people, most of whom were in good health and well provided; but when Sir Thomas Dale arrived, in less than two months, (May 10,) with three ships, bringing an addition of three hundred people, he found the old colonists again relapsing into the former state of indolence and penury. Depending on the public store, they had neglected planting, and were amusing themselves with bowling and other diversions in the streets of Jamestown. Nothing but the presence of a spirited governor, and a severe execution of his orders, could induce these people to labor. The severities exercised upon them were such as could not be warranted by the laws of England. The consequences were dis-

* This monument was erected about ten years after his death by Nathaniel Butler, then governor of Bermuda, of which the following account is given by Captain Smith, in his history of Virginia and the Somers Islands, p. 193.

"Finding accidentally a little cross erected in a bye place among many bushes, and understanding that there was buried the heart and entrails of Sir George Somers, he resolved to have a better memory to so worthy a soldier. So finding a great marble stone, brought out of England, he caused it by masons to be wrought handsomely and laid over the place, which he environed with a square wall of hewn stone, tomb-like; whereon he caused to be engraved this epitaph he had composed.

"In the year sixteen hundred and eleven,
Noble Sir George Somers went hence to heaven;
Whose well tried worth that held him still employ'd,
Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide.
Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree, that to this place,
He brought new guests and name, to mutual grace;
At last his soul and body being to part,
He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart."

* "Whereas it is reported that this land of Bermudas, with the islands about it, are enchanted and kept by evil and wicked spirits; it is a most idle and false report. God grant that we have brought no wicked spirits with us, or that there come none after us; for we found nothing there so ill as ourselves."
[Jordan's News from Bermuda, 1613.]

content and insurrection in some, and servile acquiescence in others. Sir Thomas Dale was esteemed as a man who might safely be entrusted with power; but the laws by which he governed, and his rigorous administration of them, were the subject of bitter remembrance and complaint.

The adventurers in England were still in a state of disappointment; and when Sir Thomas Gates arrived without bringing any returns adequate to their expectations, the council entered into a serious deliberation whether to proceed in their adventure or abandon the enterprise. Lord Delaware's arrival in England cast a deeper gloom on the melancholy prospect. But the representations of these gentlemen, delivered in council and confirmed by oath, served to keep up their spirits, and induce them still to renew their exertions.

The substance of these representations was, that the country was rich in itself, but that time and industry were necessary to make its wealth profitable to the adventurers; that it yielded abundance of valuable woods, as oak, walnut, ash, sassafras, mulberry trees for silk worms, live oak, cedar and fir for shipping, and that on the banks of the Potowmack there were trees large enough for masts; that it produced a species of wild hemp for cordage, pines which yielded tar, and a vast quantity of iron ore; besides lead, antimony, and other minerals, and several kinds of colored earths; that in the woods were found various balsams and other medicinal drugs, with an immense quantity of myrtle-berries for wax; that the forests and rivers harbored beavers, otters, foxes and deer, whose skins were valuable articles of commerce; that sturgeon might be taken in the greatest plenty in five noble rivers; and that without the bay, to the northward, was an excellent fishing bank for cod of the best quality; that the soil was favorable to the cultivation of vines, sugar-canes, oranges, lemons, almonds and rice; that the winters were so mild that cattle could get their food abroad, and that swine could be fattened on wild fruits; that the Indian corn yielded a most luxuriant harvest; and in a word, that it was "one of the goodliest countries (says Purchas), promising as rich entrails as any kingdom of the earth, to which the sun is no nearer a neighbor."

Lord Delaware further assured them, that notwithstanding the ill state of his health, he was so far from shrinking or giving over the enterprise, that he was willing to lay all he was worth on its success, and to return to Virginia with all convenient expedition.

Sir Thomas Gates was again sent out with six ships, three hundred men, one hundred cattle, two hundred swine, and large supplies of every kind. He arrived in the beginning of August, 1611, and received the command from Sir Thomas Dale, who retired to Varina and employed himself in erecting a town, Henrico, and improving his plantation at New Bermuda.

In the beginning of the next year (1612), Captain Argal, who had carried home Lord Delaware, came again to Virginia with two ships, and was again sent to the Potowmack for corn; of which he procured fourteen hundred bushels. There he entered into an acquaintance with Japazawa, the sachem, an old friend of Captain Smith, and of all the English who had come to America. In his territory Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, was concealed. The reason of her quitting the dominion of her father is unknown. Certain it is, that he had been in a state of hostility with the colony ever since the departure of Smith; and that the frequent depredations and murders committed by the Indians on the English, were in the highest degree painful to this tender-hearted princess. Argal contrived a plan to get her into his possession. He bargained with Japazawa to bring her on board the ship under pretence of a visit in company with his own wife; then dismissing the sachem and his wife with the promised reward, he carried Pocahontas to Jamestown, where she had not been since Captain Smith had left the colony.

A message was sent to Powhatan to inform him that his daughter was in their hands, and that she might be restored to him, on condition that he would deliver up all the English whom he held as captives, with all the arms, tools, and utensils which the Indians had stolen, and furnish the colony with a large quantity of corn. This proposal threw him into much perplexity; for though he loved his daughter, he was loth to give so much for her redemption. After three months he sent back seven of the captives, with three unserviceable muskets, an axe, a saw, and one canoe, loaded with corn. He also sent word, that when they should deliver his daughter, he would send them five hundred bushels of corn, and make full satisfaction for all past

injuries. No reliance could be placed on such a promise. The negotiation was broken, and the king was offended. The next spring (1613) another attempt was made, accompanied with threatening on the part of the English; and stratagem on the part of the Indians. This proved equally ineffectual. At length it was announced to Powhatan, that John Rolfe, an English gentleman, was in love with Pocahontas, and had obtained her consent, and the license of the governor to marry her. The prince was softened by this intelligence, and sent one of his chiefs to attend the nuptial solemnity. After this event Powhatan was friendly to the colony as long as he lived; and a free trade was carried on between them and his people.

The visit which this lady made to England with her husband, and her death, which happened there in the bloom of her youth, have been related in the life of Captain Smith. It is there observed, that "several families of note in Virginia are descended from her." The descent is thus traced by Mr. Stith: her son, Thomas Rolfe, was educated in England, and came over to Virginia, where he became a man of fortune and distinction, and inherited a large tract of land which had been the property of his grandfather, Powhatan. He left an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling. His son, Major John Bolling, was father to Colonel John Bolling, whose five daughters were married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Dr. William Gay, Mr. Thomas Elbridge, and Mr. James Murray. Such was the state of the family in 1747.

The reconciliation between Powhatan and the English awakened the fears of the Indians of Chickahomony, a formidable and free people. They were governed by an assembly of their elders, or wise men, who also bore the character of priests. They hated Powhatan as a tyrant, and were always jealous of his design to subject them. They had taken advantage of the dissension between him and the English to assert their liberty; but on the reconciliation, they apprehended that he might make use of the friendship of the colony to reduce them under his yoke. To prevent this, they sent a deputation to Sir Thomas Dale, to excuse their former ill-conduct, and submit themselves to the English government. Sir Thomas was pleased with the offer, and on a day appointed went with Captain Argal and fifty men to their village, where a peace was concluded on the following conditions.

1. That they should forever be called [Tossentessas] New Englishmen, and be true subjects of King James and his deputies.

2. That they should neither kill nor destroy any of the English nor their stray cattle, but bring them home.

3. That they should always be ready to furnish the English with three hundred men against the Spaniards or any other enemy.

4. That they should not enter any of the English settlements without previously sending in word that they were New Englishmen.

5. That every bow-man at harvest should bring into the store two measures [two one-half bushels] of corn, as a tribute, for which he should receive a hatchet.

6. That eight elders or chiefs should see all this performed, or receive punishment themselves; and that for their fidelity, each one should receive a red coat, a copper chain, and a picture of King James, and should be accounted his noblemen.

Though this transaction passed whilst Sir Thomas Gates was at the head of the government, and residing within the colony, yet nothing is said of his assenting to it, or giving any orders about it. Dale appears to have been the most active and enterprising man; and on Gates's return to England in the spring of 1614, the chief command devolved on him.

The experience of five years had now convinced all thinking men among the English, that the colony would never thrive whilst their lands were held in common, and the people were maintained out of the public stores. In such a case there is no spur to exertion; the industrious person and the drone fare alike, and the former has no inducement to work for the latter. The time prescribed in the king's instructions for their trading in a common stock, and bringing all the fruits of their labor into a common store, was expired. An alteration was then contemplated, but the first measure adopted did not much mend the matter. Three acres only were allotted to each man, as a farm, on which he was to work eleven months for the store, and one month for himself; and to receive his proportion out of the common stock. Those who were employed on Sir Thomas Dale's plantation had better terms. One month's labor only was required, and they were ex-

empted from all further service; and for this exemption, they paid a yearly tribute of three barrels and a half of corn to the public store. These farms were not held by a tenure of common socage, which carries with it freedom and property; but merely by tenancy at will, which produces dependence. It is, however, observed, that this small encouragement gave some present content, and the fear of coming to want gradually disappeared.

About two years after (1616), a method of granting lands in freeholds, and in lots of fifty acres, was introduced into Virginia. This quantity was allowed to each person who came to reside, or brought others to reside there. The design of it was to encourage emigration. Besides this, there were two other methods of granting lands. One was a grant of merit. When any person had conferred a benefit, or done a service to the colony, it was required by a grant of land which could not exceed two thousand acres. The other was called the adventure of the purse. Every person who paid twelve guineas into the company's treasury was entitled to one hundred acres.

After some time, this liberty of taking grants was abused; partly by the ignorance and knavery of surveyors, who often gave draughts of land without ever actually surveying them, but describing them by natural boundaries, and allowing large measure; and partly by the indulgence of courts, in a lavish admittance of claims. When a master of a ship came into court, and made oath that he had imported himself with so many seamen and passengers, an order was issued granting him as many rights of fifty acres; and the clerk had a fee for each right. The seamen at another court would make oath, that they had adventured themselves so many times into the country, and would obtain an order for as many rights, *toties quoties*. The planter who brought the imported servants would do the same, and procure an order for as many times fifty acres. These grants, after being described by the surveyors in the above vague and careless manner, were sold at a small price; and whoever was able to purchase any considerable number of them, became entitled to a vast quantity of land. By such means the original intention of allotting a small freehold to each emigrant was frustrated; and the settlement of the country in convenient districts was precluded. Land speculators became possessed of immense tracts, too large for cultivation; and the inhabitants were scattered over a great extent of territory in remote and hazardous situations. The ill effects of this dispersion were, insecurity from the savages; a habit of indolence; an imperfect mode of cultivation; the introduction of convicts from England, and of slaves from Africa.

The same year (1616), Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, carrying with him Pocahontas, the wife of Mr. Rolfe, and several other Indians. The motive of his return was to visit his family and settle his private affairs, after having spent five or six years in the service of the colony. He is characterized as an active, faithful governor, very careful to provide supplies of corn, rather by planting than by purchase. So much had these supplies increased under his direction, that the colony was able to lend to the Indian princes several hundred bushels of corn, and take mortgages of their land in payment. He would allow no tobacco to be planted till a sufficiency of seed-corn was in the ground. He was also very assiduous in ranging and exploring the country, and became extremely delighted with its pleasant and fertile appearance. He had so high an opinion of it, that he declared it equal to the best parts of Europe, if it were cultivated and inhabited by an industrious people.*

SIR SAMUEL ARGAL,

AND

SIR GEORGE YEARDLEY.

SAMUEL ARGAL—E. edition to the Northern part of Virginia Attacks the Flat-land at Mount Desert—Takes Possession of their Fort—Takes and destroys Port Royal—His Conference with Biencourt—Visits the Dutch at Hudson's river—Dutch Governor surrenders to him—His Voyage to England—Appointed Deputy-governor of Virginia—Arrives in Virginia—Revives discipline—Becomes odious by his rigor—Charged with peculation—He is superseded—Escapes by aid of the Earl of Warwick—Commands a ship against the Algerines—Is knighted by King James—His character—GEORGE YEARDLEY, governor of Virginia—Encourages the cultivation of Tobacco—Attacks the Chickahomony Indians—Superseded by Argal—Appointed Governor-General of Virginia—Resigns—Resumes the Government—His Death.

WE have no account of Captain ARGAL before the year 1609, when he came to Virginia to fish for stur-

* Since the foregoing sheets were printed, I have found the following brief account of Sir George Somers, in Fuller's Worthies of England, p. 282.

"George Somers, Knight, was born in or near Lyme, in

geon and trade with the colony. This trade was then prohibited but being a kinsman of Sir Thomas Smith, his voyage was connived at, and the provisions and wine which he brought were a welcome relief to the colony. He was there when the shattered fleet, escaped from the tempest, arrived without their commanders; and he continued to make voyages in the service of the colony, and for his own advantage, till he was made deputy-governor, under Lord Delaware.

The principal exploit in which he was engaged, was an expedition to the northern part of Virginia.* Sir Thomas Dale, having received some information of the intrusion of the French and Dutch within the chartered limits of Virginia, sent Argal, ostensibly on a trading and fishing voyage to the northward; but with orders to seek for, and dispossess intruders. No account of this force is mentioned by any writer. Having visited several parts of the coast of North Virginia, and obtained the best information in his power, he arrived at the island now called Mount Desert, in the District of Maine; where two Jesuits, who had been expelled from Port Royal, by the governor, Biencourt, for their insolence, had made a plantation, and built a fort. A French ship and bark were then lying in the harbor. Most of the people were dispersed, at their various employments, and were unprepared to receive an enemy. Argal at once attacked the vessels with musquetry, and made an easy conquest of them. One of the Jesuits was killed in attempting to level one of the ship's guns against the assailants. Argal then landed, and summoned the fort. The commander requested time for consultation, but it was denied; on which the garrison abandoned the fort, and, by a private passage, escaped to the woods. Argal took possession in the name of the crown of England, and the next day the people came in, and surrendered themselves, and their commission, or patent. He treated them with politeness, giving them leave to go either to France, in the fishing vessels, which resorted to the coast, or with him to Virginia.

The other Jesuit, Father Biard, glad of an opportunity to be revenged on Biencourt, gave information of his settlement at Port Royal, and offered to pilot the vessel thither. Argal sailed across the Bay of Fundy, and, entering the harbor, landed forty men. A gun was fired from the fort, as a signal to the people aboard; but Argal advanced with such rapidity, that he found the fort abandoned, and took possession. He then sailed up the river with his boats; where he viewed their fields, their baras and mill; these he spared; but at his return he destroyed the fort, and defaced the arms of the King of France.

Biencourt was at this time surveying the country at a distance; but was called home suddenly, and requested a conference with the English commander. They met in a meadow, with a few of their followers. After an ineffectual assertion of rights, equally claimed by both, Biencourt proposed, if he could obtain a protection from the Crown of England, and get the obnoxious Jesuit into his possession, to divide the fur trade, and disclose the mines of the country; but Argal refused to make any treaty, alleging that his orders were only to dispossess him; and threatening, if he should find him there again, to use him as an enemy. Whilst they were in conference, one of the natives came up to them, and in broken French, with suitable gestures, endeavored to mediate a peace; wondering that persons, who seemed to him, to be of one nation, should make war on each other. This affecting incident served to put them both into good humor.

As it was a time of peace between the two crowns, the only pretext for this expedition, was the intrusion of the French into limits claimed by the English, in virtue of prior discovery. This mode of dispossessing them has been censured, as "contrary to the Law of Nations, because inconsistent with their peace." It was, however, agreeable to the powers granted in the charter of 1609; and even the seizure of the French vessels, on board of which was a large quantity of provision, clothing, furniture, and trading goods, was also warranted by the same charter. There is no evidence that this transaction was either approved by the Court of England, or resented by the Crown of France; cer-

tain it is, however, that it made way for a patent, which King James gave to Sir William Alexander, in 1621, by which he granted him the whole territory of Acadia, by the name of Nova Scotia; and yet the French continued their occupancy.

On his return towards Virginia, with his prizes, Argal visited the settlement which the Dutch had made at Hudson's river, near the spot where Albany is now built, and demanded possession; alleging that Hudson being an English subject, though in the service of Holland, could not alienate the lands which he had discovered; which were claimed by the crown of England, and granted by charter to the company of Virginia. The Dutch governor, Hendrick, Christians, being unable to make any resistance, quietly submitted himself and his colony to the Crown of England, and was permitted to remain there. But on the arrival of a reinforcement the next year, they built another fort, on the south end of the island Manhattan, where the city of New York now stands, and held the country for many years, under a grant from the States-general, by the name of New Netherlands.

The next spring (1614) Argal went to England, and two years after, Sir Thomas Dale followed him, leaving George Yeardley to govern the colony in his absence. It had been a grand object with Dale to discourage the planting of tobacco; but his successor, in compliance with the humor of the people, indulged them in cultivating it, in preference to corn. When the colony was in want of bread, Yeardley sent to the Indians of Chickahomony for their tribute, as promised by the treaty made with Dale. They answered, that they had paid his master; but that they had no orders, nor any inclination to obey him. Yeardley drew out one hundred of his best men, and went against them. They received him in a warlike posture; and after much threatening on both sides, Yeardley ordered his men to fire. Twelve of the natives were killed, and as many were made prisoners, of whom two were Elders of Senators. For their ransom, one hundred bushels of corn were paid, in addition to the tribute. Three boats were loaded for Jamestown, one of which was overset in the passage, and eleven men, with her whole cargo, were lost. The natives were so awed by this chastisement, that they supplied the colony with such provisions as they could spare from their own stock, or procure by hunting; and being thus supplied, the colonists gave themselves chiefly to the planting of tobacco.

In 1617, Captain Argal was appointed deputy-governor of the colony under Lord Delaware, and admiral of the adjacent seas. When he arrived, in May, he found the palisades broken, the church fallen down, and the well of fresh water spoiled; but the market-square and the streets of Jamestown were planted with tobacco, and the people were dispersed, wherever they could find room to cultivate that precious weed; the value of which was supposed to be much augmented by a new mode of cure, drying it on lines, rather than fermenting it in heaps. The author of this discovery was a Mr. Lambert; and the effect of it was a great demand from England for lines, which afterwards became a capital article of traffic.

To counteract the ill effects of Yeardley's indulgence, Argal revived the severe discipline which was grounded on the martial laws, framed by his patron, Sir Thomas Smith; a specimen of which may be seen in the following edicts. He fixed the advance on goods imported from England, at twenty-five per cent, and the price of tobacco at three shillings per pound; the penalty for transgressing this regulation was three years slavery. No person was allowed to fire a gun, except in his own defence, against an enemy, till a new supply of ammunition should arrive; on penalty of one year's slavery. Absence from church on Sundays and holidays, was punished by laying the offender neck and heels, for one whole night, or by one week's slavery; the second offence, by one month's; and the third by one year's slavery. Private trade with the savages, or teaching them to use the arms, was punishable by death.

These and similar laws were executed with such rigor, as to render the deputy-governor odious to the colony. They had entertained a hope of deliverance by the expected arrival of Lord Delaware, who sailed from England for Virginia (April, 1618) in a large ship, containing two hundred people. After touching at the Western Islands, a succession of contrary winds, and bad weather protracted the voyage for sixteen weeks, during which time, many of the people fell sick, and about thirty died, among whom was Lord Delaware. This fatal news was known first in Virginia; but the report of Argal's injurious conduct had gone to Eng-

land, and made a deep impression to his disadvantage, on the minds of his best friends. Besides a great number of wrongs to particular persons, he was charged with converting to his own use, what remained of the public stores; with depredation and waste of the reveue of the company; and with many offences in matters of state and government. At first the company were so alarmed, as to think of an application to the crown for redress; but on further consideration, they wrote a letter of reprehension to him, and another of complaint to Lord Delaware, whom they supposed to be at the head of the colony, requesting that Argal might be sent to England, to answer the charges laid against him.

Both these letters fell into Argal's hands. Convinced that his time was short, he determined to make the most of it for his own interest.* Having assumed the care of his lordship's estate in Virginia, he converted the labor of the tenants, and the produce of the land to his own use. But Edward Brewster, who had been appointed overseer of the plantation, by his lordship's orders before his death, endeavored to withdraw them from Argal's service, and employ them for the benefit of the estate. When he threatened one who refused to obey him, the fellow made his complaint to the governor; Brewster was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to death, in consequence of the aforesaid law of Sir Thomas Smith. Sensible of the extreme severity of these laws, the court which had passed the sentence, accompanied by the clergy, went in a body to the governor, to intercede for Brewster's life, which, with much difficulty they obtained, on this condition, that he should quit Virginia, never more to return; and should give his oath, that he would, neither in England, nor elsewhere, say or do any thing to the dishonor of the governor. On his going to England, he was advised to appeal to the company; and the prosecution of this appeal, added to the odium which Argal had incurred, determined them to send over a new governor, to examine the complaints and accusations on the spot.

The person chosen to execute this commission, was Yeardley, his rival, who, on this occasion, was knighted, and appointed governor-general of the colony, where he arrived in the spring of 1619.

The Earl of Warwick, who was Argal's friend and partner in trade, had taken care to give him information of what was doing, and to despatch a small vessel, which arrived before the new governor, and carried off Argal with all his effects. By this manœuvre, and by virtue of his partnership with the earl, he not only escaped the intended examination in Virginia, but secured the greater part of his property, and defrauded the company of that restitution which they had a right to expect.

The character of Captain Argal, like that of most who were concerned in the colonization and government of Virginia, is differently drawn. On the one hand, he is spoken of as a good mariner, a civil gentleman, a man of public spirit, active, industrious, and careful to provide for the people, and keep them constantly employed. On the other hand, he is described as negligent of the public business, seeking only his own interest, rapacious, passionate, arbitrary, and cruel; pushing his unrighteous gains by all means of extortion and oppression. Mr. Stith, who, from the best information which he could obtain, at the distance of more than a century, by searching the public records of the colony, and the journals of the company, pronounces him "a man of good sense, of great industry and resolution," and says, that "when the company warned him peremptorily, to exhibit his accounts, and make answer to such things as they had charged against him, he so feigned and perplexed all their proceedings, and gave them so much trouble and annoyance, that they were never able to bring him to any account or punishment."

Nothing more is known of him, but that after quitting Virginia, he was employed in 1620, to command a ship of war, in an expedition against the Algerines; and that in 1623, he was knighted by King James.

About the same time that Lord Delaware died at sea, the great Indian prince Powhatan, died at his seat in Virginia. (April, 1618)* He was a person of excellent natural talents, penetrating and crafty, and a complete master of all the arts of savage policy; but totally void of truth, justice, and magnanimity. He was succeeded by his second brother Opitchapan; who, being daring and inactive, was soon obscured by the shade

* The same year is also memorable for the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, who may be considered as the founder of the colony of Virginia.

Dorsetshire. He was a lamb upon land, and a lion at sea. So patient on shore, that few could anger him; and on entering a ship as if he had assumed a new nature, so passionate that few could please him. Whitechurch, where his corpse was deposited, is distant three miles from Ly-ne.

* The time of this voyage is not accurately mentioned; but from comparing several dates and transactions, I think (with Mr. Prince) that it must have been in the summer of 1613. Certainly it was before Argal was made deputy-governor, in 1617 though some writers have placed it after that period.

rior abilities and ambition of his younger brother Opechancanough. Both of them renewed and confirmed the peace which Powhatan had made with the colony; Opechancanough finally engrossed the whole power of government; for the Indians do not so much regard the order of succession, as brilliancy of talents, and interpidity of mind in their chiefs.

To ingratiate themselves with the prince and attach him more closely to their interest, the colony built a house for him, after the English mode. With this, he was so much pleased, that he kept the keys continually in his hands, opening and shutting the doors many times in a day and showing the machinery of the locks, to his own people and strangers. In return for this favor, he gave liberty to the English to seat themselves at any place on the shores of the rivers, where the natives had no villages, and entered into a further treaty with them for the discovery of mines and for mutual friendship and defence. This treaty was at the request of Opechancanough engraven on a brass plate, and fastened to one of the largest oaks, that it might be always in view, and held in perpetual remembrance.

Ycardley, being rid of the trouble of calling Argal to account, applied himself to the business of his government. The first thing he did was to add six new members to the council, Francis West, Nathaniel Powel, John Pory, John Rolfe, William Wickham, and Samuel Maycock. The next was to publish his intention to call a General Assembly, the privileges and powers of which were defined in his commission. He also granted to the oldest planters a discharge from all service to the colony, but such as was voluntary, or obligatory by the laws and customs of nations; with a confirmation of all their estates, real and personal, to be holden in the same manner as by English subjects. Finding a great scarcity of corn, he made some amends for his former error by promoting the cultivation of it. The first year of his administration (1619) was remarkable for very great crops of wheat and Indian corn, and for a great mortality of the people; not less than 300 of whom died.

In the month of July of this year, the first General Assembly of the colony of Virginia met at Jamestown.* The deputies were chosen by the townships or boroughs, no counties being at that time formed. From this circumstance the lower House of Assembly was always afterwards called the House of Burgess, till the revolution in 1776. In this assembly, the governor, council and burgesses sat in one house, and jointly "debated all matters, thought expedient for the good of the colony." The laws then enacted were of the nature of local regulations, and were transmitted to England for the approbation of the treasurer and company. It is said that they were judiciously drawn up; but no vestige of them now remains.

Thus, at the expiration of twelve years from their settlement, the Virginians first enjoyed the privilege of a colonial legislature, in which they were represented by persons of their own election. They received as a favor, what they might have claimed as a right; and with minds depressed by the arbitrary system under which they had been held, thanked the company for this favor, and begged them to reduce a compendium, with his majesty's approbation, the laws of England suitable for Virginia; giving this as a reason, that it was not fit for subjects to be governed by any laws, but those which received an authority from their sovereign.

It seems to have been a general sentiment among these colonists, not to make Virginia the place of their permanent residence, but after having acquired a fortune by planting and trade, to return to England. For this reason, most of them were destitute of families, and had no natural attachment to the country. To remedy this material defect, Sir Edwin Sandys the new treasurer, proposed to the company to send over a freight of young women, to make wives for the planters. This proposal with several others made by that eminent statesman, was received with universal applause; and the success answered their expectations. Ninety girls, "young and uncorrupt," were sent over at one time (1620); and sixty more, "handsome and well recommended" at another (1621.) These were soon blessed with the object of their wishes. The price of a wife, at first, was one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, but as the number became scarce, the price was increased to one hundred and fifty pounds, the value of which in money was three shillings per pound. By a subsequent act of assembly, it was ordained, that "the

price of a wife should have the precedence of all other debts of recovery and payment, because, of all kinds of merchandise, this was the most desirable."

To this salutary project of the company, King James was pleased to add another, which he signified to the treasurer by a letter, *commanding* them to send to Virginia one hundred dissolute persons, convicted of crimes, who should be delivered to them by the knight-marshal. The season of the year (November) was unfavorable for transportation; but so peremptory was the king's command, and so submissive the temper of the company, that they became bound for the subsistence of these wretches till they could sail, which was not till February. The expense of this equipment was 4000*l*.

On this transaction, Mr. Stith, who takes every opportunity to expose the weak and arbitrary government of King James, makes the following remarks. "Those who know with how high a hand this king carried it even with his parliament, will not be surprised to find him thus unmercifully insult a private company, and load them against all law, with the maintenance and extraordinary expense of transporting such persons as he thought proper to banish. And I cannot but remark, how early that custom arose of transporting loose and dissolute persons to Virginia, as a place of punishment and disgrace; which though originally designed for the advancement and increase of the colony, yet has certainly proved a great hindrance to its growth. For it hath laid one of the finest countries in America under the unjust scandal of being another Siberia, fit only for the reception of malefactors, and the vilest of the people. So that few have been induced willingly to transport themselves to such a place; and our younger sisters, the northern colonies, have accordingly profited thereby. For this is one cause that they have outstripped us so much in the number of their inhabitants, and in the goodness and frequency of their towns and cities."

In the same year (1620) the merchandise of human flesh, was further augmented, by the introduction of negroes from Africa. A Dutch ship brought twenty of them for sale; and the Virginians, who had but just emerged from a state of vassalage themselves, began to be the owners and masters of slaves.

The principal commodity produced in Virginia besides corn, was tobacco; an article of luxury much in demand in the north of Europe. Great had been the difficulties attending this trade, partly from the jealousy of the Spaniards, who cultivated it in their American colonies; partly from the obsequiousness of James to that nation; and partly from his own squeamish aversion to tobacco, against the use of which, in his princely wisdom, he had written a book.*

The Virginia Company themselves were opposed to its cultivation, and readily admitted various projects for encouraging other productions, of more immediate use and benefit to mankind. As the country naturally yielded mulberry trees and vines, it was thought that silk and wine might be manufactured to advantage. To facilitate these projects, eggs of the silk-worm were procured from the southern countries of Europe; books on the subject were translated from foreign languages; persons skilled in the management of silk-worms and the cultivation of vines were engaged; and to crown all, a royal order from King James, enclosed in a letter from the treasurer and council, was sent over to Virginia, with high expectations of success. But no exertions nor authority could prevail, to make the cultivation of tobacco yield to that of silk and wine; and after the trade of the colony was laid open and the Dutch had free access to their ports, the growth of tobacco received such encouragement, as to become the grand staple of the colony.

At this time, the company in England was divided into two parties; the Earl of Warwick was at the head of one, and the Earl of Southampton of the other. The former was the least in number, but had the ear and support of the king; and their virulence was directed against Ycardley, who had intercepted a packet from his own secretary, Pory, containing the proofs of Argal's misconduct, which had been prepared to be used against him at his trial; but which the secretary had been bribed to convey to his close friend the Earl of Warwick. The governor, being a man of a mild and gentle temper, was so overcome with the opposition and menaces of the faction, which were publicly known in the colony, that his authority was

weakened, his spirits dejected, and his health impaired to that degree that he became unfit for business, and requested a dismission from the care of government. His commission expired in November, 1621, but he continued in the colony, was a member of the council, and enjoyed the respect and esteem of the people.

During this short administration, many new settlements were made on James and York rivers, and the planters being supplied with wives and servants, began to think themselves at home, and to take pleasure in cultivating their lands; but they neglected to provide for their defence, placing too great confidence in the continuance of that tranquillity which they had long enjoyed by their treaty with the Indians.

SIR FRANCIS WYAT.

SIR FRANCIS WYAT—Succeeds Yeardeley in the government of Virginia—Deceived by the Indian chiefs—Massacre of the colonists—He opposes the change of government attempted by the Crown—He returns to Ireland.

WHEN Sir George Yeardeley requested a dismission from the burden of government, the Earl of Southampton recommended to the company Sir Francis Wyatt, as his successor. He was a young gentleman of a good family, in Ireland, who, on account of his education, fortune and integrity, was every way equal to the place, and was accordingly chosen.

He received from the company a set of instructions, which were intended to be a permanent directory for the governor and council of the colony. In these it was recommended to them, to provide for the service of God, according to the form and discipline of the Church of England; to administer justice according to the laws of England; to protect the natives, and cultivate peace with them; to educate their children; and to endeavor their civilization and conversion; to encourage industry; to suppress gaming, intemperance, and excess in apparel; to give no offence to any other prince, state, or people; to harbor no pirates; to build fortifications; to cultivate corn, wine, and silk; to search for minerals, dyes, gums, medical drugs; and to "draw off the people from the excessive planting of tobacco."

Immediately on Wyatt's arrival, (October, 1621) he sent a special message to Opitchapan and Opechancanough, by Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of note in the colony, and a great friend to the Indians, to confirm the former treaties of peace and friendship. They both expressed great satisfaction at the arrival of the new governor; and Mr. Thorpe imagined that he could perceive an uncommon degree of religious sensibility in Opechancanough. That artful chief so far imposed on the credulity of this good gentleman, as to persuade him that he acknowledged his own religion to be wrong; that he desired to be instructed in the Christian doctrine, and that he wished for a more friendly and familiar intercourse with the English. He also confirmed a former promise of sending a guide to show them some mines above the falls. But all these pretences served only to conceal a design which he had long meditated, to destroy the whole English colony.

The peace which had subsisted since the marriage of Pocahontas had lulled the English into security, and disposed them to extend their plantations along the banks of the rivers, as far as the Potowmack, in situations too remote from each other. Their houses were open and free to the natives, who became acquainted with their manner of living, their hours of eating, of labor and repose, the use of their arms and tools, and frequently borrowed their boats, for the convenience of fishing and fowling, and to pass the rivers. This familiarity was pleasing to the English, as it indicated a spirit of moderation, which had been always recommended by the company in England to the planters; and, as it afforded a favorable symptom of the civilization and conversion of the natives; but, by them, or their leaders, it was designed to conceal the most sanguinary intentions.

In the spring of the next year, (1622) an opportunity offered to throw off the mask of friendship, and kindle their secret enmity into a blaze. Among the natives who frequently visited the English, was a tall, handsome, young chief, renowned for courage and success in war, and excessively fond of finery in dress. His Indian name was Nematanow; but by the English he was called Jack of the Feather. Coming to the store of one Morgan, he there viewed several toys and ornaments, which were very agreeable to the Indian taste, and persuaded Morgan to carry them to Pamunkey, where he assured him of an advantageous traffic. Morgan consented to go with him; but was murdered by the way.

* Beverley (p. 35) says that the first Assembly was called in 1620. But Stith, who had more accurately searched the records, says that the first was in 1619, and the second in 1620.

* This book is entitled "A Counterblast to Tobacco," and is printed in a folio volume of the works of King James. In this curious work, he compares the smoke of tobacco to the smoke of the bottomless pit; and says it is only proper to regale the devil after dinner.

In a few days, Nematanow came again to the store, with Morgan's cap on his head; and being interrogated by two stout lads, who attended there, what was become of their master, he answered that he was dead. The boys seized him, and endeavored to carry him before a magistrate; but his violent resistance, and the insolence of his language, so provoked them, that they shot him. The wound proved mortal; and when dying, he earnestly requested of the boys, that the manner of his death might be concealed from his countrymen, and that he might be privately buried among the English.

As soon as this transaction was known, Opechancanough demanded satisfaction; but being answered that the retaliation was just, he formed a plan for a general massacre of the English, and appointed Friday, the twenty-second day of March, for its execution; but he dissembled his resentment to the last moment. Parties of Indians were distributed through the colony, to attack every plantation, at the same hour of the day, when the men should be abroad and at work. On the evening before, and on the morning of that fatal day, the Indians came as usual to the houses of the English, bringing game and fish to sell, and sat down with them to breakfast. So general was the combination, and so deep the plot, that about one hour before noon, they fell on the people in the fields and houses; and, with their own tools and weapons, killed indiscriminately, persons of all ages, sexes and characters; inhumanly mangle their dead bodies, and triumphing over them, with all the expressions of frantic joy.

Where any resistance was made it was generally successful. Several houses were defended, and some few of the assailants slain. One of Captain Smith's old soldiers, Nathaniel Cause, though wounded, split the skull of an Indian, and put his whole party to flight. Several other parties were dispersed by the firing of a single gun, or by the presenting of a gun, even in the hand of a woman.

Jamestown was preserved by the fidelity of Chanco, a young Indian convert, who lived with Richard Pace, and was treated by him as a son. The brother of this Indian came to lie with him, the night before the massacre, and revealed to him the plot, urging him to kill his master, as he intended to do by his own. As soon as he was gone in the morning, Chanco gave notice of what was intended, to his master; who, having secured his own house, gave the alarm to his neighbors, and sent an express to Jamestown.

Three hundred and forty-nine people* fell at this general massacre; of which number, six were members of the council. None of these were more lamented than Mr. George Thorpe. This gentleman was one of the best friends of the Indians, and had been earnestly concerned in the business of instructing and evangelizing them. He had left a handsome estate, and an honorable employment in England, and was appointed chief manager of a plantation and a seminary, designed for the maintenance and education of young Indians, in Virginia. He had been remarkably kind and generous to them; and it was by his exertion, that the house was built, in which Opechancanough took so much pleasure. Just before his death, he was warned of his danger, by one of his servants, who immediately made his escape; but Mr. Thorpe would not believe that they intended him any harm, and thus fell a victim to their fury. His

corpse was mangled and abused, in a manner too shocking to be related.

One effect of this massacre was the ruin of the iron-works, at Falling Creek, where the destruction was so complete, that, of twenty-four people, only a boy and girl escaped by hiding themselves. The superintendent of this work had discovered a vein of lead ore, which he kept to himself; but made use of it, to supply himself and his friends with shot. The knowledge of this was lost by his death for many years. It was again found by Colonel Byrd, and again lost. The place was a third time found by John Chiswell; and the mine is now, or has been lately, wrought to advantage.

Another consequence of this fatal event, was an order of the government, to draw together the remnant of the people into a narrow compass. Of eighty plantations, all were abandoned but six, which lay contiguous, at the lower part of James river.* The owners or overseers of three or four others refused to obey the order, and entrenched themselves, mounting cannon for their defence.†

The next effect was a ferocious war. The Indians were hunted like beasts of prey, and as many as could be found were destroyed. But as they were very expert in hiding themselves and escaping the pursuit, the English resolved to dissemble with them in their own way. To this they were further impelled by the fear of famine. As seed-time came on, both sides thought it necessary to relax their hostile operations and attend to the business of planting. Peace was then offered by the English, and accepted by the Indians; but when the corn began to grow, the English suddenly attacked the Indians in their fields, killed many of them, and destroyed their corn. The summer was such a scene of confusion that a sufficiency of food could not be obtained, and the people were reduced to great straits.

The unrelenting severity with which this war was prosecuted by the Virginians against the Indians, transmitted mutual abhorrence to the posterity of both; and procured to the former the name of "the long knife," by which they are still distinguished in the hieroglyphic language of the natives.

Though a general permission of residence had been given by Powhatan, and his successors, to the colonists; yet they rather affected to consider the country as acquired by discovery or conquest; and both these ideas were much favored by the English court. The civilization of the natives was a very desirable object; but those who knew them best, thought that they could not be civilized till they were first subdued; or till their priests were destroyed.

It is certain that many pious and charitable persons in England were very warmly interested in their conversion. Money and books, church plate and other furniture were liberally contributed. A college was in a fair way of being founded; to the support of which lands were appropriated and brought into a state of cultivation. Some few instances of the influence of gospel principles on the savage mind, particularly Pocahontas and Chanco, gave sanguine hope of success; and even the massacre did not abate the ardor of that hope, in the minds of those who had indulged it. The experience of almost two centuries has not extinguished it; and, however discouraging the prospect, it is best for the cause of virtue that it never should be abandoned. There may be some fruit, which though not splendid nor extensive, yet may correspond with the genius of a religion, which is compared by its author, to "leaven hid in the meal." The power of evangelical truth on the human mind, must not be considered as void of reality, because not exposed to public observation.

When the news of the massacre was carried to England, the governor and colony were considered as subjects of blame, by those very persons who had always enjoined them to treat the Indians with mildness.

* The six plantations to which the government ordered the people to retire, were, Shirley Hundred, Flowerda Hundred, Jamestown, Pasquia, Kiquotan, Southampton.

† Those persons who refused to obey the order, were Mr. Edward Hill, at Elizabeth city; Mr. Samuel Jordan, at Jordan's Point; Mr. Daniel Gookin, at Newport News; Mrs. Proctor, a gentlewoman of an heroic spirit, defended her plantation a month, till the officers of the colony obliged her to abandon it.

‡ Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia, (p. 153) observes, "That the lands of this country were taken from them by conquest is not so general a truth as is supposed. I find in our historians and records, repeated proofs of purchases, which cover a considerable part of the lower country; and many more would doubtless be found on further search. The upper country, we know, has been acquired altogether by purchases made in the most unexceptionable form." A more particular account of the earliest purchases is desirable, specifying the date, the extent and the compensation.

However, ships were despatched with a supply of provisions, to which the corporation of London as well as several persons of fortune largely contributed. The king lent them twenty barrels of powder, and a quantity of unserviceable arms from the tower, and promised to levy four hundred soldiers, in the several counties of England, for their protection; but though frequently solicited by the company in England, and the colony in Virginia, he never could be induced to fulfil this promise.

The calamities which had befallen the colony, and the dissensions which had agitated the company, became such topics of complaint, and were so represented to the king and his privy council, that a commission was issued, under the great seal, to Sir William Jones, Sir Nicholas Fortescue, Sir Francis Goston, Sir Richard Sutton, Sir William Pitt, Sir Henry Bouchier, and Sir Henry Spilman, or any four of them, to inquire into all matters respecting Virginia, from the beginning of its settlement.

To enable them to carry on this inquiry, all the books and papers of the company were ordered into the custody of the commissioners; their deputy-treasurer was arrested and confined; and all letters which should arrive from the colony, were, by the king's command, to be intercepted. This was a very discouraging introduction to the business, and plainly showed not only the arbitrary disposition of the king; but the turn which would be given to the inquiry. On the arrival of a ship from Virginia, her packets were seized, and laid before the privy council.

The transactions of these commissioners were always kept concealed; but the result of them was made known by an order of Council, (October, 1623) which set forth, "That his majesty having taken into his princely consideration the distressed state of Virginia, occasioned by the ill government of the company, had resolved by a new charter, to appoint a governor and twelve assistants to reside in England; and a governor with twelve assistants to reside in Virginia; the former to be nominated by his majesty in council; the latter to be nominated by the governor and assistants in England, and to be approved by the king in council; and that all proceedings should be subject to the royal direction." The company was ordered to assemble and resolve whether they would submit, and resign their charter; and in default of such submission, the king signified his determination to proceed for recalling their charter, in such manner as to him should seem meet.

This arbitrary mandate so astonished the company, that when they met, it was read over three times, as if they had distrusted their own ears. Then a long silence ensued; and when the question was called for, twenty-six only voted for a surrender, and one hundred and twelve declared against it.

These proceedings gave such an alarm to all who were concerned in the plantation or trade of the colony, that some ships which were preparing to sail were stopped; but the king ordered them to proceed; declaring that the change of government would injure no man's property. At the same time he thought it proper to appoint commissioners to go to Virginia, and inquire into the state of the colony. These were Sir John Harvey, afterwards governor, John Pory, who had been secretary, Abraham Percy, Samuel Matthews, and John Jefferson. The subjects of their inquiry were "How many plantations there be; which of them be public and which private; what people, men, women and children, there be in each plantation; what fortifications, or what place is best to be fortified; what houses and how many; what cattle, arms, ammunition and ordnance; what boats and barges; what bridges and public works; how the colony standeth in respect of the savages; what hopes may be truly conceived of the plantation and the means to attain these hopes." The governor and council of Virginia were ordered to afford their best assistance to the commissioners; but no copy of their instructions was delivered to them.

After the departure of the commissioners, a writ of Quo Warranto was issued by the court of King's Bench against the company (November 10, 1623) and upon the representation of the attorney-general that no defence could be made by the company without their books and their deputy treasurer, the latter was liberated and the former were restored. The re-delivery of them to the privy council was protracted, till the clerks of the company had taken copies of them.*

* These copies were deposited in the hands of the Earl of Southampton, and after his death, which happened in 1624, descended to his son. After his death in 1667, they were purchased of his executors for sixty guineas, by Col. Byrd, of Virginia, then in England. From these copies, and from the records of the colony, Mr. Stith compiled the History of Virginia; which extends no farther than the year 1624.

* The number slain at the several plantations; from Captain Smith's history, p. 149.

At Captain John Berkeley's plantation, seated at the Falling Creek, sixty-six miles from James city, himself and twenty-one others; at Master Thomas Sheffield's plantation, three miles from the Falling Creek, himself and twelve others; at Henrico Islands, two miles from Sheffield's plantation, six; slain of the college people, twenty miles from Henrico, seventeen; at Charles city, and of Captain Smith's men, five; at the next adjoining plantation, eight; at William Farrar's house, ten; at Brickley Hundred, fifty miles from Charles city, Master George Thorpe and ten more; at Westover, a mile from Brickley, two; at Master John West's plantation, two; at Captain Nathaniel West's plantation, two; at Richard Owen's house, himself and six more; at Lieutenant Gibb's plantation, twelve; at Master Owen Macar's house, himself and three more; at Martin's Hundred, seven miles from James city, seventy-three; at another place, seven; at Edward Bout's plantation, fifty; at Master Water's house, himself and four more; at Apamattuck's river, at Master Pers's plantation, five miles from the College, four; at Master Maycock's dividend, Captain Samuel Maycock and four more; at Flowerda Hundred, Sir George Yeardley's plantation, six; on the side opposite to it, seven; at Master Swinlow's house, himself and seven more; at Master William Beckar's house, himself and four more; at Weanock, of Sir George Yeardley's people, twenty-one; at Powell Brooke, Captain Nathaniel Powell and twelve more; at Southampton Hundred, five; at Martin's Brandon Hundred, seven; at Captain Henry Spilman's house, two; at Ensign Spence's house, five; at Master Thomas Pers's house, by Mulberry island, himself and four more. The whole number, three hundred and forty-nine.

In the beginning of 1624 the commissioners arrived in Virginia, and a General Assembly was called, not at their request; for they kept all their designs as secret as possible. But notwithstanding all the precautions which had been taken, to prevent the colony from getting any knowledge of the proceedings in England, they were by this time, well informed of the whole, and had copies of several papers which had been exhibited against them.

The Assembly, which met on the 14th of February, drew up answers to what had been alleged, in a spirited and masterly style; and appointed John Porentis, one of the council, to go to England as their agent, to solicit the cause of the colony. This gentleman unhappily died on his passage; but their petition to the king and their address to the privy council were delivered, in which they requested that in case of a change of the government they might not again fall into the power of Sir Thomas Smith, or his confidants; that the governors sent over to them might not have absolute authority, but be restrained to act by advice of council; and above all, that they might "have the liberty of General Assemblies, than which nothing could more conduce to the public satisfaction and utility." They complained that the short continuance of their governors had been very disadvantageous. "The first year they were raw and inexperienced, and generally in ill health, through a change of climate. The second, they began to understand something of the affairs of the colony; and the third, they were preparing to return."

To the honor of Governor Wyatt, it is observed, that he was very active, and joined most cordially in preparing these petitions; and was very far from desiring absolute and inordinate power, either in himself or in future governors.

The Assembly was very unanimous in their proceedings, and intended, like the commissions, to keep them secret. But Pory, who had long been versed in the arts of corruption, found means to obtain copies of all their acts. Edward Sharples, clerk of the council, was afterwards convicted of bribery and breach of trust, for which he was sentenced to the pillory, and lost one of his ears.

The commissioners, finding that things were going in the Assembly contrary to their wishes, resolved to open some of their powers with a view to intimidate them; and then endeavored to draw them into an explicit submission to the revocation of their charter. But the Assembly had the wisdom and firmness to evade the proposal, by requesting to see the whole extent of their commission. This being denied, they answered, that when the surrender of their charter should be demanded by authority, it would be time enough to make a reply.

The laws enacted by this Assembly are the oldest which are to be found in the records of the colony. They contain many wise and good provisions. One of them is equivalent to a *Bill of Rights*, defining the powers of the Governor, Council, and Assembly; and the privileges of the people, with regard to taxes, burdens and personal services.* The twenty-second of March, the day of the massacre, was ordered to be solemnized as a day of devotion.

Whilst these things were doing in the colony, its enemies in England were endeavoring, by means of some persons who had returned from Virginia, to injure the character of the governor; but he was sufficiently vindicated, by the testimony of other persons, who asserted, on their own knowledge, the uprightness of his proceedings, and declared upon their honor and conscience, that they esteemed him just and sincere, free from all corruption and private views. As he had requested leave to quit the government at the expiration of his commission, the company took up the matter; and when Sir Samuel Argal was nominated as a candidate in competition with him, there appeared but eight votes in his favor, and sixty-nine for the continuance of Wyatt.

The Parliament assembled in February, 1624, and the company finding themselves too weak to resist the encroachments of a prince, who had engrossed almost the whole power of the State, applied to the House of Commons for protection. The king was highly offended at this attempt, and sent a prohibitory letter to the

* At this time women were scarce and much in request, and it was common for a woman to connect herself with more than one man at a time; by which means great uneasiness arose between private persons, and much trouble to the government. It was therefore ordered, "That every minister should give notice in his church, that what man or woman soever should use any word or speech, tending to a contract of marriage to two several persons at one time, although not precise and legal, should either undergo corporal punishment, or pay a fine, according to the quality of the offence."—(Stith, 222)

speaker, which was no sooner read, than the company's petition was ordered to be withdrawn.

However singular this interference on the one hand, and compliance on the other may now appear, it was usual at that time for the king to impose his mandates, and for the Commons, who knew not the extent of their own rights, to obey; though not without the animadversions of the most intelligent and zealous members. The royal prerogative was held inviolably sacred, till the indiscretions of a subsequent reign reduced it to an object of contempt. In this instance, the Commons, however passive in their submission to the crown, yet showed their regard to the interest of the complainants as well as of the nation, by petitioning the king that no tobacco should be imported, but of the growth of the colonies. To this James consented, and a proclamation was issued accordingly.

The commissioners, on their return from Virginia, reported to the king, "that the people sent to inhabit there were most of them, by sickness, famine and massacre of the savages, dead; that those who were living were in necessity and want, and in continual danger from the savages; but that the country itself appeared to be fruitful, and to those who had resided there some time, healthy; that if industry were used, it would produce divers staple commodities, though for sixteen years past, it had yielded few or none; that this neglect must fall on the governors and company, who had power to direct the plantations; that the said plantations were of great importance, and would remain a lasting monument to posterity of his majesty's most gracious and happy government, if the same were prosecuted to those ends for which they were first undertaken; that if the provisions and instructions of the first charter (1606) had been pursued, much better effect had been produced than by the alteration thereof into so popular a course, and among so many hands as it then was, which caused much confusion and contention."

On this report, the king, by a proclamation, (July 15) suppressed the meetings of the company; and, till a more perfect settlement could be made, ordered a privy council to sit every Thursday, at the house of Sir Thomas Smith for conducting the affairs of the colony. Soon after, viz. in Trinity term, the *Quo Warranto* was brought to trial, in the court of king's bench; judgment was brought against the company, and the charter was vacated.

This was the end of the Virginia Company, one of the most public spirited societies which had ever been engaged in such an undertaking. Mr. Stith, who had searched all their records and papers, concludes his history by observing that they were "gentlemen of very noble, clear, and disinterested views, willing to spend much of their time and money, and did actually expend more than 100,000*l.* of their own fortunes, without any prospect of present gain or retribution, in advancing an enterprise which they conceived to be of very great consequence to their country."

No sooner was the company dissolved, than James issued a new commission (August 25) for the government of the colony. In it, the history of the plantation was briefly recited. Sir Francis Wyatt was continued governor, with eleven assistants or counselors, Francis West, Sir George Yeardley, George Sandys, Roger Smith, Ralph Hamor, who had been of the former council, with the addition of John Martin, John Harvey, Samuel Matthews, Abraham Percy, Isaac Madison, and William Clayborne. The governor and council were appointed during the king's pleasure, with authority to rule the colony, and punish offenders, as fully as any governor and council might have done. No assembly was mentioned or allowed, because the king supposed, agreeable to the report of the commissioners, that "so popular a course" was one cause of the late calamities; and he hated the existence of such a body within any part of his dominions, especially when they were disposed to inquire into their own rights, and redress the grievances of the people.

After the death of James, which happened on the 27th of March, 1625, his son and successor, Charles, issued a proclamation, expressing his resolution, that the colony and government of Virginia should depend immediately on himself, without the intervention of any commercial company. He also followed the example of his father, in making no mention of a representative assembly, in any of his subsequent commissions.

Governor Wyatt, on the death of his father, Sir George Wyatt, having returned to Ireland, the government of Virginia fell again into the hands of Sir George Yeardley. But, his death happening within the year 1626, he was succeeded by Sir John Harvey;

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD* MARTIN PRING, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, GEORGE WEYMOUTH.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD—His voyage to Virginia—Discovers Cape Cod—His interview and traffic with the natives—Sails for England—Accompanies John Smith to Virginia—His death—MARTIN PRING—Sails for North Virginia—Discovers Fox Islands—Enters Massachusetts bay—Interview with the natives—Returns to England—His second Voyage—BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT—His voyage to Virginia—He is killed by the natives—GEORGE WEYMOUTH—Sails for America—Discovers George's Islands and Peitecost Harbor—Kidnaps some of the natives.

THE voyages made to America, by these navigators, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, may be considered as the leading steps to the colonization of New England. Excepting the fishery at Newfoundland, the Europeans were at that time in actual possession of no part of North America; though the English claimed a right to the whole, by virtue of prior discovery. The attempts which Raleigh had made, to colonize the southern part of the territory, called Virginia, had failed; but he and his associates enjoyed an exclusive patent from the Crown of England, for the whole coast; and these adventurers obtained a license, under this authority, to make their voyages and settlements.

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD was an active, intrepid, and experienced mariner, in the west of England. He had sailed in one of the ships employed by Raleigh, to Virginia; and was convinced that there must be a shorter and safer way, across the Atlantic, than the usual route, by the Canaries and the West India Islands. At whose expense he undertook his voyage to the northern part of Virginia, does not appear; but that it was with the approbation of Sir Walter Raleigh and his associates, is evident from an account of the voyage which was presented to him.

On the 24th of March, 1602, Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, in a small bark, the tonnage of which is not mentioned, carrying thirty-two persons, of whom eight were mariners.† The design of the voyage was to find a direct and short course to Virginia; and, upon the discovery of a proper seat for a plantation, twelve of the company were to return to England, and twenty to remain in America; till further assistance and supplies could be sent to them.

The former part of this design was accomplished, as far as the winds and other circumstances would permit. They went no farther southward, than the 37th degree of latitude, within sight of St. Mary, one of the Western Islands. In the 43d degree they approached the continent of America, which they first discovered on the 14th of May, after a passage of seven weeks. The weakness of their bark, and their ignorance of the route, made them carry but little sail; or they might have arrived some days sooner. They judged that they had shortened the distance 500 leagues.

It is not easy to determine, from the journal, what part of the coast they first saw. Oldmixon says it was the north side of Massachusetts Bay. The description in the journal does, in some respects, agree with the coast, extending from Cape Ann to Marblehead, or to the rocky point of Nahant.

From a rock, which they called *Savage Rock*, a shallop of European fabric came off to them; in which were eight savages; two or three of whom were dressed in European habits. From these circumstances, they concluded that some fishing vessel of Biscay had been there, and that the crew were destroyed by the natives. These people, by signs, invited them to stay, but "the harbor being naught, and doubting the weather," they did not think proper to accept the invitation.

In the night they stood to the southward, and the next morning, found themselves "embayed with a mighty headland," which at first appeared "like an island, by reason of a large sound, which lay between it and the main." Within a league of this land, they came to anchor in fifteen fathoms, and took a very

* The account of Gosnold's voyage and discovery, in the first volume of this work, is so enormous, from the misinformation which I had received, that I thought it best to write the whole of it anew. The former mistakes are here corrected, partly from the best information which I could obtain, after the most assiduous inquiry; but principally from my own observations on the spot; compared with the journal of the voyage, more critically examined than before.

† The names of the persons who went in this voyage, as far as I can collect them, are as follows: Bartholomew Gosnold, commander; Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer; John Angel; Robert Salterne—he went again the next year with Pring—he was afterwards a clergyman; William Street; Gabriel Archer, gentleman and journeyman—he afterwards went to Virginia—Archer's Hope, near Williamsburg, is named from him; James Rosier—he wrote an account of the voyage and presented it to Sir Walter Raleigh; John Borton, or Breton; — Tucker, from whom the shoal called Tucker's Haven is named.

great quantity of cod. From this circumstance, the land was named *Cape Cod*. It is described as a low sandy shore, but without danger, and lying in the latitude of 42°. Capt. Gosnold with Mr. Brierton and three men, went to it and found the shore bold and the sand very deep. A young Indian, with copper pendants in his ears, a bow in his hand, and arrows at his back, came to them, and in a friendly manner offered his service; but, as they were in haste to return to the ship, they had little conference with him.

On the 16th, they sailed by the shore southerly; and, at the end of twelve leagues, saw a point of land, with breakers at a distance. In attempting to double this point, they came suddenly into shoal water; from which they extricated themselves by standing off to sea. This point they named *Point Care*, and the breakers, *Tucker's Terror*, from the person who first discovered the danger. In the night they bore up towards the land, and came to anchor in eight fathoms. The next day, (17th) seeing many breakers about them, and the weather being foul, they lay at anchor.

On the 18th, the weather being clear, they sent their boat to sound a beach, which lay off another point, to which they gave the name of *Gilbert's Point*. The ship remained at anchor the whole of this day; and some of the natives came from the shore in their canoes to visit them. These people were dressed in skins, and furnished with pipes and tobacco; one of them had a breast-plate of copper. They appeared more timorous than those of *Savage Rock*, but were very thievish.

When the people in the boat returned from sounding, they reported a depth of water from four to seven fathoms, over the beach; which the ship passed the next day, (19th) and came to anchor again above a league beyond it. Here they remained two days surrounded by schools of fish and flocks of aquatic birds. To the northward of west, they saw several hummocks, which they imagined were distinct islands; but when they sailed towards them, (on the 21st) they found them to be small hills within the land. They discovered also an opening, into which they endeavored to enter, supposing it to be the southern extremity of the sound between *Cape Cod* and the main land. But on examination the water proving very shoal, they called it *Shoal Hope*, and proceeded to the westward. The coast was full of people, who ran along the shore, accompanying the ship as she sailed; and many smokes appeared within the land.

In coasting along to the westward, they discovered an island, on which the next day (22) they landed. The description of it in the journal is this: "A disinhabited island; from *Shoal Hope* it is eight leagues; in circuit it is five miles, and hath forty-one degrees and one quarter of latitude. The place most pleasant; for we found it full of wood, vines, gooseberry bushes, hurrberries, raspices, eglantine [sweet-briar,] &c. Here we had cranes, herons, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds; which there, at that time, upon the cliffs, being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer. Here we rode in eight fathoms, near the shore; where we took great store of cod, as before at *Cape Cod*, but much better. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it." They gave it the name of *Martin's Vineyard*, from the great number of vines which they found on it.

From this island, they passed (on the 24th) round a very high and distinguished promontory; to which they gave the name of *Deer Cliff*; and came to anchor "in a fair sound, where they rode all night."

Between them and the main, which was then in sight, lay a "ledge of rocks, extending a mile into the sea but all above water, and without danger." They went round the western extremity of this ledge, and came to in eight fathoms of water, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever they had seen." This they called *Gosnold's Hope*. The north side of it was the main land stretching east and west, distant four leagues from the island, where they came to anchor, to which they gave the name of *Elizabeth*, in honor of their queen.

On the 25th of May, they held a council, respecting the place of their abode, which they determined to be "in the west part of *Elizabeth Island*, the north-east part running out of their ken." The island is thus described. "In the western side, it admitteth some creeks or sandy coves, so girded, as the water in some places meeteth; to which the Indians from the main, do often resort for fishing crabs. There is eight fathom very near the shore, and the latitude is 41° 10'. The breadth of the island from sound to sound, in the western part, is not passing a mile, at most; altogether unpeopled and disinhabited.

"It is overgrown with wood and rubbish. The woods are oak, ash, beech, walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage and cedars, with divers others of unknown names. The rubbish is wild-peas, young sassafrage, cherry trees, vines, eglantine (or sweet-briar), gooseberry bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, raspices, ground nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c. without count. Touching the fertility of the soil, by our own experience, we found it to be excellent; for, sowing some English pulse, it sprouted out in one fortnight almost half a foot.

"In this island is a pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles; on one side not distant from the sea thirty yards. In the centre of it is a rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground, full of wood and rubbish, on which we began our fort and place of abode, and made a punt or flat-bottomed boat to pass to and fro over the fresh water.

"On the north side, near adjoining to *Elizabeth*, is an islet, in compass half a mile, full of cedars, by me called *Hill's Hap*; to the northward of which, in the middle of an opening on the main, appeared another like it, which I called *Hap's Hill*." When Captain Gosnold with divers of the company "went in the shallop towards *Hill's Hap*, to view it and the sandy cove, they found a bark canoe, which the Indians had quitted for fear of them. This they took and brought to England. It is not said that they made any acknowledgment or recompense for it.

Before I proceed in the account of Gosnold's transactions, it is necessary to make some remarks on the preceding detail, which is either abridged or extracted from the journal written by Gabriel Archer. This journal contains some inaccuracies, which may be corrected by carefully comparing its several parts, and by actual observations of the places described. I have taken much pains to obtain information, by consulting the best maps, and conversing or corresponding with pilots and other persons. But for my greater satisfaction, I have visited the island on which Gosnold built his house and fort, the ruins of which are still visible, though at the distance of nearly two centuries.

That Gosnold's *Cape Cod* is the promontory which now bears that name, is evident from his description. The point which he denominated *Care*, at the distance of twelve leagues southward of *Cape Cod*, agrees very well with *Malebarre*, or *Sandy Point*, the south-eastern extremity of the county of *Barnstable*. The shoal water and breach, which he called *Tucker's Terror*, correspond with the shoal and breakers commonly called the *Pollock Rip*, which extends to the south-east of this remarkable point.

To avoid this danger, it being late in the day, he stood so far out to sea, as to overshoot the eastern entrance of what is now called the *Vineyard sound*. The land which he made in the night was a white cliff on the eastern coast of *Nantucket*, now called *Sankoty Head*. The breach which lay off *Gilbert's Point*, I take to be at the *Bass Rip* and the *Pollock Rip*, with the cross riplings which extend from the south-east extremity of that island. Over these riplings there is a depth of water, from four to seven fathoms, according to a late map of *Nantucket*, published by *Peleg Coffin, Esq.*, and others. That Gosnold did not enter the *Vineyard Sound*, but overshoot it in the night, is demonstrated by comparing his journal with that of *Martin Pring*, the next year; a passage from which shall be cited in its proper place.

The large opening which he saw, but did not enter, and to which he gave the name of *Shoal Hope*, agrees very well with the open shore, to the westward of the little island of *Muskeget*.

The island which he called *Martin's Vineyard*, now bears the name of *No-Man's Land*. This is clear from his account of its size, five miles in circuit; its distance from *Shoal Hope*, eight leagues, and from *Elizabeth Island*, five leagues; the safety of approaching it on all sides; and the small, but excellent cod, which are always taken near it in the spring months. The only material objection is, that he found deer upon the island; but this is removed by comparing his account with the journal of *Martin Pring*, who the next year, found deer in abundance on the large island, now called the *Vineyard*. I have had credible testimony, that deer have been seen swimming across the *Vineyard Sound*, when pursued by hunters. This island was a sequestered spot, where those deer who took refuge upon it, would probably remain undisturbed and multiply.*

* The following information was given to me by Benjamin Bassett, Esq. of Chilmark.

"About the year 1720, the last deer was seen on the

The lofty promontory to which he gave the name of *Deer Cliff*, is *Gay Head*: an object too singular and entertaining to pass unobserved, and far superior in magnitude to any other cliff on any of these islands. The "fair sound" into which he entered after doubling this cliff, is the western extremity of the *Vineyard Sound*; and his anchoring place was probably in or near *Menemsha Bay*.

For what reason, and at what time, the name of *Martin's Vineyard* was transferred from the small island so called by Gosnold, to the large island which now bears it, are questions which remain in obscurity. That Gosnold at first took the southern side of this large island to be the main, is evident. When he doubled the cliff at its western end, he knew it to be an island; but gave no name to any part of it, except the *Cliff*.*

"The ledge of rocks extending a mile into the sea," between his anchoring ground and the main, is that remarkable ledge, distinguished by the name of the *Sow and Pigs*. The "stately sound" which he entered, after passing round these rocks, is the mouth of *Buzzard's Bay*; and the Island *Elizabeth*, is the westernmost of the islands which now go by the name of *Elizabeth's Islands*. Its Indian name is *Cuttyhunk*, a contraction of *Poo-cut-oh-hunk-un-noh*, which signifies a thing that lies out of the water. The names of the others are *Nashawena*, *Pasque*, *Nauson*, *Nenimisset*, and *Peniquese*, besides some of less note.

In this island, at the west end, on the north side, is a pond of fresh water, three quarters of a mile in length, and of unequal breadth; but if measured in all its sinuosities, would amount to two miles in circuit. In the middle of its breadth, near the west end, is a "rocky islet, containing near an acre of ground."

To this spot I went, on the 20th day of June, 1797, in company with several gentlemen,† whose curiosity and obliging kindness induced them to accompany me. The protecting hand of Nature has reserved this favorite spot to herself. Its fertility and its productions are exactly the same as in Gosnold's time, excepting the wood, of which there is none. Every species of what he calls "rubbish," with strawberries, peas, tansy, and other fruits and herbs, appear in rich abundance, unmolested by any animal but aquatic birds. We had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's storehouse; the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighboring beach; the rocks of the islet being less moveable, and lying in ledges.

The whole island of *Cuttyhunk* has been for many years stripped of its wood; but I was informed by Mr. Greenill, an old resident farmer, that the trees which formerly grew on it, were such as are described in Gosnold's Journal. The soil is a very fine garden mould, from the bottom of the vallies to the top of the hills, and affords rich pasture.

The length of the island is rather more than two miles, and its breadth about one mile. The beach between the pond and the sea is twenty-seven yards wide. It is so high and firm a barrier, that the sea never flows into the pond, but when agitated by a violent gale from the north-west. The pond is deep in the middle. It has no visible outlet. Its fish are perch, eels and turtles; and it is frequented by aquatic birds, both wild and domestic.

On the north side of the island, connected with it by a beach, is an elevation, the Indian name of which is *Copicut*. Either this hill, or the little island of *Peniquese*, which lies a mile to the northward, is the place which Gosnold called *Hill's Hap*. Between *Copicut* and *Cuttyhunk* is a circular sandy cove, with a narrow entrance. *Hap's Hill*, on the opposite shore of the

Vineyard and shot at. The horns of these animals have been ploughed up several times on the west end of the island. If one deer could swim across *Vineyard Sound*, why not more? *No-Man's Land* is four miles from the *Vineyard*, and if the deer could cross the Sound 7 miles, why not from the *Vineyard* to *No-Man's Land*?

* The reader will give the following conjecture as much weight as it deserves:

The large island is frequently called *Martin's Vineyard*, especially by the old writers. This is commonly supposed to be a mistake. But why? Captain *Pring's* Christian name was *Martin*, and this island has as good a right to the appellation of *Vineyard* as the other, being equally productive of vines. The names *Martin* and *Martin* are easily confounded, and as one island only was supposed to be designated by the *Vineyard*, it was natural to give it to the greater. The lesser became disregarded, and not being inhabited or claimed by any, it was supposed to belong to *NO-MAN*, and was called *No-Man's Land*. In an old Dutch map, extant, in *Ogilby's history of America*, p. 168, the name of *Martin's Vineyard* is given to a small island lying southward of *Elizabeth*; and the name of *Texel* is given to the large island, which is now called *The Vineyard*. The situation of the small island agrees with that of *No-Man's Land*.

† *Noah Webster*, Esq. of New York; Captain *Tallman*, Mr. *John Spooner*, Mr. *Allen*, a pilot, of New Bedford.

main, distant four leagues, is a round elevation, on a point of land, near the Dumlum Rocks, between the rivers of Apooneganset and Pascamanset, in the township of Dartmouth.

From the south side of Cuttyhunk, the promontory of Gay head, which Gosnold called Dover Cliff, and the island which he named Martha's Vineyard, lie in full view, and appear to great advantage. No other objects, in that region, bear any resemblance to them, or to the description given of them: nor is there a ledge of rocks projecting from any other island a mile into the sea.

Whilst Gabriel Archer, and a party, generally consisting of ten, labored in clearing the "rocky islet" of wood, and building a store-house and fort, Captain Gosnold and the rest of the company were employed either in making discoveries, or fishing, or collecting sassafras. On the 31st of May, he went to the main land, on the shore of which he was met by a company of the natives, "men, women, and children, who, with all courteous kindness, entertained him, giving him skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings, colored, [wampum,] and such like things as they had about them." The stately groves, flowery meadows, and running brooks, afforded delightful entertainment to the adventurers. The principal discovery which they made, was of two good harbors; one of which I take to be Apooneganset, and the other Pascamanset, between which lies the round hill, which they called *Hap's Hill*. They observed the coast to extend five leagues further to the south-west, as it does, to Seconnet Point. As they spent but one day in this excursion, they did not fully explore the main, though from what they observed, the land being broken, and the shore rocky, they were convinced of the existence of other harbors on that coast.

On the 5th of June, an Indian chief and fifty men, armed with bows and arrows, landed on the island. Archer and his men left their work, and met them on the beach. After mutual salutations, they sat down, and began a traffic, exchanging such things as they had, to mutual satisfaction. The ship then lay at anchor, a league off. Gosnold seeing the Indians approach the island, came on shore with twelve men, and was received by Archer's party, with military ceremony, as their commander. The captain gave the chief a straw hat and two knives. The former he little regarded; the latter he received with great admiration.

In a subsequent visit, they became better acquainted, and had a larger trade for furs. At dinner, they entertained the savages with fish and mustard, and gave them beer to drink. The effect of the mustard on the noses of the Indians afforded them much diversion. One of them stole a target, and conveyed it on board his canoe; when it was demanded of the chief, it was immediately restored. No demand was made of the birch canoe, which Gosnold had a few days before taken from the Indians. When the chief and his retinue took their leave, four or five of the Indians staid and helped the adventurers to dig the roots of sassafras, with which, as well as furs and other productions of the country, the ship was loaded for her homeward voyage. Having performed this service, the Indians were invited on board the ship, but they declined the invitation, and returned to the main. This island had no fixed inhabitants; the natives of the opposite shore frequently visited it, for the purpose of gathering shell-fish, with which its creeks and coves abounded.

All these Indians had ornaments of copper. When the adventurers asked them, by signs, whence they obtained this metal, one of them made answer, by digging a hole in the ground, and pointing to the main; from which circumstance it was understood that the adjacent country contained mines of copper. In the course of almost two centuries, no copper has been there discovered; though iron, a much more useful metal, wholly unknown to the natives, is found in great plenty. The question, whence did they obtain copper? is yet without an answer.

Three weeks were spent in clearing the islet, digging and stoning a cellar, building a house, fortifying it with palisades, and covering it with sedge, which then grew in great plenty on the sides of the pond. During this time, a survey was made of their provisions. After reserving enough to victual twelve men, who were to go home in the bark, no more could be left with the remaining twenty than would suffice them for six weeks; and the ship could not return till the end of the next autumn. This was a very discouraging circumstance.

A jealousy also arose respecting the profits of the ships' lading; those who staid behind claiming a share,

as well as those who should return to England. Whilst these subjects were in debate, a single Indian came on board, from whose apparently grave and sober deportment they suspected him to have been sent as a spy. In a few days after the ship went to Hill's Hap, out of sight of the fort, to take in a load of cedar, and was there detained so much longer than they expected, that the party at the fort had expended their provision. Four of them went in search of shell-fish, and divided themselves, two and two, going different ways. One of these small parties was suddenly attacked by four Indians in a canoe, who wounded one of them in the arm with an arrow. His companion seized the canoe, and cut their bow-strings on which they fled. It being late in the day, and the weather stormy, this couple were obliged to pass the night in the woods, and did not reach the fort till the next day. The whole party subsisted on shell-fish, ground nuts, and herbs, till the ship came and took them on board. A new consultation was then holden. Those who had been most resolute to remain, were discouraged; and the unanimous voice was in favor of returning to England.

On the 17th of June, they doubled the rocky ledge of Elizabeth, passed by Dover Cliff, sailed to the island which they had called Martha's Vineyard, and employed themselves in taking young geese, cranes, and herons. The next day they set sail for England; and, after a pleasant passage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth, in Devonshire.

Thus failed the first attempt to plant a colony in North Virginia; the causes of which are obvious. The loss of Sir Walter Raleigh's Company, in South Virginia, was then recent in memory, and the same causes might have operated here to produce the same effect. Twenty men, situated on an island, surrounded by other islands and the main, and furnished with six weeks provisions only, could not maintain possession of a territory to which they had no right against the force of its native proprietors. They might easily have been cut off, when seeking food abroad, or their fort might have been invested, and they must have surrendered at discretion, or have been starved to death, had no direct assault been made upon them. The prudence of their retreat is unquestionable to any person who considers their hazardous situation.

During this voyage, and especially whilst on shore, the whole company enjoyed remarkably good health. They were highly pleased with the salubrity, fertility, and apparent advantages of the country. Gosnold was so enthusiastic an admirer of it, that he was indefatigable in his endeavors to forward the settlement of a colony in conjunction with Captain John Smith. With him, in 1607, he embarked in the expedition to South Virginia, where he had the rank of a counsellor. Soon after his arrival, by excessive fatigue in the extremity of the summer heat, he fell a sacrifice, with fifty others to the insalubrity of that climate, and the scanty measure and bad quality of the provisions with which that unfortunate colony was furnished.

The discovery made by Gosnold, and especially the shortness of the time in which his voyage was performed, induced Richard Hackluyt, then Prebendary of St. Augustine's Church in Bristol, to use his influence with the major, aldermen, and merchants of that opulent, mercantile city, to prosecute the discovery of the northern parts of Virginia. The first step was to obtain permission of Raleigh and his associates. This was undertaken and accomplished by Hackluyt, in conjunction of John Angel and Robert Salterne, both of whom had been with Gosnold to America. The next was to equip two vessels; one a ship of fifty tons, called the *Speedwell*, carrying thirty men; the other a bark of twenty-six tons, called the *Discoverer*, carrying thirteen men. The commander of the ship was Martin Pring, and his mate, Edmund Jones. The bark was commanded by William Browne, whose mate was Samuel Kirkland. Salterne was the principal agent, or supercargo; and was furnished with various kinds of clothing, hardware, and trinkets, to trade with the natives. The vessels were victualled for eight months, and sailed on the 10th of April, 1603, a few days after the death of Queen Elizabeth.

They went so far to the southward, as to be within sight of the Azores; and in the beginning of June, fell in with the American coast, between the 43d and 44th degrees of latitude, among those numerous islands which cover the district of Maine. One of these they named Fox Island, from some of that species of animal which they saw upon it. Among these islands, in the mouth of Penobscot Bay, they found good anchorage and fishing. The land being rocky, they judged it proper for the drying of cod, which they took in great

plenty, and esteemed better than those usually taken at Newfoundland.

Having passed all the islands, they ranged the coast to the south-west, and entered four inlets, which are thus described: "The most easterly was barred at the mouth; but having passed over the bar, we ran up it for five miles, and for a certain space found very good depth. Coming out again, as we sailed south-west, we lighted on two other inlets, which we found to pierce not far into the land. The fourth and most westerly was the best, which we rowed up ten or twelve miles. In all these places we found no people, but signs of fires, where they had been. Howbeit, we beheld very goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts. But meeting with no sassafras, we left these places, with all the aforesaid islands, shaping our course for *Savage Rock*, discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold."

From this description, I conclude, that after they had passed the islands as far westward as Casco Bay, the easternmost of the four inlets which they entered was the mouth of the river Saco. The two next were Kennebunk and York rivers; the westernmost, and the best, was the river Piscataqua. The reason of their finding no people, was that the natives were at that season (June) fishing at the falls of the rivers; and the vestiges of fires marked the places at or near the mouths of the rivers, where they had resided and taken fish in the earlier months of the spring. In steering for *Savage Rock*, they must have doubled Cape Ann, which brought them into the bay of Massachusetts, on the northern shore of which, I suppose *Savage Rock* to be situated.

It seems that one principal object of their voyage was to collect sassafras, which was esteemed a highly medicinal vegetable. In several parts of these journals, and in other books of the same date, it is celebrated as a sovereign remedy for the plague, the venereal disease, the stone, strangury and other maladies. One of Gosnold's men had been cured by it, in twelve hours of a surfeit, occasioned by eating greedily of the bellies of dog-fish, which is called a "delicious meat."

The journal then proceeds: "Going on the main at *Savage Rock*, we found people, with whom he had no long conversation, because here also we could find no sassafras. Departing hence, we bare into that great gulf which *Capt. Gosnold overshot the year before*; coasting and finding people on the north side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed over, and came to anchor on the south side, in the latitude of forty-one degrees and odd minutes; where we went on land, in a certain bay, which was called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the worshipful master, John Whitson, then mayor of the city of Bristol, and one of the chief adventurers. Finding a pleasant hill adjoining, we called it *Mount Aldworth*, for master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage, as well with his purse as with his travel. Here we had sufficient quantity of sassafras."

In another part of this journal, *Whitson Bay* is thus described: "At the entrance of this excellent haven, we found twenty fathoms of water, and rode at our ease in seven fathoms, being land-locked; the haven winding in compass like the shell of a snail; and it is in latitude of forty-one degrees and twenty minutes. We also observed that we could find no sassafras but in sandy ground."

Though this company had no design to make a settlement in America, yet considering that the place where they found it convenient to reside, was full of inhabitants, they built a temporary hut, and enclosed it with a barricade, in which they kept constant guard by day and night, whilst others were employed in collect-

* The following note is from Peleg Coffin, Esq. "The haven here described must have been that of Edgartown. No other could with propriety be represented as winding or land-locked, as is truly the harbor of Edgartown, generally called Oldtown."

To this I subjoin an extract of a letter from the Rev Joseph Thaxter, minister of Edgartown, dated Nov. 15, 1797. "It is evident to me, and others better acquainted than I am, with whom I have consulted, that Pring, as soon as he passed the sandy point of Monumoy (Malebar), bore to the westward, and came through what is called Butler's Hole; that he kept the North channel, till he got as far as Fal mouth, and that he then crossed over into Oldtown harbor, which corresponds in every respect to his description, except in the depth of water at the entrance of the harbor, there are now but fourteen fathoms; in the harbor there are seven and a half. I would suggest an idea, whether there is now the same depth of water at the entrance as in 1603? It is certain that the shoals shift, and that Cape Poge, within the memory of man, has been washed into the sea thirty or forty rods. From this circumstance, the difference in the depth of water may be easily accounted for. "There are several pleasant hills adjoining to the harbor, and to this day plenty of sassafras."

ing sassafras in the woods. The Indians frequently visited them in parties, of various numbers, from ten to a hundred. They were used kindly, had trinkets presented to them, and were fed with English pulse, their own food being chiefly fish. They were adorned with plates of copper; their bows, arrows and quivers were very neatly made; and their birchen canoes were considered as great curiosities, one of which, of seventeen feet in length and four in breadth, was carried home to Bristol, as a specimen of their ingenuity. Whether it was bought or stolen from them is uncertain.

The natives were excessively fond of music, and would dance in a ring round an English youth, who played on an instrument called a gitterne. But they were greatly terrified at the barking of two English mastiffs, which always kept them at a distance, when the people were tired of their company.

The growth of the place consisted of sassafras, *rinex*, cedar, oak, ash, beech, birch, cherry, hazel, walnut, maple, holly and wild plum. The land animals were stags and fallow deer in abundance, bears, wolves, foxes, luscurnes,* porcupines, and dogs with short noses.† The waters and shores abounded with fish and shell-fish of various kinds, and aquatic birds in great plenty.

By the end of July they had loaded their bark with sassafras, and sent her to England. After which they made as much despatch as possible in lading their ship, the departure of which was accelerated by the following incident.

The Indians had hitherto been on friendly terms with the adventurers; but seeing their number lessened and one of their vessels gone, and those who remained dispersed at their several employments, they came one day, about noon, to the number of one hundred and forty, armed with bows and arrows, to the barricado, where four men were on guard with their muskets. The Indians called to them to come out, which they refused, and stood on their defence. Captain Pring, with two men only were on board the ship; as soon as he perceived the danger, he secured the ship as well as he could, and fired one of his great guns, as a signal to the laborers in the woods, who were reposeing after their fatigue, depending on the mastiffs for protection. The dogs hearing the gun, awoke their masters, who, then bearing a second gun, took to their arms, and came to the relief of the guard. At the sight of the men and dogs, the Indians desisted from their purpose, and affecting to turn the whole into a jest, went off laughing without any damage on either side.

In a few days after, they set fire to the woods where the sassafras grew, to the extent of a mile. These alarming circumstances determined Pring to retire. After the people had embarked, and were weighing the anchors, a larger number than ever they had seen, about two hundred, came down to the shore, and some in their canoes came off to the ship, apparently to invite the adventurers to a longer continuance. It was not easy to believe the invitation friendly, nor prudent to accept it. They therefore came to sail, it being the 9th of August. After a passage of five weeks, by the route of the Azores, they came into soundings; and on the 2d of October arrived at King Road, below Bristol, where the bark had arrived about a fortnight before them. This whole voyage was completed in six months. Its objects were to make discoveries, and to collect furs and sassafras. No instance of aggression on the part of the adventurers is mentioned, nor on the part of the natives, till after the sailing of the bark.

At the same time that Martin Pring was employed in his voyage, BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT went on a farther discovery to the southern part of Virginia, having it also in view to look for the lost colony of Sir Walter Raleigh. He sailed from Plymouth, May 10, 1603, in the bark Elizabeth, of fifty tons, and went by the way of Madeira to the West Indies, where he touched at

several of the islands, taking in ligum-vitæ, tortoiseshell, and tobacco.

On the 6th of July he quitted the islands, and steered for Virginia. In four days he got into the Gulf Stream, and was becalmed five days. After which the wind sprang up, and on the 20th he saw land in the 40th degree of latitude. His object was to fetch the mouth of Chesapeake Bay; but the wind being adverse, after beating against it for several days, the necessity of wood and water obliged them to come to anchor about a mile from the shore, where there was an appearance of the entrance of a river.

On Friday, the 29th of July, Captain Gilbert accompanied by Thomas Canner, a gentleman of Bernard's Inn, Richard Harrison, mate, Henry Kenton, surgeon, and Derick, a Dutchman, went on shore, leaving two boys to keep the boat. Immediately after they had entered the wood, the savages attacked, pursued and killed every one of them; two of them fell in sight of the boys, who had much difficulty to prevent the Indians from hauling the boat on shore.

With heavy hearts they got back to the ship; whose crew, reduced to eleven, including the boys, durst not make any further attempt; but steered for the Western Islands; after passing them, they arrived in the river Thames, about the end of September, when the city of London was "most grievously infected with the Plague."

After the peace which King James made with Spain in 1604, when the passion for the discovery of a north-west passage was in full vigor, a ship was sent from England by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel of Wardor, with a view to this object. The commander of the ship was George Weymouth. He sailed from the Downs on the last day of March, 1605, and came in sight of the American coast on the 13th of May, in the latitude of 41 degrees 30 minutes.

Being there entangled among shoals and breakers, he quitted this land, and at the distance of fifty leagues, discovered several islands, to one of which he gave the name of *St. George*. Within three leagues of this island he came into a harbor, which he called *Pentecost* harbor; and sailed up a noble river, to which it does not appear that he gave any name, nor does he mention any name by which it was called by the natives.

The conjectures of historians respecting this river have been various. Oldmixon supposes it to have been James river in Virginia, whilst Beverly, who aims to correct him, affirms it to have been Hudson's river in New York. Neither of them could have made these mistakes, if they had read the original account in Purchas with any attention. In Smith's history of Virginia an abridgment of the voyage is given, but in so slight and indefinite a manner as to afford no satisfaction respecting the situation of the river, whether it were northward or southward from the land first discovered.

To ascertain this matter I have carefully examined Weymouth's journal and compared it with the best maps; but for more perfect satisfaction, I gave an abstract of the voyage with a number of queries to Capt. John Foster Williams, an experienced mariner and commander of the Revenue Cutter, belonging to this port; who has very obligingly communicated to me his observations made in a late cruise. Both of these papers are here subjoined.

"Abstract of the Voyage of Captain George Weymouth to the Coast of America, from the printed Journal, extant in Purchas's Pilgrims, part iv. page 1659.

A. D. 1605, March 31.—"Captain George Weymouth sailed from England in the Archangel, for the northern part of Virginia, as the whole coast of North America was then called.

May 13.—Arrived in soundings—160 fathoms.

14.—In five or six leagues distance shoaled the water from one hundred to five fathoms, saw from the mast-head a *whitish sandy cliff*, N. N. W. 6 leagues: many breaches nearer the land; the ground foul, and depth varying from six to fifteen fathoms. Parted from the land. Latitude 41 degrees 30 minutes.

15.—Wind between W. S. W. and S. S. W. In want of wood and water. Land much desired, and therefore sought for it *where the wind would best suffer us*.

QUERY 1.—As the wind then blew, must not the course be to the north and east!

16.—In almost fifty leagues run, found no land; the charts being erroneous.

17.—Saw land which bore N. N. E. a great gale of

wind and the sea high. Stood off till two in the morning; then stood in again. At eight A. M. saw land again bearing N. E. It appeared a mean high land, being as we afterwards found it an island of no great compass. About noon came to anchor on the north side in forty fathoms, about a league from shore. Named the island *St. George*.

QUERY 2.—Could this island be *Seguin* or *Monhegan*? or if neither, what island was it!

Whilst we were on shore on the island our men on board caught thirty large cod and haddock. From hence we discerned many islands, and the main land extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. A great way up into the main, as it then seemed, we discerned *very high mountains*; though the main seemed but low land. The mountains bore N. N. E. from us.

QUERY 3.—What mountains were these!

19.—Being *Whitsunday*, weighed anchor at twelve o'clock, and came along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly to the mountains, about three leagues from the first island found a safe harbor, defended from all winds, in an excellent depth of water for ships of any burthen in six, seven, eight, nine, ten fathoms, upon a clay ooze, very tough, where is good mooring even on the rocks, by the cliff side. Named it *Pentecost* harbor.

QUERY 4.—Do these marks agree with Sagadahock or Musquetto harbor or St. George's Island; or if not with what harbor do they agree!

20.—Went ashore, found water issuing from springs down the rocky cliffs, and dug pits to receive it. Found, at no great depth, clay, blue, red and white. Good lobsters, rock-fish, plaice, and lumps. With two or three hooks caught cod and haddock enough for the ship's company three days.

24.—The captain, with 14 men armed, marched through two of the islands, one of which we guessed to be four or five miles in compass, and one broad. Abundance of great muscles, some of which contained pearls. One had 14 pearls in it.

30.—The captain with 13 men departed in the shallop, leaving the ship in harbor.

31.—The shallop returned, having discovered a *great river* trending far up into the main.

QUERY 5.—What river was this!

June 1.—Indians came and traded with us. Pointing to one part of the main, eastward, they signified to us that the *Bashabe*, their king, had plenty of furs, and much tobacco.

N. B.—Here Weymouth kidnapped five of the natives.

11.—Passed up into the river with our ship about 26 miles.

Observations by the Author of the Voyage, James Rosier.

"The first and chief thing required for a plantation is a bold coast, and a fair land to fall in with. The next is a safe harbor for ships to ride in.

"The first is a special attribute of this shore, being free from sands or dangerous rocks, in a continual good depth, with a most excellent land-fall as can be desired, which is the first island, named *St. George*.

"For the second, here are more good harbors for ships of all burthens than all England can afford. The river, as it runneth up into the main very high forty miles, towards the *Great Mountains*, beareth in breadth a mile, sometimes three-fourths, and a half a mile is the narrowest, where you shall never have less than four or five fathoms, hard by the shore; but six, seven, eight, nine, ten at low water. On both sides, every half mile, very gallant coves, some able to contain almost one hundred sail of ships; the ground is an excellent soft ooze, with tough clay for anchor hold; and ships may lie without anchor, only moored to the shore with a hawser.

"It floweth fifteen or eighteen feet at high water.

"Here are made by nature, most excellent places, as docks to grave and careen ships of all burthens, secure from all winds.

"The river yieldeth plenty of salmon, and other fishes of great bigness.

"The bordering land is most rich, trending all along on both sides, in an equal plain, neither mountainous nor rocky, but verged with a green border of grass; which may be made good feeding ground, being plentiful like the outward islands, with fresh water, which streameth down in many places.

"As we passed with a gentle wind, in our ship, up this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented in joy; many who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous ri-

* *Luserne*, *Lucern*, a beast near the bigness of a wolf of color between red and brown, something mayled like a cat, and mingled with black spots; bred in Muscovy, and is a rich furre.—[Vide Minshew in verbum Furre.

Could this animal be the racoon? Josselyn gives the name of *Luserne* to the wild cat.

† As the existence of this species of animal has been doubted, I must remark, that it is several times mentioned by the earliest adventurers, and twice in Pring's Journal. Josselyn, who was a naturalist, and resided several years in the eastern parts of New England, gives this account of it: "I know of but one kind of beast in New England produced by equivocal generation, and that is the Indian dog, begotten between a wolf and a fox, or between a fox and a wolf; which they made use of, taming them and bringing them up to hunt with; but since the English came among them, they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their wives."—[Josselyn's voyages to the N. E. p. 94.

vers. affirmed them not comparable to this. I will not prefer it before our river of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure; but we did all wish those excellent harbors, good depths, continual convenient breadth, and small-tide-gates, to be as well therein, for our country's good, as we found them here: then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, secure harboring river that the world affordeth."

12.—"Our captain manned his *shallop* with seventeen men, and ran up to the *codde* of the river, where we landed, leaving six to keep the *shallop*. Ten of us, with our shot, and some armed, with a boy to carry powder and match, marched up the country, towards the mountains, which we described at our first falling in with the land, and were continually in our view. To some of them the river brought us so near, as we judged ourselves, when we landed, to be within a league of them; but we found them not, having marched well nigh four miles, and passed three great hills. Wherefore, because the weather was hot, and our men in their armor, not able to travel far and return to our pinnace at night, we resolved not to travel further.

"We no sooner came a board our pinnace, returning down towards our ship, but we espied a canoe coming from the farther part of the *codde* of the river, eastward. In it were three Indians, one of whom we had before seen, and his coming was very earnestly to importune us to let one of our men go with them to the *Bashabe*, and then the next morning he would come to our ship with furs and tobacco."

N. B.—They did not accept the invitation, because they suspected danger from the savages, having detained five of their people on board to be carried to England.

13.—"By two o'clock in the morning, taking advantage of the tide, we went in our pinnace up to that part of the river which trendeth west into the main, and we carried a cross to erect at that point, (a thing never omitted by any Christian travellers.) Into that river, we *rowed* by estimation, twenty miles.

"What profit or pleasure is described in the former part of the river, is wholly doubled in this; for the breadth and depth is such, that a ship, drawing seventeen or eighteen feet of water, might have passed as far as we went with our *shallop*, and much farther, because we left it in so good depth. From the place of our ship's riding in the harbor, at the entrance into the Sound, to the farthest point we were in this river, by our estimation, was not much less than *threescore* miles. [That is, as I understand it, from Pentecost harbor they went in the ship forty miles, to the *codde* of the river; and thence in the *shallop*, or pinnace, twenty miles up the west branch.]

QUERY 6—What is meant by *codde*? It appears to be an old word.

"We were so pleased with this river, and so loth to forsake it, that we would have continued there willingly for two days, having only bread and cheese to eat. But the tide not suffering it, we came down with the ebb. We conceived that the river ran very far into the land, for we passed six or seven miles altogether *fresh water*, (whereof we all drank) forced up by the flowing of the salt water.

14.—We warped our ship down to the river's mouth, and there came to anchor.

15.—Weighed anchor, and with a breeze from the land, came to our watering place, in Pentecost harbor, and filled our cask.

"Our captain upon a rock in the midst of this harbor, made his observation by the sun, of the height, latitude, and variation, exactly, upon all his instruments, viz. astrolabe, semisphere, ring, and cross-staff, and an excellent variation compass. The latitude he found 43 degrees 20 minutes, north; the variation, 11 degrees 15 minutes, west."

N. B.—In this latitude no part of the American coast lies, except Cape Porpoise, where is only a boat harbor. The rivers nearest to it are on the south, Kennebunk, a tide river of no great extent, terminating in a brook; and on the north, Saco, the navigation of which is obstructed by a bar at its mouth, and by a fall at the distance of six or seven miles from the sea. Neither of these could be the river described in Weymouth's Journal. His observation of the latitude, or the printed account of it, must have been erroneous.

"Captain Williams will be so obliging as to put down his remarks on the above abstract in writing, for the use of his humble servant,

Boston, Aug. 4, 1797. JEREMY BELKNAP."

Captain William's Answer.

"The first land Captain Weymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff, W. N. W. six leagues, must have been

Sankoty Head [Nantucket.] With the wind at W. S. W. and S. S. W. he could have fetched into this bay, [Boston] and must have seen Cape Cod, had the weather been clear. But,

The land he saw on the 17th, I think must be the island Monhegan, as no other island answers the description. In my last cruise to the eastward, I sounded, and had thirty fathoms, about one league to the northward of the island. The many islands he saw, and the main land, extending from W. S. W. to E. N. E. agree with that shore; the mountains he saw bearing N. N. E. were Penobscot Hills or Mountains; for from the place where I suppose the ship lay at anchor, the above mountains bear N. N. E.

The harbor where he lay with his ship, and named Pentecost harbor, is, I suppose, what is now called George's Island Harbor, which bears north from Monhegan, about two leagues; which harbor and islands agree with his descriptions, I think, tolerable well, and the name, George's Islands, serves to confirm it.

When the captain went in his boat and discovered a great river trending far up into the main, I suppose he went as far as Two Bush Island, about three or four leagues from the ship, from thence he could discover Penobscot bay.

Distance from the ship to Two Bush Island is about ten miles; from Two Bush Island to Owl's Head, nine miles; from Owl's Head to the north end of Long Island, twenty-seven miles; from the north end of Long Island to Old Fort Powmal, six miles; and from the Old Fort to the head of the tide, or falls, in Penobscot river, thirty miles; whole number, eighty-two miles.

I suppose he went with his ship, round Two Bush Island, and then sailed up to the westward of Long Island, supposing himself to be then in the river; the mountains on the main to the westward extending near as high up as Belfast bay. I think it probable that he anchored with his ship off the point which is now called the Old Fort Point.

The *codde* of the river, where he went with his *shallop*, and marched up in the country, toward the mountains, I think must be Belfast bay.

The canoe that came from the farther part of the *codde* of the river, eastward, with Indians, I think it probable, came from Bagaduce.

The word *codde* is not common; but I have often heard it: as, "up in the *codde* of the bay," meaning the bottom of the bay. I suppose what he calls "the *codde* of the river," is a bay in the river.

The latitude of St. George's Island harbor, according to Holland's map, is forty-three degrees forty-eight minutes, which is nine leagues more north than the observation made by Captain Weymouth.

Boston, October 1, 1797.

SIR,—I made the foregoing remarks, while on my last cruise to the eastward. If any farther information is necessary, that is in my power to give, you may command me.

I am, with respect, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS.

REV. DR. BELKNAP.

Weymouth's voyage is memorable, only for the discovery of Penobscot river, and for the decoying of five of the natives on board his ship, whom he carried to England. Three of them were taken into the family of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, then governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. The information which he gained from them, corroborated by Martin Pring, of Bristol, who made a second voyage in 1606, (and prosecuted the discovery of the rivers in the District of Maine) prepared the way for the attempt of Sir John Popham and others to establish a colony at Sagadahock, in 1607; an account of which attempt, and its failure, is already given in the life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

In the early accounts of this country we find the names of *Mavoshen* and *Norumbega*. *Mavoshen* was a name for the whole District of Maine, containing nine or ten rivers; the westernmost of which was Shawakotock, (written by the French Chouakot and by the English, Saco.) The easternmost was Quibbequesson, which I take to be eastward of Penobscot, but cannot say by what name it is now called. *Norumbega* was a part of the same district, comprehending Penobscot bay and river; but its eastern and western limits are not described.

It is also to be noted that the river Penobscot was sometimes called *Pemiquid*, though this latter name is now restricted to a point or neck of land which lies about six leagues to the westward. Penobscot is called by the French, *Pentagoet*.

This confusion of names occasions no small perplexity to inquirers into the geography and early history of this country.

JOHN ROBINSON.

JOHN ROBINSON—His Birth and Education—Minister of a Congregation of Dissenters—His Congregation persecuted—Removes with his Church to Amsterdam—His disputation with Episcopians—His Church contemplates a Removal—Apply to the Virginia Company—Preaches to them previous to Removal—His affectionate leave of those who embarked for America—His Death, Character, and Posterity

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New England were made by those, who, after the reformation, dissented from the establishment of the Episcopal Church, who suffered on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with such rigor, as disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation which has ever since subsisted. Those who could not conform to the establishment, but wished for a more complete reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of *Puritans*; and among these the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown, "a fiery young clergyman," who, in 1580, headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But his zeal, however violent, was void of consistency; for, in his advanced years, he conformed to the church; whilst others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, though they became more candid and moderate in their principles. Of these people a congregation was formed, about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln; who chose for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson.

Mr. Robinson was born in the year 1576, but the place of his birth is unknown. He was probably educated in the University of Cambridge; and he is said to have been "a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit; pious and studious of the truth; largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ." Before his election to this office, he had a benefice, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk, where his friends were frequently molested by the bishop's officers, and some were almost ruined by prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts.

The reigning prince, at that time, was James I. than whom, a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterism, in Scotland, he forgot them all on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms. Flattered by the bishops he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and entrusted sycophants with the management of the State; whilst he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgences; in the former of which he was a pedant in the latter an epicure. The prosecution of the Puritans was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot, who succeeded him was favorable to them; but when Laud came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty.

Robinson's congregation did not escape persecution by separating from the establishment and forming an independent church. Still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law, they were extremely harassed; some were thrown into prison, some were confined to their own houses; others were obliged to leave their farms and suspend their usual occupations. Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some foreign country seemed the only means of safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions; a blessing, which neither the wisdom of politicians, nor the charity of clergymen had admitted into any other of the European States. But the ports of their own country were shut against them, they could get away only by seeking concealment and giving extravagant rates for their passages and fees to the mariners.

In the autumn of 1606, a company of these dissenters, hired a ship at Boston in Lincolnshire to carry them to Holland. The master promised to be ready at a certain hour of the day, to take them on board, with their families and effects. They assembled at the place; but he disappointed them. Afterwards he came in the night; and when they were embarked, betrayed them into the hands of searchers, and other officers; who, having robbed them of money, books and other articles, and treated the women with indecency, carried them back into the town, and exposed them as a

laughing spectacle to the multitude. They were arraigned before the magistrates, who used them with civility; but could not release them, without an order of the king and council. Till this arrived, they suffered a month's imprisonment; seven were bound over to the assizes, and the others were released.

The next spring (1608) they made another attempt, and hired a Dutch vessel, then lying in the harbor, to take them on board. The place agreed on was an unfrequented common, between Hull and Grimsby, remote from any houses. The women and children, with the baggage were sent down the river in a small bark, and the men agreed to meet them by land; but they came to the place a day before the ship arrived. The water being rough, and the women sick, they prevailed on the pilot of the bark to put into a small creek, where they lay aground, when the Dutchman came and took one boat load of the men on board. Before he could send for the others, a company of armed men appeared on horseback; which so frightened him, that he weighed anchor, and the wind being fair, put to sea. Some of the men who were left behind, made their escape; others, who went to the assistance of the women, were with them apprehended, and carried from one justice of the peace to another; but the justices, not knowing what to do with so many helpless and distressed persons, dismissed them. Having sold their houses, cattle and furniture, they had no homes to which they could retire, and were therefore cast on the charity of their friends. Those who were hurried to sea without their families, and destitute even of a change of clothes, endured a terrible storm, in which neither sun, moon, nor stars appeared for seven days. This storm drove them far to the northward, and they very narrowly escaped foundering. After fourteen days they arrived at Amsterdam, where the people were surprised at their deliverance; the tempest having been very severe, and much damage having been sustained, both at sea, and in the harbors of the continent.

This forlorn company of emigrants were soon after joined by their wives and families. The remainder of the church went over, in the following summer; Mr. Robinson, with a few others, remained to help the weakest, till they were all embarked.

At Amsterdam, they found a congregation of their countrymen, who had the same religious views, and had emigrated before them. Their minister was John Smith, a man of good abilities, and a popular preacher, but unsteady in his opinions.* These people fell into controversy, and were soon scattered. Fearing that the infection might spread, Robinson proposed to his church a further removal; to which, though much to their disadvantage, in a temporal view, they consented; and after one year spent at Amsterdam, they removed to Leyden, where they continued eleven years. During this time, their number so increased, by frequent emigrations from England, that they had in the church three hundred communicants.

At Leyden, they enjoyed much harmony among themselves,† and a friendly intercourse with the Dutch; who, observing their diligence and fidelity in their business, entertained so great a respect for them, that the magistrates of the city (1619), in the seat of justice, having occasion to censure some of the French Protestants, who had a church there, made this public declaration. "These English have lived among us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against any of them; but your quarrels are continual."

The year (1609) in which Mr. Robinson went to Leyden, was remarkable for the death of Jacobus Arminius, one of the Divinity Professors of the University of that city. Between his successor, Episcopius, and the other theological professor, Polyander, there was much opposition; the former teaching the doctrine of Arminius, and the other that of Calvin. The contro-

versy was so bitter, that the disciples of the one would scarcely hear the lectures of the other. Robinson, though he preached constantly three times in the week, and was much engaged in writing, attended the discourses of each; and became master of the arguments on both sides of the controverted questions. Being fully persuaded of the truth of the Calvinian system, and openly preaching it, his zeal and abilities rendered him formidable to the Arminians; which induced Episcopius to publish several theses, and engage to defend them against all opposers.

Men of equal abilities and learning, but of different sentiments, are not easily induced to submission; especially in a country where opinion is not fettered and restrained by the ruling power. Polyander, aided by the ministers of the city, requested Robinson to accept the challenge. Though his vanity was flattered by the request, yet being a stranger, he modestly declined the combat. But their pressing importunity prevailed over his reluctance; and judging it to be his duty, he, on a set day, held a public disputation with the Arminian professor, in presence of a very numerous assembly.

It is usual, on such occasions, for the partizans on both sides to claim the victory for their respective champions. Whether it were so, at this time, cannot be determined, as we have no account of the controversy from the Arminian party. Governor Bradford, who was a member of Robinson's church, and probably present at the disputation, gives this account of it: "He so defended the truth, and foiled the opposer, as to put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. The same he did a second and a third time, upon the like occasions; which, as it caused many to give praise to God, that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured for Mr. Robinson much respect and honor from these learned men and others."

When Robinson first went to Holland, he was one of the most rigid separatists from the Church of England. He had written in defence of the separation, in answer to Dr. William Ames,* whose name, in the petulance of his wit, he had changed to *Amis*. After his removal to Holland, he met with Dr. Ames and Mr. Robert Parker, an eminent divine of Wiltshire, who had been obliged to fly thither from the terrors of the High Commission Court, under the direction of Archbishop Bancroft. In a free conversation with these gentlemen, Robinson was convinced of his mistake, submitted to the reproof of Dr. Ames, and became, ever after, more moderate in his sentiments respecting separation. In a book which he published, (1610) he allowed and defended the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England, "in the word and prayer," that is, in the extempore prayer, before the sermon, though not in the use of the liturgy, nor in the indiscriminate admission to the sacraments. Yet he would allow the pious members of the Church of England, and of all the Reformed churches to communicate with his church; declaring that he separated from no church; but from the corruptions of all churches. This book gained him the title of Semi-separatist, and was so offensive to the rigid Brownists of Amsterdam, that they would scarcely hold communion with the Church of Leyden. These were called Robinsonians and Independents; but the name by which they distinguished themselves, was, a Congregational Church.

Their grand principle was the same which was afterwards held and defended by Chillingworth and Hoadley, that the Scriptures, given by inspiration, contain the true religion; that every man has a right to judge for himself of their meaning; to try all doctrines by them, and to worship God according to the dictates of his own enlightened conscience. They admitted, for truth, the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, as well as of the Reformed churches in France, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces: allowing all their members free communion, and differing from them only in matters of an ecclesiastical nature. Respecting these, they held, (1.) That no church ought to con-

* Dr. Ames was educated at Cambridge, under the famous Perkins, and became Fellow of Christ's College. In 1600 he gave offence to the gentlemen of the University, by preaching against cards and dice; and to avoid prosecution, he retired to Holland. He first settled at the Hague, whence he was invited by the States of Friesland to the chair of Theological Professor at Franeker, which he filled with reputation for twelve years. He was an able controversial writer; his style was concise and his arguments acute. He wrote several treatises against the Arminians, besides his famous *Medulla Theologicæ*. He afterwards removed to Rotterdam; but the air of Holland not agreeing with his constitution, he determined to come to New England. This was prevented by his death in 1633. His widow and family afterwards came over, and his posterity have been respectable ever since. His valuable library became the property of Harvard College, where it was consumed by fire in 1764.

sist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline. (2.) That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him. (3.) That any competent number of such have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church. (4.) That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, expressed or implied. (5.) That being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers. (6.) That these officers are *Pastors*, or teaching Elders, *Ruling Elders* and *Deacons*. (7.) That elders being chosen or ordained have no power to rule the church but by consent of the brethren. (8.) That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges. (9.) With respect to ordinances, they held that baptism is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children; but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's Supper is to be received sitting at the table; whilst they were in Holland, they received it every Lord's Day. That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties. (10.) They admitted no holy days but the Christian Sabbath, though they had occasionally days of fasting and thanksgiving. And, finally, they renounced all right of human invention or imposition in religious matters.

Having enjoyed their liberty in Holland eight or nine years, in which time they had become acquainted with the country and the manners of its inhabitants, they began to think of another removal (1617). The reasons of which, were these. (1.) Most of them had been bred to the business of husbandry in England; but in Holland, they were obliged to learn mechanical trades, and use various methods for their subsistence, which were not so agreeable to them as cultivation. (2.) The language, manners and habits of the Dutch were not rendered pleasing by familiarity; and, in particular, the loose and careless manner in which the Sabbath was regarded in Holland, gave them great offence. (3.) The climate was unfavorable to their health; many of them were in the decline of life; their children, oppressed with labor and disease, became infirm, and the vigor of nature seemed to abate at an early age. (4.) The licentiousness in which youth was indulged, was a pernicious example to their children; some of whom became sailors, others soldiers, and many were dissolute in their morals; nor could their parents restrain them, without giving offence and incurring reproach. These considerations afforded them the melancholy prospect, that their posterity would, in time, become so mixed with the Dutch, as to lose their interest in the English nation, to which they had a natural and strong attachment. (5.) They observed, also, that many other English people, who had gone to Holland, suffered in their health and substance; and either returned home to bear the inconveniences from which they had fled, or were reduced to poverty abroad. For these reasons, they concluded that Holland was not a country in which they could hope for a permanent and agreeable residence.

The question then was, to what part of the world should they remove, where they might expect freedom from the burdens under which they had formerly groaned, and the blessings of civil and religious liberty, which they had lately enjoyed.

The Dutch merchants being apprised of their discontent, made them large offers, if they would go to some of their foreign plantations; but their attachment to the English nation and government was invincible. Sir Walter Raleigh had, about this time, raised the fame of Guiana, a rich and fertile country of America, between the tropics, blessed with a perpetual spring, and productive of every thing which could satisfy the wants of man, with little labor. To this country, the views of some of the most sanguine were directed; but considering that in such warm climates, diseases were generated, which often proved fatal to European constitutions, and that their nearest neighbors would be the Spaniards, who, though they had not actually occupied the country, yet claimed it as their own, and might easily dispossess them, as they had the French of Florida: the major part disapproved of this proposal.

They then turned their thoughts towards that part of America, comprehended under the general name of Virginia. There, if they should join the colony already established, they must submit to the government of the Church of England. If they should attempt a new plantation, the horrors of a wilderness, and the cruelties of its savage inhabitants were presented to their view. It was answered, that the Dutch had begun to plant within these limits, and were unmolested; that all

* Mr. Neal says, that he refused on the principles of the Brownists, and at last declared for the Baptists; that he left Amsterdam, and settled with a party at Leyden; where, being at a loss for a proper administrator of baptism, he first plunged himself, and then performed the ceremony on others; which gained him the name of Sea-baptist. After this he embraced the principles of Arminius, and published a book, which Robinson answered in 1611; but Smith soon after died, and his congregation was dissolved.

† Governor Hutchinson (I presume through inattention) has misrepresented this matter, (vol. II. 451) by saying, "that in the twelve years of their residence in Holland, they had contention among themselves, divided, and became two churches." The two churches of Smith and Robinson subsisted distinctly and unconnectedly before they quitted England. It was to avoid contention that the latter removed from Amsterdam, where the former fell to pieces. Not the least evidence of contention, in the church of Leyden, appears in any of our first historians; but there is the fullest testimony of the contrary in all of them. No division took place, till the emigration of part of them to America, when the greatest harmony and love were manifested on the occasion.

great undertakings were attended with difficulties; but that the prospect of danger did not render the enterprise desperate; that, should they remain in Holland, they were not free from danger, as a truce between the United Provinces and Spain, which had subsisted 12 years, was nearly expired, and preparations were making to renew the war; that the Spaniards, if successful might prove as cruel as the savages; and that liberty, both civil and religious, was altogether precarious in Europe. These considerations determined their views towards the uninhabited part of North America, claimed by their native prince, as part of his dominions; and their hope was, that by emigrating thither, they might make way for the propagation of the Christian religion in a heathen land, though (to use their own phrase) "they should be but as stepping-stones to others," who might come after them.

These things were first debated in private, and afterwards proposed to the whole congregation, who, after mature deliberation, and a devout address to Heaven, determined to make application to the Virginia Company in London, and to inquire whether King James would grant them liberty of conscience in his American dominions. John Carver and Robert Cushman were appointed their agents on this occasion, and letters were written by Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Brewster, their ruling elder, in the name of the congregation, to Sir Edwin Sandys and Sir John Werstenholme, two principal members of the Virginia Company.

In those letters they recommended themselves as proper persons for emigration, because they were, "weaned from the delicate milk of their own country, and so mured to the difficulties of a strange land, that no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home; that they had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial; and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person." They also gave a succinct and candid account of their religious principles and practices, for the information of the king and his council.

The answer which they received was as favorable as they could expect. The Virginia Company promised them as ample privileges as were in their power to grant. It was thought prudent not to deliver their letter to the king and council; but application was made to Sir Robert Norton, Secretary of State, who employed his interest with Archbishop Abbot; and by means of his mediation, the king promised to connive at their religious practices; but he denied them toleration under the great seal. With an answer, and some private encouragement, the agents returned to Holland.

It was impossible for them to transport themselves to America without assistance from the merchant adventurers in England. Further agency and agreements were necessary. The dissensions of the Virginia Company were tedious and violent; and it was not till after two whole years, that all the necessary provisions and arrangements could be made for their voyage.

In the beginning of 1620, they kept a solemn day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson delivered a discourse from 1 Samuel, xxiii. 3, 4; in which he endeavored to remove their doubts, and confirm their resolutions. It had been previously determined, that a part of them should go to America, and prepare the way for the others; and that if the major part should consent to go, the pastor should go with them; otherwise he should remain in Holland. It was found on examination, that though a major part was willing to go, yet they could not all get ready in season; therefore, the greater number being obliged to stay, they required Mr. Robinson to stay with them. Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was appointed to go with the minority, who were "to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that should stay; with this proviso, that, as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without farther dismission or testimonial. The others were to follow as soon as possible.

In July, they kept another day of prayer, when Mr. Robinson preached to them from Ezra viii. 21, and concluded his discourse with an exhortation, which breathes a noble spirit of Christian liberty, and gives a just idea of the sentiments of this excellent divine, whose charity was the more conspicuous, because of his former narrow principles, and the general bigotry of the Reformed ministers and churches of that day.

"Brethren, (said he,) we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and his blessed angels,

that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded—I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go, at present, no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther said: whatever part of his will our good God has revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left, by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. I beseech you, remember, it is an article of your church covenant, 'that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you, from the written word of God.' Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must, herewithal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for it is not possible that the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-Christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of *Brownists*. It is a mere nickname; and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world."

Having said this, with some other things relating to their private conduct, he devoutly committed them to the care and protection of Divine Providence.

On the 21st of July, the intended passengers quitted Leyden, to embark at Delfhaven, to which place they were accompanied by many of their brethren and friends, several of whom had come from Amsterdam to take their leave of them. The evening was spent, till very late, in friendly conversation; and the next morning, the wind being fair, they went on board; where Mr. Robinson, on his knees, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, again committed them to their divine Protector, and with many tears they parted.

After their arrival in New England, he kept up a friendly correspondence with them; and when any of them went to Europe, they were received by him with the most cordial welcome. The difficulties which then attended a voyage across the Atlantic, the expense of an equipment for a new colony, and the hardships necessarily incident to a plantation in a distant wilderness, proved a burden almost too great for those who came over. They had a hard struggle to support themselves here, and pay the debts which they had contracted in England; whilst those who remained in Holland, were in general too poor to bear the expense of a removal to America, without the help of their brethren who had come before them. These things prevented Mr. Robinson from gratifying his earnest desire to visit his American brethren, and their equally ardent wish to see him, till he was removed by death to a better country.*

He continued with his church at Leyden, in good health, and with a fair prospect of living to a more advanced age, till Saturday, the 22d of February, 1625, when he was seized with an inward ague; which, however distressing, did not prevent his preaching twice on the next day. Through the following week his disorder increased in malignity, and on Saturday, March 1, put an end to his valuable life; in the fiftieth year of his age, and in the height of his reputation and usefulness.

Mr. Robinson was a man of a good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity and candor. His classic literature and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries. His manners were easy, courteous and obliging. His preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from

the Episcopal Church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and by experience and conversation with good men, he became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart, when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candor and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the Reformers as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honor to his memory; evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed in an eminent degree of the talent of peace-making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbors and in families; so that peace and unity were preserved in his congregation. It is said that "such was the reciprocal love and respect between him and his flock, that it might be said of them as it was said of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge, whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor." Besides his singular abilities in moral and theological matters, he was very discerning and prudent in civil affairs, and able to give them good advice in regard to their secular and political conduct. He was highly esteemed, not only by his own flock, but by the magistracy and clergy of Leyden, who gave him the use of one of their churches, in the chance of which he was buried. Mr. Prince, who visited that city in 1714, says that the most ancient people then living told him from their parents, that the whole city and university regarded him as a great and good man, whose death they sincerely lamented; and that they honored his funeral with their presence.

This event proved the dissolution of the church over which he had presided at Leyden. Some of them removed to Amsterdam, some to other parts of the Netherlands, and others came to New England, among whom were his widow and children. His son Isaac lived to the age of ninety, and left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

JOHN CARVER.

JOHN CARVER—Appointed agent by the English settlers at Leyden—Superintends the equipments for emigration—Chosen Governor of the Company—Makes an excursion from Cape Cod to look for a harbor—Savannah with the natives—Lands on Clark's Island—Makes a settlement at Plymouth—His sickness and recovery—His interview with Massachusetts—His death, character, and posterity—His sword in the cabinet of the Historical Society.

We have no particulars of the life of Mr. Carver, previous to his appointment as one of the agents of the English Congregational Church in Leyden. At that time he was in high esteem, as a grave, pious, prudent, judicious man, and sustained the office of a deacon. In the letters written by Sir Edwin Sandys, of the Virginia Company, to Mr. Robinson, the agents are said to have "carried themselves with good discretion."

The business of the agency was long delayed by the discontents and factions in the company of Virginia, by the removal of their former treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor. At length, a patent was obtained, under the company's seal; but by the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of John Wincomb, a religious gentleman, belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany the adventurers to America. This patent and the proposals of Thomas Weston of London, merchant, and other persons, who appeared friendly to the design, were earned to Leyden, in the autumn of 1619, for the consideration of the people. At the same time there was a plan forming for a new council in the west of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to New England. To this expected establishment, Weston, and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embarrassment, and a variety of opinions, but considering that the council for New England was not yet incorporated, and that if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year, before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed, the majority concluded to take the patent which had been obtained from the Company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's river which was within their territory

* Morton, in his Memorial (p. 86) says, that "his and their adversaries had long been plotting how they might hinder his coming to New England." Hutchinson (vol. II. p. 454) says, "he was prevented by disappointments from these in England, who undertook to provide for the passage of him and his Congregation." Whether these disappointments were designed or unavoidable, cannot now be determined. Candor would lead us to suppose the latter. But the former supposition is within the limits of credibility.

The next spring, (1620) Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles; which though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them, the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these. "(1.) The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen year old and upward, be rated at ten pounds; and that ten pounds be accounted a single share. (2.) That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share. (3.) The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership, the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock, until the division. (4.) That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of persons, as may furnish their ships and boats, for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest, in their several faculties, upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony. (5.) That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels be equally divided among the adventurers; if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure*----- (6.) Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing. (7.) He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years, and upwards a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share, or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division. (8.) That such children as now go, and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division, than fifty acres of unmanured land. (9.) That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares, at the division; proportionally to the time of their life in the colony. (10.) That all such persons as are of the colony, are to have meat, drink and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said colony."

The difference between the articles as first agreed on, and as finally concluded, lay in these two points (1) In the former, it was provided that "the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home-fields, should remain undivided, wholly to the planters at the end of the seven years;" but, in the latter, the houses and lands were to be equally divided. (2.) In the former, the planters were "allowed two days in the week, for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for." In the latter, this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer of all things, and animated by a fortitude, resulting from the steady principles of the religion which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and embark for America.

With the proceeds of their own estates, put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labor and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One in Holland, of sixty tons, called the *Speedwell*, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service, one year, for fishing and other uses. Another of one hundred and eighty tons, called the *May-flower*, was chartered by Mr. Cushman in London, and sent round to Southampton in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were ex-

pendent in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations; and the value of the trading venture which they carried was seventeen hundred pounds Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton, to see them despatched. The *Speedwell*, with the passengers having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage; both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the fifth day of August, 1620.

They had not sailed many leagues, down the channel, before Reynolds, master of the *Speedwell*, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed. Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the *Speedwell* was searched and repaired; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty-first of August, they put to sea again; and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship; declaring, that by constant pumping he could scarcely keep her above water; on which, both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made, and no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the *May-flower*; and, on the sixth of September, the company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers, (besides the ship's officers and crew) took their last leave of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these misadventures did not then appear. One was, that the *Speedwell* was overmasted; which error being remedied, the vessel afterwards made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the master and crew; who having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment, were glad of such an excuse to rid themselves of the bargain.

The *May-flower*, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage; and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried. The ship labored so much in the sea, that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distress of the passengers. They had then made about one-half of their voyage, and the chief of the company began a consultation with the commander of the ship, whether it were better to proceed or to return. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved; but that the ship being leaky, and the people close stowed, were continually wet; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus*; he was son of Stephen Hopkins.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod. This landfall being farther northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward; and, before noon, found themselves among shoals and breakers.* Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might, in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's river. But having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and children; the new danger was formidable; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These circumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West India Company, if he would not carry them to Hudson's river, induced him to put about to the northward. Before night, the ship was clear of the danger. The next day they doubled the northern extremity of the Cape, (Race-Point) and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbor, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

This harbor, being in the forty-second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had received from them, of course became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing

* These shoals lie off the south-east extremity of the cape, which was called by Gosnold, Point Care, by the Dutch and French, Malebarre, and is now known by the name of Sandy Point.

among the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another, it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse to natural law; and that, before disembarkation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority. To this they consented; and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being drawn, they subscribed it with their own hands, and, by a unanimous vote, chose John Carver their governor for one year.

The instrument was conceived in these terms. "In the name of God, amen. We whose names are under-written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. having undertaken for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and, by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno domini 1620."*

Government being thus regularly established on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries. They returned at night with a boat load of juniper wood; and made report, "that they found the land to be a narrow neck; having the harbor on the one side, and the ocean on the other; that the ground consisted of sand-hills, like the Downs in Holland; that in some places the soil was black earth, "a spit's depth;" that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut; that the forest was open and without underwood; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.

Whilst they lay in this harbor, which was the space of five weeks, they saw great flocks of sea-fowl and whales, every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fishery, in the northern seas of Europe, supposed that they might, in that time, have made oil, to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too late in the season for cod, and, indeed, they caught none but small fish, near the shore, and shell-fish. The margin of the sea was so shallow, that they were obliged to wade ashore; and, the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which, in the course of the winter, proved mortal.

* The names of the subscribers are placed in the following order by Secretary Morton; but Mr. Prince, with his usual accuracy, has compared the list with Governor Bradford's MS History, and added their titles, and the number of each one's family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others part of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterwards. He has also been so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (f), and those who died before the end of next March, distinguished by an asterisk (*).

Mr. John Carver,†	8	Mr. Stephen Hopkins,†	8
Mr. William Bradford,†	2	*Edward Tilly,†	2
Mr. Edward Winslow,†	5	*John Tilly,†	2
Mr. William Brewster,†	6	*Francis Cooke,†	2
Mr. Isaac Allerton,†	1	*Thomas Rogers,†	2
Captain Miles Standish,†	2	*Thomas Tinker,†	2
John Alden,	1	*John Ridgely,†	2
Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	*Edward Fuller,†	2
*Mr. Christopher Martin,†	4	*John Turner,	3
*Mr. William Mullins,†	5	*Francis Eaton,†	3
*Mr. William White,†	5	*James Chilton,†	3
(besides a son born in Cape Cod harbor, and named Peregrine.)		*John Crackston,†	2
Mr. Richard Warren,	1	John Billington,†	4
John Howland, (of Carver's family.)	1	*Moses Fletcher,	1
Gilbert Winslow,	1	*John Gosman,	1
*Edmund Margeson,	1	*Dorothy Priest,	1
Peter Brown,	1	*Thomas Williams,	1
*Richard Britteridge,	1	*John Allerton,	1
George Soule, (of Edward Winslow's family.)	1	*Thomas English,	1
*Richard Clarke,	1	Edward Dotey,	1
Richard Gardner,	1	Laister, (both of Stephen Hopkins's family)	1
		Total persons,	101
		Of whom were subscribers,	41

* Here something seems to be wanting which cannot now be supplied.

On Monday, the thirteenth of November, the women went ashore, under a guard, to wash their clothes; and the men were impatient for a further discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. Whilst this was doing, they proposed that excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprise of this kind, in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped with musket and ammunition, sword and corslet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish, who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins and Edward Tilly for his Council of War. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore, they saw five or six of the natives, who, on sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue; and, lighting on their track, followed them till night; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armor, and their debility, after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested, at length, by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer-trap, made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground, covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged him, and they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground; and, in one of the graves, they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced; because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed-corn in ears were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered their corn into the common store. The company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value, when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make a further discovery; having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's long-boat. The wind being high, and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, whilst part of the company waded on shore from the long-boat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow, and the people, having no shelter, took such colds as afterwards proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbor*.* Finding it not navigable for ships, and consequently not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldier's stomachs," they went in search of seed-corn. The ground was frozen and covered with snow; but the cellars were known by heaps of sand; and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before; and, it is remarked by Governor Bradford, that in six months after, they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction. The acquisition of this corn, they always regarded as a particular favor of Divine Providence, without which the colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones in the shallop went back to the ship with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people; intending to send mattocks and spades the next day.

* Mr. Price conjectures this place to have been Barnstable harbor, (p. 74). But neither the time nor distance can agree with this conjecture. Barnstable is more than fifty miles from Cape Cod harbor by land; a distance which they could not have travelled and back again in three short days of November. I rather think, after inquiry of a gentleman well acquainted with Cape Cod, that Cold Harbor is the mouth of Paomet Creek, between Truro and Wellfleet; and the description given in Mourt's Relation corresponds with this idea. Paomet is a tide harbor for boats, distant between three and four leagues from the harbor of Cape Cod.—See Collections of Historical Society for 1794. Vol. III. p. 195

The eighteen who remained, marched, as they supposed, five or six miles into the woods, and returning another way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the skull of a man, preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils and ornaments, as are usually deposited in Indian graves. Not far distant were two deserted wigwags, with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even soldier's stomachs could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop, they returned to the ship, the first of December. During their absence, the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.*

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement. Some thought that Cold Harbor might be a proper place, because, though not deep enough for ships, it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and cod might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthful and defensible. But the principal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that by cold and wet lodgings the people were much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming and the ship must reserve sufficient for her homeward voyage, whatever became of the colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam, twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbor, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered, that there might possibly be as good a place, nearer to them. Robert Coppin, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them, that he knew of a good harbor and a navigable river, not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbor of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, Governor Carver, with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold, that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, till they were cased with ice, "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues, without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land,† being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians cutting up a grampus, who, in sight of them, ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had cut. They landed at a distance of a league or more from the grampus, with great difficulty, on account of the flat sands. Here they built a barricade, and placing sentinels, lay down to rest.

The next morning, Thursday, December 7th, they divided themselves into two parties; eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make further discovery of this place, which they found to be "a bay without either river or creek coming into it." They gave it the name of *Grampus Bay*, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old corn fields and a spacious burying-ground, inclosed with pales. They ranged the wood till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop which they had not seen since the morning. At high water she put into a creek; and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

On Friday, December 8th, they rose at five in the

* The following account of him is extracted from the Boston Newsletter of July 31, 1794, being the fifteenth number of the first newspaper printed in New England.—"Marshfield, July 22: Captain Peregrine White, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th instant. He was vigorous and of a comely aspect, to the last; was the son of William White, and Susanna his wife, born on board the May-flower, Captain Jones, commander, in Cape Cod harbor, November, 1620, the first Englishman born in New England. Although he was in the former part of his life extravagant, yet he was much reformed in his last years, and died hopefully."

† This "tongue of land" is Billingsgate Point, the western shore of Wellfleet harbor.

morning, to be ready to go on board at high water. At the dawn of day they were surprised with the war-cry of the natives, and a flight of arrows. They immediately seized their arms, and on the first discharge of musketry all the Indians fled, but one stout man, who stood three shots behind a tree, and then retired, as they supposed wounded. They took up eighteen arrows, headed either with brass, deers' horns, or birds' claws, which they sent as a present to their friends in England. This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place,* determined them to seek further. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbor. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbor, of which he had some knowledge, before night. The wind being south-easterly they put themselves before it.† After some hours it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and it being dark they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove, into a fair sound, and under a point of land, where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore; but about midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west; the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire, and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay.‡ Here they staid all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be "in the shape of a fish hook; a good harbor for shipping, larger than that of Cape Cod; containing two small islands without inhabitants; innumerable store of fowls, different sorts of fish, besides shell-fish in abundance. As they marched into the land,§ they found corn fields and brooks, and a very good situation for building." With this joyful news they returned to the company; and on the 16th of December the ship came to anchor in the harbor, with all the passengers, except four, who died at Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the land, as well as the season would permit in three days; they pitched upon a high ground on the southwest side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it, was "a very sweet brook in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform, and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work, laying out house-lots, and a street; felling, sawing, riving and carrying timber; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a storehouse, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and as fast as they could be covered, the people, who were classed into sixteen families, came ashore, and lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended divine service, for the first time on shore, and named the place *PLYMOUTH*; partly because this harbor was so called in Captain Smith's map, published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and

* Morton says, "This is thought to be a place called Nauskeket." A creek which now bears the name of Saakit, lies between Eustham and Harwich; distant about three or four miles westward from Nauset; the seat of a tribe of Indians, who (as they afterwards learned) made this attack.

† The distance directly across the bay from Saakit is about twelve leagues; in Prince's Annals it is said they sailed fifteen leagues.

‡ This island has ever since borne the name of Clark's Island, from the mate of the ship, the first man who stepped on shore. The cove where they were in danger, lies between the Gunnet Head, and Sagush Point, at the entrance of Plymouth Bay.

§ The rock on which they first stepped ashore, at high water is now enclosed with a wharf. The upper part of it has been separated from the lower part, and drawn into the public square of the town of Plymouth, where it is distinguished by the name of The Forefather's Rock. The 22d of December (Georgian style) is regarded by the people of Plymouth as a festival.

friendly treatment which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last part of their native country from which they sailed.

At this time some of the people lodged on shore, and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town; and when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed at the storehouse, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire, and was soon consumed; but by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition, and several loaded guns; but happily the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come on shore till an hour afterwards. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, because two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing, and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made an attack on the place. In the evening the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scorbutic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April, nearly one half* of them died. At some times, the number of the sick was so great, that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation; and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one half of his men.

By the beginning of March, the governor was so far recovered of his first illness, that he was able to walk three miles, to visit a large pond which Francis Billington had discovered from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be part of the ocean; but it proved to be the head water of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of the first discoverer, which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this place. The mortal pestilence which raged through the country, four years before, had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence was not known till after this settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod. The men were saved, and the provisions and goods. The natives kept their eye on them till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another, as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language, as to tell them that "God was angry with them for their cruelty, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people." They answered that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied, that "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill them of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them, (a new disease, probably the yellow fever,) they remembered the Frenchman's words; and when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cap Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new comers. Had they known the mortality which raged among them, they would doubtless have rejoiced in the success of their endeavors, and might very easily have taken advantage of their weakness to exterminate them. But none of them were seen till after the sickness had abated; though some tools, which had been left in the woods, were missing, which they had stolen in the night.

On the sixteenth of March, when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the place alone, walked through the street to the rendezvous or storehouse, and pronounced the words *Welcome Englishmen!* his name was Samoset; he belonged to a place distant five days

journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them, "that by the late pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished, that not more than one in twenty remained; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patukset, and though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself, was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbors at the southeast, who were about one hundred strong, and more lately among the Wompaneags at the westward, who were about sixty; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Nausets at Namskeket; that these people were full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives, (twenty from Patukset and seven from Nauset) on board his ship, and sold them abroad as slaves; that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen aforementioned in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored; and that he would bring the natives to trade with them."

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade. They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained; but as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On the 22nd he returned, in company with Squanto or Squantum, a native of Patukset, and the only one then living. He was one of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away; he had been sold in Spain, had lived in London with John Slany Merchant, Treasurer of the Newfoundland Company; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen. These two persons were deputed by the sachem of the Wompaneags, *Ma-sass-o-it*,* whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narraganset Bay, to announce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour, the sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nah*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squantum was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the sachem's request, that one of the company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the governor's compliments, desiring to see the sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Masassoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to whom another present was made, and taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill towards the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug, spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, the sound of which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations, he entered into conversation with the sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, "(1.) That neither he nor his should injure any of our's. (2.) That if they did, he should send the offender, that we might punish him. (3.) That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. (4.) That if any unjustly warred against him, we would aid him; and if any warred against us, he should aid us. (5.) That he should certify his neighbor confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. (6.) That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should leave our pieces when we came to them. (7.) That in doing thus, King JAMES would esteem him as his friend and ally."

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Masassoit lived, but was afterward broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day Masassoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton

* Mr. Prince says that *Ma-sass-o-it* is a word of four syllables, and was so pronounced by the ancient people of Plymouth. This remark is confirmed by the manner in which it is spelled in some parts of Mr. Winslow's Narrative, *Ma-sas-o-wat*.

went, were kindly received, and treated with ground-nuts and tobacco.

The sachem then returned to his head-quarters, distant about forty miles; but Squantum and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and peas; the former yielded an indifferent crop; but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.

Whilst they were engaged in this labor, in which all were alike employed, on the 5th of April, (the day on which the ship sailed for England) Governor Carver came out of the field, at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun. It soon deprived him of his senses, and in a few days put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation. He was buried with all the honors which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave. His affectionate wife, overcome with her loss, survived him but six weeks.

Mr. Carver is represented as a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence, were eminent traits in his character; and it is particularly remarked, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.

One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years; and about the middle of the present century (1755) he, his son, grandson, and great grandson, were all, at the same time, at work in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house, at Marshfield.

The memory of Governor Carver is still held in esteem; a ship belonging to Plymouth now bears his name; and his broadsword is deposited, as a curiosity, in the cabinet of the Historical Society, at Boston.

WILLIAM BRADFORD.

WILLIAM BRADFORD—His Birth and Education—Removes to Amsterdam—Accompanies the Adventurers to New England—His Wife Drowned—Chosen Governor of New Plymouth—Conspiracy of the Indians—He adopts Measures of Defence—Surrenders the Patent to the Colony—His Death and Character—His Descendants.

WILLIAM BRADFORD was born in 1588, at Ansterfield, an obscure village in the North of England. His parents dying when he was young, he was educated, first by his grand-parents, and afterwards by his uncles, in the practice of agriculture. His paternal inheritance was considerable; but he had no other learning but such as generally falls to the share of the children of husbandmen.

At twelve years of age, his mind became seriously impressed by divine truth, in reading the Scriptures; and as he increased in years, a native firmness enabled him to vindicate his opinions against opposition. Being stigmatized as a Separatist, he was obliged to bear the frowns of his relatives, and the scoff of his neighbors; but nothing could divert or intimidate him from attending on the ministry of Mr. Richard Clifton, and connecting himself with the church over which he and Mr. Robinson presided.

When he was eighteen years old, he joined in their attempt to go over to Holland, and was one of the seven who were imprisoned at Boston, in Lincolnshire, as is already related in the life of Robinson; but he was soon liberated on account of his youth. He was also one of those who, the next year, fled from Grimaby Common, when part of the company went to sea, and part were taken by the pursuivants.

After some time, he went over to Zealand, through various difficulties; and was no sooner set on shore, than a malicious passenger in the same vessel, accused him before the Dutch magistrates, as a fugitive from England. But when they understood the cause of his emigration, they gave him protection, and permission to join his brethren at Amsterdam.

It being impossible for him to prosecute agriculture in Holland, he was obliged to betake himself to some other business; and being then under age, he put himself as an apprentice to a French Protestant, who

* The exact bill of mortality as collected by Mr. Prince, is as follows:

In December, 6	Of these, 21	were subscribers to the civil compact.
In January, 8		
In February, 17	and 23	were women, children and servants.
In March, 13		
Total, 44	44	

taught him the art of silk-dying. As soon as he attained the years of manhood, he sold his paternal estate in England, and entered on a commercial life, in which he was not very successful.

When the Church of Leyden contemplated a removal to America, Bradford zealously engaged in the undertaking, and came with the first company, in 1620, to Cape Cod. Whilst the ship lay in that harbor, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the colony in one of which, he, with others of the principal persons, narrowly escaped the destruction which threatened their shallop. On his return from this excursion to the ship with the joyful news of having found an harbor, and a place for settlement, he had the mortification to hear that, during his absence, his wife had accidentally fallen into the sea, and was drowned.

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, the infant colony cast their eyes on Bradford to succeed him; but being at that time so very ill, that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the command. He was in the thirty-third year of his age; his wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart, were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people. Carver had been alone in command. They confided in his prudence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without the consent of the people, or the advice of the wisest. To Bradford they appointed an assistant, Isaac Allerton, not because they had not the same confidence in him, but partly for the sake of regularity, and partly on account of his precarious health. They appointed but one, because they were so reduced in number, that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people would have been absurd; and they knew that it would always be in their power to increase the number at their pleasure. Their voluntary combination was designed only as a temporary expedient, till they should obtain a charter under the authority of their sovereign.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration, was, by the advice of the company, to send Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins to Masasoit, with Squanto for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the country, to confirm the league, to learn the situation and strength of their new friend, to carry some presents, to apologize for some misbehavior, to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the sachem at Pokanoket,* about forty miles from Plymouth. They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength of the natives, which did not appear formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the pestilence, were very conspicuous, in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansets, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset, to recover a boy who had straggled from Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and to make peace with Aspinet the sachem, when they paid for the seed-corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet, in the preceding autumn. During this expedition an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves. Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time; that Hunt was a bad man; that his countrymen disapproved his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It was fortunate for the colony that they had secured the friendship of Masasoit; for his influence was found to be very extensive. He was regarded and revered by all the natives, from the bay of Narraganset

to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty sachems were disposed to be jealous of the new colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connection with Masasoit provided the means of its preservation; as a proof of which, nine of the sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and subscribed an instrument of submission in the following terms, viz.

"September 13, Anno Domini 1621. Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, king of Great-Britain France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names, or marks, as followeth:

Ohquamehuh, Nattawahunt, Quadequima,
Cawnacome, Caubantat, Huttamoiden,
Obbatinna, Chikatabak, Apannow."

Hobamak, another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the island of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace.

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto, and two other Indians, to visit the place, and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September, they sailed in a shallop, and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff,* and were kindly received by Obbatinewa, the sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He renewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the Squaw Sachem of Massachusetts, and other enemies.

The appearance of this bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared of wood, and had been planted; but most of the people who had inhabited them either were dead, or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tarratenes, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a sachem, had been slain; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.

Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place, that the people wished they had been seated there. But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal. Many of their posterity having judged otherwise.

In November, a ship arrived from England, with thirty-five passengers, to augment the colony. Unhappily they were so short of provision, that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and then put themselves and the new comers to half allowance. Before the next spring, (1622) the colony began to feel the rigor of famine. In the height of this distress, the governor received from Canonicus, Sachem of Narraganset, a threatening message, in the emblematic style of the ancient Scythians; a bundle of arrows, bound with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent an answer in the same style, the skin of the serpent filled with powder and ball. The Narragansets, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened; and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and night, the company being divided into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden to each family. The works were begun in February and finished in March.

At this time the famine was very severe. Fish and spring waters were the only provision on which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet, they had so much health and spirit, that, on hearing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which the guns were mounted; the lower story served them for a place of worship. Sixty acres of ground were planted with corn; and their gardens were sown

with the seeds of other esculent vegetables, in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships with a new colony, sent out by Thomas Weston, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people being sick, were lodged in the hospital at Plymouth till they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provisions was obtained from the fishing vessels; of which thirty-five came this spring, from England to the coast. In August, two ships arrived with trading goods; which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange. The summer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives, to procure corn and beans, with the goods purchased from the ships. Governor Bradford undertook this service, having Squanto for his guide and interpreter; who was taken ill on the passage, and died at Manomok. Before his death, he requested the governor to pray for him, "that he might go to the Englishman's God."

In these excursions, Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect; and the trade was conducted, on both parts, with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn, which had been purchased, in stack and leave it covered with mats and sedge, in the care of the Indians, whilst the governor and his party came home, fifty miles on foot. It remained there from November to January; and when another shallop was sent, it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was covered.

At Namasket, [Middleborough] an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was brought home, partly by the people of the colony, and partly by the Indian women; their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet, [Sandwich] he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus purchased, amounted to twenty-eight hogheads of corn and beans; of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring [1623] the governor received a message from Masasoit that he was sick; on which occasion it is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them, or send them presents. Mr. Winslow again went to visit the sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hamden,* and they had Hobamak for their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so, as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Masasoit communicated to Hobamak intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy then in agitation among the Indians which he had been solicited to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English, and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had it in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Masasoit's advice was that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whom he named; and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobamak communicated this secret to Winslow as they were returning; and it was reported to the governor.

On this alarming occasion the whole company were assembled in court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in the governor, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton, his assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy. An Indian who had come into the town was suspected as a spy, and confined in irons. Standish with eight chosen men, and the faithful Hobamak, went in the shallop to Weston's plantation, having goods as usual to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been named as conspirators, who personally insulted

* This was a general name for the northern shore of the Narraganset Bay, between Providence and Taunton rivers, and comprehending the present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the State of Rhode Island, and Swansey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown. The principal seats of the sachem were at Sowams and Ekeemut. The former is a neck of land formed by the confluence of the Berrington and Palmer's rivers; the latter is Mount Hope.

* Supposed to be Copp's Hill in the town of Boston.

* In Winslow's Journal, Mr. Hamden is said to be "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country." I suppose this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I. He had previously (1637) embarked for New England with Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Hasleing and others; but they were prevented from coming by the king's "proclamation against disorderly transporting his majesty's subjects to the plantations in America." Hamden was born in 1594, and was twenty years old at the time of his being at Plymouth, in 1623.

and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror, that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger; the survivors would have sued for peace, but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, that they quitted the plantation; and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such troublesome neighbors.

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly sachem, the whole conspiracy was annihilated. But when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, "O that you had converted some, before you had killed any!"

The scarcity which they had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase of their numbers, and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe; but principally to their mode of laboring in common, and putting the fruit of their labor into the public store; an error, which had the same effect here, as in Virginia. To remedy this evil, as far as was consistent with their engagements, it was agreed in the spring of 1623 that every family should plant for themselves, on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance; and that in the time of harvest a competent portion should be brought into the common store, for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture. This regulation gave a spring to industry; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men in the fields, and much more corn was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish; the shore afforded them shell fish, and ground nuts served them for bread. When any deer was killed the flesh was divided among the whole colony. Water fowl came in plenty at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted, through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty passengers. The harvest was plentiful; and after this time they had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend on their own exertions, rather than on foreign supplies.

The combination which they made, before their landing at Cape Cod, was the first foundation of their government; but, as they were driven to this expedient by necessity, it was intended to subsist no longer than till they could obtain legal authority from their sovereign. As soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New England, they applied for a patent; which was taken in the name of John Peirce, in trust for the colony. When he saw that they were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went, without their knowledge, but in their name, and solicited the council for another patent, of greater extent; intending to keep it to himself, and allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained the patent, he bought a ship, which he named the *Paragon*; loaded her with goods, took on board upwards of sixty passengers, and sailed from London, for the colony of New Plymouth. In the Downs, he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship, that he was obliged to put her into dock; where she lay seven weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December, 1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons; but a series of tempestuous weather which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to him, that he was easily prevailed upon by the Company of Adventurers, to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships.

In 1629, another patent of larger extent was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." This patent confirmed their title (as far as the Crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and by lines drawn west from the rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the river of Narraganset, which lines meet in a point, comprehending all the country called Pokanoket. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title from the depopulation of a great part of it by a

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pestilence, from the gift of Masasoit, his voluntary subjection to the Crown of England, and his having taken protection of them. In a declaration published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives," which, together with their patent from the crown, through the Council of New England "formed the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."*

In the same patent was granted a large tract bordering on the river Kennebeck, where they had carried on a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut river, which was not equally beneficial, because there they had the Dutch for rivals. The fur trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth, for furs; but European coarse cloths, hardware, and ornaments, were good articles of trade when they could command them.

The Company in England, with which they were connected, did not supply them in plenty. Losses were sustained by sea; the returns were not adequate to their expectations; they became discouraged; threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any farther supplies; but still demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other persons. The planters complained to the Council of New England, but obtained no redress. After the expiration of the seven years (1628) for which the contract was made, eight of the principal persons in the colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound for the balance; and from that time took the whole trade into their own hands. These were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebeck, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were enabled to discharge the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.

The patent had been taken in the name of Mr. Bradford, in trust for the colony; and the event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. When the number of people was increased, and new townships were erected, the General Court, in 1640, requested that he would surrender the patent into their hands. To this he readily consented; and by a written instrument, under his hand and seal, surrendered it to them; reserving for himself no more than his proportion, by previous agreement. This was done in open court, and the patent was immediately re-delivered into his custody.

Whilst they were few in number, the whole body of associates or freemen assembled for legislative, executive and judicial business. In 1634, the governor and assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterward, the Supreme Judiciary. Petty offences, and actions of debt, trespass and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the selectmen of each town, with liberty of appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when two deputies were sent from each town, and four from Plymouth. In 1649 Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These deputies were chosen by the freemen; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen, but such as were twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate.

By the former patent, the Colony of Plymouth was empowered to "enact such laws as should most best a state in its nonage, not rejecting, or omitting to observe such of the laws of their native country, as would conduce to their good." In the second patent, the power of government was granted to William Bradford and his associates, in the following terms. "To

frame and make orders, ordinances and constitutions, as well for the better government of their affairs here, (in England) and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society; as also for the better government of his or their people, at sea, in going thither, or returning from thence; and the same to be put in execution, by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorize and depute; provided, that the said laws be not repugnant to the laws of England, or the frame of government by the said president and council hereafter to be established."

At that time, a general government over the whole territory of New England, was a favorite object with the council, which granted these patents; but after several attempts, it finally miscarried, to the no small joy of the planters, who were then at liberty to govern themselves.

In the formation of the laws of New Plymouth, regard was had, "primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law." For, though some parts of that system were peculiar to the circumstances of the son's of Jacob, yet "the whole being grounded on the principles of moral equity," it was the opinion of our first planters, not at Plymouth only, but in Massachusetts, New Haven, and Connecticut, that "all men, especially Christians, ought to have an eye to it, in the framing of their political constitutions." A secondary regard was had to the liberties granted to them by their sovereign, and the laws of England, which they supposed "any impartial person might discern, in the perusal of the book of the laws of the colony."

At first they had some doubt concerning their right of punishing capital crimes. A murder which happened in 1630, made it necessary to decide this question. It was decided by the divine law against shedding human blood, which was deemed indispensable. In 1636, their code of laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671, it was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title, "The Book of the General laws of the Inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth;"* a title very similar to the codes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were printed at the same time by Samuel Green, at Cambridge.

The piety, wisdom, and integrity of Mr. Bradford, were such prominent features in his character, that he was annually chosen governor as long as he lived, excepting three years, when Mr. Winslow, and two, when Mr. Prince, were chosen; and even then, Mr. Bradford was the first in the list of assistants, which gave him the rank of deputy-governor. In 1624, they chose five assistants, and in 1633, seven; the governor having a double vote. These augmentations were made at the earnest request of Mr. Bradford, who strongly recommended a rotation in the election of a governor; but could not obtain it for more than five years in thirty-five; and never for more than two years in succession. His argument was, "that if it were an honor or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burthen, others beside himself should help to bear it." Notwithstanding the reasonableness and equity of his plea, the people had a strong attachment to him, and confidence in him, that they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the government.

For the last twelve years of his life, he was annually chosen without interruption, and served in the office of governor. His health continued good till the autumn of 1656, when it began to decline; and as the next spring advanced, he became weaker, but felt not any acute illness till the beginning of May.

After a distressing day, his mind was, in the following night, so elevated with the idea of futurity, that he said to his friends in the morning, "God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory." The next day, being the 9th of May, 1657, he was removed from this world by death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to the im-

* In 1639, after the termination of the Pequot war, Masasoit, who had then changed his name to Wosamequeen, brought his son, Moomiam, to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made, might be renewed and inviolable. The sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the colony; and that they would not give, sell or convey any of their land, territory or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whatsoever, without the privy or consent of the government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said government should send or appoint. The whole comit did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise to the said Wosamequeen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppose them."—[Morton's Memorial.

* Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted, (Vol. II. 463) that they never established any distinct code or body of laws; grounding his assertion on a passage in Hubbard's MS history, which implies no such thing. The quotation, imperfectly given by Hutchinson, is correctly as follows, (p. 50.)

"The laws they intended to be governed by were the laws of England; the which they were willing to be subject to, though in a foreign land; and have since that time, continued in that mind for the general, adding only some particular municipal laws of their own, in such cases where the common laws and statutes of England could not well reach, or afford them help in emergent difficulties of the place; possibly on the same ground that Paucias sometimes advised his neighbors of Capua not to cashier their old magistrates, till they could agree on better to place in their room. So did these choose to abide by the laws of England, till they could be provided of better."

mense loss and grief of the people, not only in Plymouth, but the neighboring colonies; four* of which he lived to see established, beside that of which he was one of the principal founders.

In addition to what has been said of Mr. Bradford's character, it may be observed, that he was a sensible man, of a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a good memory. Though not favored with a learned education, he was much inclined to study and writing. The French and Dutch languages were familiar to him, and he attained a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek; but he more assiduously studied the Hebrew, because he said, that "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God, in their native beauty."

He had read much of history and philosophy, but theology was his favorite study. He was able to manage the polemic part of it with much dexterity; and was particularly vigilant against the sectaries which infested the colonies; though by no means severe or intolerant, as long as they continued peaceable; wishing rather to foil them by argument, and guard the people against receiving their tenets, than to suppress them by violence, or cut them off by the sword of magistracy. Mr. Hubbard's character of him is, that he was a "person of great gravity and prudence, of sober principles, and for one of that persuasion, (Brownists,) very pliable, gentle, and condescending."

He wrote a history of Plymouth people and colony, beginning with the first formation of the church, in 1602, and ending in 1646. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's Memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was carefully deposited with Mr. Prince's valuable collection of papers, in the library of the Old South church in Boston, which fell a sacrifice to the unprincipled fury of the British army, in the year 1775, since which time it has not been seen. He also had a large book of copies of letters relative to the affairs of the colony, a fragment of which was, a few years ago, recovered by accident,† and published by the Historical Society. To the fragment is subjoined another, being a "descriptive and historical account of New-England," in verse; which if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections. Besides these, he wrote, as Dr. Mather says, "some significant things, for the confutation of the errors of the times; by which it appears, that he was a person of a good temper, and free from that rigid spirit of separation, which broke the Separatists to pieces."

In his office of chief magistrate, he was prudent, temperate and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws, or disturb the peace of the colony. During his administration there were frequent accessions of new inhabitants; some of whom were at first refractory; but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. One particular instance is preserved. A company of young men, newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governor's order for working on the public account. On a Christmas day, they excused themselves, under pretence that it was against their conscience to work. The governor gave them no other answer than, that he would let them alone, till they should be better informed. In the course of the day, he found them at play in the streets, and commanding the instruments of their game to be taken from them, he told them, that it was against his conscience to suffer them to play, whilst others were at work; and that if they had any religious regard to the day, they should show it, in the exercise of devotion at home. This gentle reproof had the desired effect, and prevented a repetition of such disorders.

His conduct toward intruders and false friends was equally moderate, but firm and decisive. John Lyford had imposed himself upon the colony as a minister, being recommended by some of the adventurers. At first his behavior was plausible, and he was treated with respect; but it was not long, before he began, in concert with John Oldham, to excite a faction. The governor watched them; and when a ship was about sailing for England, it was observed that Lyford was very busy in writing letters, of which he put a great number on board. The governor in a boat followed the ship to sea, and by favor of the master, who was a friend to the colony, examined the letters, some of which he intercepted, and concealed. Lyford and Oldham were

at first under much apprehension, but as nothing transpired, they concluded that the governor had only gone on board to carry his own letters; and felt themselves secure.

In one of the intercepted letters, Lyford had written to his friends, the discontented part of the adventurers, that he and Oldham intended a reformation in Church and State. Accordingly they began to institute a separate church; and when Oldham was summoned to take his turn at a military watch, he not only refused compliance, but abused Captain Standish, and drew his knife upon him. For this he was imprisoned; and both he and Lyford were brought to trial, before the whole company. Their behavior was insolent and obstinate. The governor took pains to convince them of their folly, but in vain. The letters were then produced; their adherents were confounded; and the evidence of their factious and disorderly conduct being satisfactory, they were condemned, and ordered to be banished from the plantation. Lyford was allowed six months for probation; but his pretences proved hypocritical, and he was obliged to depart. After several removals he died in Virginia. Oldham having returned after banishment, his second expulsion was conducted in this singular manner. "A guard of musketeers was appointed, through which he was obliged to pass; every one was ordered to give him a blow on the hinder parts with the butt end of his musket; then he was conveyed to the water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, *go and mend your manners.*" This discipline had a good effect on him; he made his submission, and was allowed to come and go on trading voyages. In one of these, he was killed by the Pequod Indians, which proved the occasion of a war with that nation.

Mr. Bradford had one son by his first wife; and by his second, Alice Southworth, whom he married in 1623, he had two sons and a daughter. His son William, born in 1624, was deputy governor of the colony after his father's death, and lived to the age of 80; as appears by his grave-stone in Plymouth church-yard. One of his grandsons, and two of his great grandsons were counsellors of Massachusetts. Several other of his descendants have borne respectable characters, and have been placed in stations of honor and usefulness. One of them, William Bradford, has been deputy governor of the State of Rhode Island, and a Senator in the Congress of the United States. Two others, Alden Bradford, and Gamaliel Bradford are members of the Historical Society.

WILLIAM BREWSTER.

WILLIAM BREWSTER.—His Education—Enters the service of Davison—Honored by the States of Holland—Removes to Holland—Sets up a Printing Office—Removes to America—Officers as a Preacher—His death and character.

THE place of this gentleman's birth is unknown. The time of it was A.D. 1560. He received his education at the University of Cambridge, where he became seriously impressed with the truth of religion, which had its genuine influence on his character, through his whole life.

After leaving the University, he entered into the service of William Davison, a courtier of Queen Elizabeth, and her ambassador in Scotland and in Holland; who found him so capable and faithful, that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as a son, and conversed with him in private, both on religious and political subjects, with the greatest familiarity; and when anything occurred which required secrecy, Brewster was his confidential friend.

When the Queen entered into a league with the United Provinces, (1584) and received possession of several towns and forts, as security for her expenses in defending their liberties; Davison, who negotiated the matter, entrusted Brewster with the keys of Flushing, one of those cautionary towns; and the States of Holland were so sensible of his merit, as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain.

He returned as ambassador to England, and continued in his service, till Davison, having incurred the hypocritical displeasure of his arbitrary mistress, was imprisoned, fined, and ruined. Davison is said to have been a man of abilities and integrity, but easy to be imposed upon, and for that very reason was made Secretary of State. When Mary, the unfortunate Queen of Scotland, had been tried and condemned, and the parliament of England had petitioned their sovereign for her execution, Elizabeth privately ordered Davison to draw a death-warrant, which she signed, and sent him with it to the chancellor to have the great seal annexed. Having performed this duty, she pre-

tended to blame him for his precipitancy. Davison acquainted the council with the whole transaction; they knew the queen's real sentiments, and persuaded him to send the warrant to the Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury, promising to justify his conduct, and take the blame on themselves. These earls attended the execution of Mary; but, when Elizabeth heard of it, she affected surprise and indignation; threw all the blame on the innocent secretary, and committed him to the tower; where he became the subject of raillery from those very counsellors who had promised to countenance and protect him. He was tried in the star chamber, and fined ten thousand pound, which being rigorously levied upon him, reduced him to poverty.*

During these misfortunes, Brewster faithfully adhered to him, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. When he could no longer serve him, he retired into the north of England, among his old friends, and was very highly esteemed by those who were most exemplary for religion. Being possessed of a handsome property, and having some influence, he made use of both in promoting the cause of religion, and procuring persons of good character, to serve in the office of ministers to the parishes in his neighborhood.

By degrees he became disgusted with the impositions of the prelatical party, and their severity toward men of a moderate and peaceable disposition. This led him to inquire critically into the nature of ecclesiastical authority; and having discovered much corruption in the constitution, forms, ceremonies, and discipline of the Established Church, he thought it his duty to withdraw from its communion, and join with others of the same sentiments in the institution of a separate church; of which the aged Mr. Clifton and the younger Mr. Robinson were appointed pastors. The newly formed society met, on the Lord's days, at Mr. Brewster's house; where they were entertained at his expense, with much affection and respect, as long as they could assemble without opposition from their adversaries.

But when the resentment of their hierarchy, heightened by the countenance and authority of James, the successor of Elizabeth, obliged him to seek refuge in a foreign country; Brewster was the most forward to assist them in their removal. He was one of those who went on board of a vessel, in the night at Boston in Lincolnshire, (as already related in the life of Robinson;) and being apprehended by the magistrates, he was the greatest sufferer, because he had the most property. When liberated from confinement, he first assisted the weak and poor of the society in their embarkation, and then followed them to Holland.

His family was large, and his dependents numerous; his education and mode of living were not suited to a mechanical or mercantile life, and he could not practice agriculture in a commercial city. The hardships which he suffered in consequence of this removal were grievous and depressing; but when his finances were exhausted, he had a resource in his learning and abilities. In Leyden he found employment as a tutor; the youth of the city and university came to him for instruction in the English tongue; and by means of the Latin, which was common to both, and a grammar of his own construction, they soon acquired a knowledge of the English language. By the help of some friends, he also set up a printing-office, and was instrumental in publishing several books against the hierarchy, which could not obtain a license in England.

His reputation was so high in the church of which he was a member, that they chose him a ruling elder, and confided in his wisdom, experience and integrity, to assist in conducting their temporal as well as ecclesiastical concerns, particularly their removal to America. With the minority of the church he came over, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness. He partook with them of labor, hunger and watching; his bible and his arms were equally familiar to him; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called.

For some time after their arrival, they were destitute of a teaching elder; expecting and hoping that Mr. Robinson, with the remainder of the church, would follow them to America. Brewster frequently officiated as a preacher, but he never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take on him the pastoral office; though it had been stipulated before his departure from Holland, that "those who first went should

* These four colonies were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven, and Rhode Island.

† It was accidentally seen in a grocer's shop at Halifax, Nova Scotia, by James Clarke, Esq. a corresponding member of the Historical Society, and by him transmitted to Boston.

* For a particular account of Davison, and a full vindication of his conduct, the reader is referred to the fifth volume of Biographia Britannica, published by the late learned and candid Dr. Kippis; where the character of Elizabeth is drawn in proper colors, p. 4—13.

be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those who stand ;" and it was one of their principles, that the brethren who elected, had the power of ordaining to office.

The reason of his refusal was his extreme diffidence ; being unwilling to assume any other office in the church than that with which he had been invested by the whole body. This plea might have some force during Robinson's life, by whose advice he had been prevailed upon to accept the office of ruling elder ; but after his death there was less reason for it, and his declining to officiate was really productive of very disagreeable effects.

A spirit of faction and division was excited in the church, partly by persons of different sentiments and characters, who came over from England, and partly by uneasy and assuming brethren among themselves. Such was the notoriety and melancholy appearance of these divisions, that their friends in England seriously admonished them, and recommended to them "to let their practice in the church be complete and full ; to permit all who feared God, to join themselves to them without delay ; and to let all divine ordinances be used completely in the church, without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping a gap open for opposites."

With this salutary advice they did not comply ; and one great obstacle to their compliance was the liberty of "prophesying," which was allowed not only to the elders, but to such private members as were "gifted." In Robinson's apology,* this principle is explained in a very cautious manner : the exercise of the gift was subject to the judgment of the minister ; and whilst they were under his superintendence, their prophesying was conducted with tolerable regularity ; but when they came to practice on this principle where they had not that advantage, the consequence was prejudicial to the establishment of any regular ministry among them. "The preachments of the gifted brethren produced those discouragements, to the ministers, that almost all left the colony, apprehending themselves driven away by the neglect and contempt, with which the people on this occasion treated them." This practice was not allowed in any other church in New England, except that of Plymouth.

Beside the liberty of prophesying, and public conference, there were several other peculiarities in their practice, which they learned from the Brownists, and in which they differed from many of the Reformed churches. They admitted none to their communion without either a written or oral declaration of their faith and religious experiences, delivered before the whole church, with liberty for every one to ask questions till they were satisfied. They practised ordination by the hands of the brethren. They disused the Lord's prayer and the public reading of the Scriptures. They did not allow the reading of the psalm before singing, till, in compassion to a brother who could not read, they permitted one of the elders or deacons to read it line by line, after it had been previously expounded by the minister. They admitted no children to baptism, unless one, at least of the parents, were in full communion with the church ; and they accounted all baptized children proper subjects of ecclesiastical discipline. Whilst in Holland, they had the Lord's Supper every Sabbath ; but when they came to America, they omitted it till they could obtain a minister, and then had it monthly. Most of these practices were continued for many years, and some are yet adhered to, though others have been gradually laid aside.

* "We learn, from the Apostle Paul, (1 Cor. xiv. 3) that he who prophesieth, speaketh to men edification, and exhortation, and comfort ; which to perform conveniently, comes within the compass of but a few of the multitude, haply two or three in each of our churches. Touching prophecy, then, we think the same that the Synod of Enabden (1571) hath decreed in these words : 'Let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul's institution. Into the fellowship of this work, are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers, elders, and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, who are willing to confer their gift, received of God, to the common utility of the church ; but so as they first be allowed, by the judgment of the ministers and others.'—[Robinson's Apology, chap. viii.]

Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Wilson, minister of Boston, made a visit to Plymouth, in October, 1622, and kept Sabbath there. The following account of the afternoon exercise is preserved in Winthrop's Journal, p. 44.

"In the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly ; then Mr. Williams prophesied ; and after him the elder [Brewster] then two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution : upon which the governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the bag, and then returned."

The Church of Plymouth had no regular minister till four years after the death of Mr. Robinson, and nine years after their coming to America. In 1620, they settled Ralph Smith, who continued with them about five years, and then resigned. He is said to have been a man of "low gifts," and was assisted three years by Roger Williams, of "bright accomplishments, but offensive errors." In 1635, they had John Reyner, "an able and godly man, of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and unrepentable in his life and conversation." He continued with them till 1651, when he removed to Dover, in New Hampshire, where he spent the remainder of his life.

During his ministry at Plymouth, elder Brewster, having enjoyed a healthy old age, died on the sixteenth of April, 1644, being then in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions, and his field labor, till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day.

He had been remarkably temperate, through his whole life, having drank no liquor but water, till within the last five or six years. For many months together he had, through necessity, lived without bread ; having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. Yet, being of a pliant and cheerful temper, he easily accommodated himself to his circumstances. When nothing but oysters or clams were set on his table, he would give thanks, with his family, that they could "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand."

He was a man of eminent piety and devotion ; not prolix, but full and comprehensive in his public prayers ; esteeming it his duty, to strengthen and encourage the devotion of others, rather than to weary them with long performances. On days of fasting and humiliation, he was more copious, but equally fervent. As an instance of this, it is observed, that in 1623, a drought of six weeks having succeeded the planting season, in July a day was set apart for fasting and prayer. The morning was clear and hot, as usual, but after eight hours employed in religious exercises, the weather changed, and before the next morning, a gentle rain came on, which continued, with intermissions of fair and warm weather, fourteen days, by which the languishing corn revived. The neighboring Indians observed the change, and said that "the Englishman's God was a good God."

In his public discourses, Mr. Brewster was very clear and distinguishing, as well as pathetic ; addressing himself first to the understanding, and then to the affections of his audience : convincing and persuading them of the superior excellency of true religion. Such a kind of teaching, was well adapted, and in many instances effectual, to the real instruction and benefit of his hearers. What a pity that such a man could not have been persuaded to take on him the pastoral office !

In his private conversation, he was social, pleasant, and inoffensive ; yet when occasion required, he exercised that fortitude which true virtue inspires, but mixed with such tenderness, that his reproofs gave no offence.

His compassion towards the distressed was an eminent trait in his character ; and if they were suffering for conscience sake, he judged them, of all others, most deserving of pity and relief. Nothing was more disgusting to him than vanity and hypocrisy.

In the government of the church, he was careful to preserve order and purity, and to suppress contention. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office, he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance.

He was owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost, when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston in Lincolnshire. After his death, his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds, in silver, as appears by the colony records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

ROBERT CUSHMAN—Embarks for America—Returns to England—Arrives at Plymouth—Delivers a Discourse on Self-Love—Sails for England—Taken by the French—his Death and character.

ROBERT CUSHMAN was a distinguished character among that collection of worthies who quitted England on account of their religious difficulties, and settled with Mr. John Robinson, their pastor, in the city of Leyden. Proposing afterwards a removal to America, in the year 1617, Mr. Cushman, and Mr. John Carver,

(afterward the first governor of New Plymouth) were sent over to England, as their agents, to agree with the Virginia Company for a settlement, and to obtain, if possible, a grant of liberty of conscience in their intended plantation, from King James.

From this negotiation, though conducted on their part with great discretion and ability, they returned unsuccessful to Leyden, in May, 1618. They met with no difficulty indeed from the Virginia Company, who were willing to grant them sufficient territory, with as ample privileges as they could bestow : but the pragmatical James, the pretended vicegerent of the Deity, refused to grant them that liberty in religious matters, which was their principal object. This persevering people determined to transport themselves to this country, relying upon James' promise that he would connive at, though not expressly tolerate them ; and Mr. Cushman was again despatched to England in February, 1619, with Mr. William Bradford, to agree with the Virginia Company on the terms of their removal and settlement.

After much difficulty and delay, they obtained a patent in the September following ; upon which, part of the church at Leyden, with their elder, Mr. Brewster, determined to transport themselves as soon as possible. Mr. Cushman was one of the agents in England to procure money, shipping and other necessities for the voyage, and embarked with them at Southampton, August 5th, 1620. But the ship, in which he sailed, proving leaky, and after twice putting into port to repair, being condemned as unfit to perform the voyage, Mr. Cushman with his family, and a number of others, were obliged, though reluctantly, to relinquish the voyage for that time, and return to London. Those in the other ship proceeded and made their settlement at Plymouth in December, 1620, where Mr. Cushman also arrived in the ship Fortune from London on the 10th of November, 1621, but took passage in the same ship back again, pursuant to the directions of the merchant adventurers in London, (who fitted out the ship, and by whose assistance the first settlers were transported) to give them an account of the plantation. He sailed from Plymouth December 13th, 1621 ; and arriving on the coast of England, the ship, with a cargo valued at £500 sterling, was taken by the French. Mr. Cushman, with the crew, was carried into France ; but arrived in London in the February following. During his short residence at Plymouth, though a mere lay character, he delivered a discourse on the sin and danger of self-love, which was printed in London (1622) and afterward, re-printed in Boston, (1724) and again at Plymouth, (1785.) And though his name is not prefixed to either of the two former editions, yet unquestionable tradition renders it certain that he was the author, and even transmits to us a knowledge of the spot where it was delivered. Mr. Cushman, though he constantly corresponded with his friends here, and was very serviceable to their interest in London, never returned to the country again ; but, whilst preparing for it, was removed to a better, in the year 1626. The news of his death, and Mr. Robinson's, arrived at the same time, at Plymouth, by Captain Standish, and seems to have been equally lamented by their bereaved and suffering friends there. He was zealously engaged in the prosperity of the plantation, a man of activity and enterprise, well versed in business, respectable in point of intellectual abilities, well accomplished in scriptural knowledge, an unaffected professor, and a steady sincere practiser of religion. The design of the above mentioned discourse was to keep up that flow of public spirit, which, perhaps, began then to abate, but which was thought necessary for their preservation and security. The policy of that entire community of interests which our fathers established, and which this sermon was designed to preserve, is, nevertheless, justly questionable. The love of separate property, for good and wise purposes, is strongly implanted in the heart of man. So far from being unfavorable to a reasonable generosity and public spirit, it better enables us to display them, and is not less consistent with the precepts of Scripture, rightly understood, than with the dictates of reason. This is evidenced by the subsequent conduct of this very people. In the year 1623, departing a little from their first system, they agreed that every family should plant for themselves ; bringing in a competent portion at harvest, for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c. and in all other things to go on in the general way, (as they term it) as before ; for this purpose they assigned to every family a parcel of land, for a year only, in proportion to their number. Even this temporary division, as Governor Bradford, in his manu-

* This account of Mr. Cushman was published in 1785, at Plymouth, as an Appendix to the third edition of his Discourse on Self-Love. It was written by John Davis, Esq.

script history, observes, "has a very good effect; makes all industrious; gives content; even the women and children now go into the field to work, and much more corn is planted than ever." In the spring of the year 1624, the people being still uneasy, one acre of land was given to each, in fee-simple; no more to be given, till the expiration of the seven years. In the year 1627, when they purchased the interest of the adventurers in England, in the plantation, there was a division and allotment of almost all their property, real and personal; twenty acres of tillage land to each, besides what they held before; the meadows and the trade only, remaining in common.

Thus it is observable, how men, in spite of their principles, are naturally led into that mode of conduct, which truth and utility, ever coincident, point out. Our fathers deserve the highest commendation for prosecuting, at the hazard of life and fortune, that reformation in religion, which the Church of England left imperfect: taking for this purpose, the Sacred Scriptures, as their only guide, they travelled in the path of truth, and appealed to a most noble and unerring standard; but when from their reverence to this divine authority, in matters of religion, they were inclined to esteem it the only guide, in all the affairs of life, and attempted to regulate their civil polity upon church ideas, they erred, and involved themselves in innumerable difficulties.

The end of civil society is the security of the temporal liberty and prosperity of man, not all the happiness and perfection which he is capable of attaining, for which other means are appointed. Had not our fathers placed themselves upon such a footing, with respect to property, as was repugnant to the nature of man, and not warranted by the true end of civil society, there would probably have been no just ground of complaint of a want of real and reasonable public spirit; and the necessity of the exhortation and reproof, contained in Mr. Cushman's discourse, would have been superseded. Their zeal, their enterprise, and their uncommon sufferings in the prosecution of their arduous undertaking, render it morally certain, that they would have ever cheerfully performed their duty in this respect. Their contemporaries might censure them for what they *did not*, but their posterity must ever admire and revere them for what they *did* exhibit.

After the death of Mr. Cushman, his family came over to New England. His son, Thomas Cushman, succeeded Mr. Brewster, as ruling elder of the Church of Plymouth, being ordained to that office in 1649. He was a man of good gifts, and frequently assisted in carrying on the public worship, preaching and catechizing. For it was one of the professed principles of that church, in its first formation, "to choose none for governing elders, but such as were able to teach." He continued in this office till he died, in 1691, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

The above mentioned discourse of Mr. Robert Cushman, in 1621, may be considered as a specimen of the "prophesyings" of the brethren. The occasion was singular; the exhortations and reproofs are not less so; but were adapted to the then state of society. Some specimens may not be disagreeable, and are therefore here inserted.

"Now, brethren, I pray you remember yourselves, and know that you are not in a retired monastical course, but have given your names and promises one to another, and covenanted here to cleave together in the service of God and the king. What then must you do? May you live as retired hermits, and look after nobody? Nay, you must seek still the wealth of one another; and inquire, as David, how liveth such a man? how is he clad? how is he fed? He is my brother, and my associate; we ventured our lives together here, and had a hard brunt of it; and we are in league together. Is his labor harder than mine? surely I will ease him. Hath he no bed to lie on? I have two; I'll lend him one. Hath he no apparel? I have two suits, I'll give him one of them. Eats he coarse fare, bread and water? and have I better? surely we will part stakes. He is as good a man as I, and we are bound each to other; so that his wants must be my wants, his sorrows my sorrows, his sickness my sickness, and his welfare my welfare; for I am as he is. Such a sweet sympathy were excellent, comfortable, yea, heavenly, and is the only maker and conservator of churches and commonwealths.

"It wonderfully encourageth men in their duties, when they see the burthen equally borne; but when some withdraw themselves, and retire to their own particular ease, pleasure or profit, what heart can men have to go on in their business? When men are come

together to lift some weighty piece of timber, or vessel, if one stand still and do not lift, shall not the rest be weakened and disheartened? Will not a few idle drones spoil the whole stock of laborious bees? So one idle belly, one murmurer, one complainer, one self-lover, will weaken and dishearten a whole colony. Great matters have been brought to pass, where men have cheerfully, as with one heart, hand and shoulder, gone about it, both in wars, buildings and plantations; but where every man seeks himself, all cometh to nothing.

"The country is yet raw, the land untilld; the cities not builded; the cattle not settled. We are compassed about with a helpless and idle people, the natives of the country, which cannot, in any comely or comfortable manner, help themselves; much less us. We also have been very chargeable to many of our loving friends which helped us hither, and now again supplied us. So that before we think of gathering riches, we must even in conscience think of requiting their charge, love, and labor; and curses be on that profit and gain which aimeth not at this. Besides, how many of our dear friends did here die at our first entrance! many of them, no doubt, for want of good lodging, shelter, and comfortable things; and many more may go after them quickly, if care be not taken. Is this then, a time for men to begin to seek themselves? Paul saith, that men in the last days shall be lovers of themselves (2 Tim. iii. 2.); but it is here yet but the first days, and, as it were, the dawning of this new world. It is now therefore no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare; but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and hoard up; but rather to open the doors, the chests, and vessels, and say, brother, neighbor, friend, what want ye? any thing that I have? make bold with it; it is yours to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you; and glad I am that I have it for you.

"Let there be no prodigal son to come forth and say, give me the portion of lands and goods that appertaineth to me, and let me shift for myself. It is yet too soon to put men to their shifts; *Israel* was seven years in Canaan, before the land was divided unto tribes, much longer before it was divided unto families; and why wouldest thou have thy particular portion, but because thou thinkest to live better than thy neighbor, and scornest to live so meanly as he? but who, I pray thee, brought this particularizing first into the world? Did not Satan who was not content to keep that equal state with his fellows, but would set his throne above the stars? Did not he also entice man to despise his general felicity and happiness, and go try particular knowledge of good and evil? Nothing in this world doth more resemble heavenly happiness, than for men to live as one, being of one heart, and one soul; neither any thing more resembles hellish horror, than for every man to shift for himself, for if it be a good mind and practice, thus to affect particulars, *mine and thine*, then it should be best also for God to provide one heaven for thee, and another for thy neighbor.

"Objection. But some will say, If all men will do their endeavors, as I do, I could be content with this generality; but many are idle and slothful, and eat up other's labors, and therefore it is best to part, and then every man may do his pleasure.

"If others be idle and thou diligent, thy fellowship, provocation, and example, may well help to cure that malady in them, being together; but being asunder, shall they not be more idle, and shall not gentry and beggary be quickly the glorious ensigns of your commonwealth?

"Be not too hasty to say men are idle and slothful. All men have not strength, skill, faculty, spirit, and courage to work alike. It is thy glory and credit, that thou canst do so well, and his shame and reproach, that he can do no better; and are not these sufficient rewards to you both?

"If any be idle apparently, you have a law and governors to execute the same, and to follow that rule of the apostle, to keep back their bread, and let them not eat; go not therefore whispering, to charge men with idleness; but go to the governor and prove them idle and thou shalt see them have their deserts.

"There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion. Bear ye one another's burdens, and be not a burden one to another. Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawals, and cleave fast to the Lord, and one to another, continually; so shall you be a notable precedent to these poor heathens, whose eyes are upon you, and who very brutishly and cruelly do

daily eat and consume one another, through their enulations, ways and contentions; be you, therefore ashamed of it, and win them to peace, both with yourselves, and with one another, by your peaceable examples, which will preach louder to them, than if you could cry in their barbarous language; so also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends, in your native country, to come to you, when they hear of your peace, love and kindness. But, above all, it shall go well with your souls, when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates, you being found of him, not in murmurings, discontent, and jars, but in brotherly love, and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness, unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan." Amen.

EDWARD WINSLOW.

EDWARD WINSLOW—His Birth and Education—Travels on the Continent—Removes to America—His visit to Massachusetts—Returns to England—Sails again for Plymouth—Sent as Agent to England—Committed to the Fleet Prison—Released—Returns to New England and chosen Governor—Chosen Commissioner of the United Colonies—Sent by Cromwell against the Spaniards—Dies on the passage to Jamaica—Account of his Descendants.

THIS eminently useful person was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, where he was born in 1594. Of his education and first appearance in life we have no knowledge. In the course of his travels on the continent of Europe, he became acquainted with Mr. Robinson and the church under his pastoral care at Leyden, where he settled and married. To this church he joined himself, and with them he continued till their removal to America. He came hither with the first company, and his name is the third in the list of those who subscribed the covenant of incorporation, before their disembarkation at Cape Cod. His family then consisted of his wife and three other persons. He was one of the company who coasted the bay of Cape Cod, and discovered the harbor of Plymouth; and when the Sachem Masasoit came to visit the strangers, he offered himself as a hostage, whilst a conference was held and a treaty was made with the savage prince.

His wife died soon after his arrival; and in the following spring, he married Susanna, the widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine, the first English child born in New England. This was the first marriage solemnized in the colony; (May 12, 1621.)

In June, he went in company with Stephen Hopkins to visit Sachem Masasoit at Pokanoket. The design of this visit is related in Bradford's life. The particular circumstances of it may properly be detailed here, in the very words of Winslow's original narrative.

"We set forward, the 10th of June, about nine in the morning; our guide [Tisquantum] resolving that night to rest at Namasket, a town under Masasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick, on every slight occasion among us; but we found it to be fifteen English miles. On the way, we found ten or twelve men, women and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuals is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither, and now returned with us to Namasket. Thither we came about three in the afternoon; the inhabitants entertaining us, with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Mazium, and the spawn of shad, which then they got in abundance; inasmuch as they gave us spoons to eat them; with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shad we ate heartily. They desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them; who shooting and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions.

"After this Tisquantum told us, we should hardly in one day reach Pokanoket, moving us to go eight miles farther, where we should find more store and better victuals. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went, and came thither at setting-sun; where we found many of the men of Namasket fishing at a ware which they had made on a river, which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wherever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode;

upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague, not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well seated, without men to dress the same.

"The next morning we brake our fast, and took our leave and departed; being then accompanied with six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river's side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valor and courage of some of the savages, on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged. These two, spying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank; where, with shrill voices, and great courage, standing, charged upon us with their bows, they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage of us in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had; and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far, we are sure, the tide ebbs and flows.

"Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded on our journey, the weather being very hot; yet the country so well watered, that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, beside small rivers in abundance. The savages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook, where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accord; also fearing we were or would be weary, they offered to carry our pieces, [guns;] also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

"As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river, but had been inhabited; by reason whereof, much ground was clear save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, oak, walnut, fir, beech, and exceeding great chesnut trees.

"Afterward we came to a town of Masassoit's, where we eat oysters, and other fish. From thence we went to Pokanokick, but Masassoit was not at home. There we staid, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting, we would discharge our pieces. One of us going to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear ran away and could not be pacified till he laid it down again; who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

"Masassoit being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him, who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired.

"For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome; and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us, as they had done; also that he would send to Paomet, and help us to seed-corn, according to our request.

"This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech; the meaning whereof (as far as we could learn) was, that he was commander of the country, and that the people should bring their skins to us. He named at least thirty places; and their answer was confirming and applauding what he said.

"He then lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the king, marvelling that he could live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen; bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrawhiganset; for it was King James's country, and he was King James's man. It grew late, but he offered us no victuals; for indeed he had not any, being so newly come home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at the one end, and we at the other; it being only planks, laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse wearied of our lodging, than of our journey.

"The next day being Thursday, many of their sachems or petty governors came to see us, and many of their men also. They went to their manner of games for skins and knives. We challenged them to shoot for skins, but they durst not; only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

"About one o'clock, Masassoit brought two fishes that he had shot; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. [Probably the fish called Taug.] These being boiled, there were at least forty, that looked for a share in them; the most eat of them. This meal only, we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us brought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was with us to stay with him longer; but we desired to keep the sabbath at home and feared we should be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves to sleep) lice and fleas within doors, and musketoos without, we could hardly sleep, all the time of our being there; and we much feared that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

"On Friday morning, before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed. Masassoit being both grieved and ashamed, that he could not better entertain us. Retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place, to procure truck for us, he appointed another [guide] Tokamaham in his place, whom we found faithful before and after upon all occasions."

This narrative gives us a just idea of the hospitality and poverty of the Indians. They gladly entertain strangers with the best they can afford; but it is familiar to them to endure long abstinence. Those who visit them must be content to fare as they do, or carry their own provisions and share it with them.

Mr. Winslow's next excursion was by sea to Monahigon, an island near the mouth of Penobscot Bay, to procure a supply of bread from the fishing vessels, who resorted to the eastern coast in the spring of 1622. This supply, though not large, was freely given to the suffering colony; and being prudently managed in the distribution, amounted to one quarter of a pound for each person, till the next harvest. By means of this excursion, the people of Plymouth became acquainted with the eastern coast; of which knowledge they afterwards availed themselves, for a beneficial traffic with the natives.

In the spring of the year 1623, Mr. Winslow made a second visit to the sachem, on account of his sickness; the particular circumstances of which are thus given in his own words.

"News came to Plymouth that Massassowat* was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore, before his dwelling, by stress of weather, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity; therefore it was thought meet, that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

"To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governor [Bradford] again laid this service on myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Mr. John Hamden, a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my comfort, and Hobamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namaskat, where we had friendly entertainment.

"The next day, about one o'clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant's† country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us, from a house not far off. They told us that Massassowat was dead, and that day buried; and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank; but especially Hobamock, who desired me to return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant, or Corbitant, was the most likely to succeed him, and that we were not

* Thus it is spelt in Winslow's narrative.

† His name is spelt Corbitant, Conbatant, and Conbutant. This ferry is probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry, in Swanzeey.

above three miles from Mattapuyest, his dwelling place. Although he were but a hollow hearted friend to us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the sachems thereabouts; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Mr. Hamden and Hobamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing. So we went toward Mattapuyest.

"In the way, Hobamock manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. *Neen woman Sagamus, &c.* "My loving Sachem! many have I known but never any like thee!" Then turning to me, he said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like among the Indians. He was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled toward such as had offended him; ruled by reason, in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, showing how often he restrained their malice. He continued a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as would have made the hardest heart relent.

"At length we came to Mattapuyest, and went to the sachem's place; Conbatant was not at home, but at Pokanokick, five or six miles off. The squaw sachem gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat; they thought him dead; but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all exhibition to Pokanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Conbatant with our being there. About half an hour before sun-setting the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope that we should find him living. Upon this, we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late with-in night when we got thither. About two o'clock, that afternoon, the Dutchman had departed, so that, in that respect, our journey was frustrate.

"When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. They were in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as dissteepened us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms and legs to keep heat in him. When they had made an end of their charming, one told him that his friends the English were come to see him. Having his understanding left, though his sight wholly gone, he asked who was come! they told him *Winsnowe*; for they cannot pronounce the letter L but ordinarily N in place of it;) he desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, *'keen, Winsnowe'* art thou Winslow? I answered *'ahke'*, that is, 'yes,' Then he doubled these words, *'Matta neen wonckunet namcn Winsnowe'* that is to say, 'O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!' Then I called Hobamock, and desired him to tell Masassoit, that the governor hearing of his sickness, was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not himself come, yet he had sent me, with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this extremity; and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and, having a confection of many comfortable conserves, on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him were much rejoiced, saying he had not swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, that it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue; after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then he desired to drink; I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof; and within half an hour, this wrought a great alteration in him, and presently after his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mis-

* A neck of land in the township of Swanzeey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset.

nap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink, which the governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Plymouth, I would send for more of the same; also for chickens, to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the return of the messenger. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two o'clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring our good success, and desiring such things as were proper. He requested me that I would the next day take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him such potage as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised; but his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flour from it, and set the broken corn in a pipkin, (for they have earthen pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out to seek herbs, (it being the middle of March) but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece and boiled it, till it had a good relish. Of this broth I gave him a pint, which he drank and liked it well; after this his sight mended, and he took some rest. That morning he caused me to spend in going among the sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths, and give them some of the same I gave him. This pains I took willingly, though it were much offensive to me.

"When the messengers were returned, finding his stoach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, because he was so much altered, not doubting of his recovery if he were careful. Upon his recovery he brake forth into these speeches: 'Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.' At our coming away, he called Hobamock to him, and privately told him of a plot of the Massachusetts against Weston's colony, and so against us. But he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him to acquaint me, by the way, that I might inform the governor. Being fitted for our return, we took leave of him, who returned many thanks to our governor, and also to ourselves, for our labor and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed."

In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Winslow went to England as agent to the colony, to give an account of their proceedings to the adventurers, and procure such things as were necessary. Whilst he was in England, he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony at Plymouth, under this title, "Good news from New England, or a relation of things remarkable in that plantation, by E. Winslow."

This narrative is abridged in Purchas's Pilgrims, and has been of great service to all succeeding historians. To it, he subjoined an account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the Indian natives; which, being an original work and now rarely to be found, is inserted in the Appendix.

In the following spring (March 1624) Mr. Winslow returned from England, having been absent no longer than six months; bringing a good supply of clothing and other necessities, and, what was of more value than any other supply, three heifers and one bull; the first neat cattle brought into New-England.

The same year, he went again to England, where he had an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been made in his former voyage. The adventurers, had then, in the same ship with the cattle, sent over John Lyford, as a minister; who was soon suspected of being a person unfit for that office. When Mr. Winslow went again to England, he imparted this suspicion; and at a meeting of the adventurers, it appeared on examination that Lyford had been a minister in Ireland; where his conduct had been so bad as to oblige him to quit that kingdom; and that the adventurers had been imposed upon, by false testimony concerning him. With this discovery, Mr. Winslow came back to Plymouth in 1625, and found the court sitting, on the affair of Oldham, who had returned, after banishment. The true characters of these impostors being thus discovered, they were both expelled from the plantation.

About the same time, Governor Bradford having prevailed on the people of Plymouth to choose five assistants, instead of one, Mr. Winslow was first elected to this office; in which he was continued till 1633,

when by the same influence, he was chosen governor,* for one year.

Mr. Winslow was a man of great activity and resolution, and therefore well qualified to conduct enterprises for the benefit of the colony. He frequently went to Penobscot, Kennebeck, and Connecticut rivers, on trading voyages, and rendered himself useful and agreeable to the people.

In 1635, he undertook another agency in England for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts; partly on occasion of the intrusions which were made on the territory of New England, by the French on the east, and by the Dutch on the west: and partly to answer complaints, which had been made to the government against the Massachusetts Colony, by Thomas Morton, who had been twice expelled for his misbehavior.

At that time, the care of the colonies was committed to a number of bishops, lords, and gentlemen, of whom Archbishop Laud was at the head. It was also in contemplation to establish a general government in America, which would have superseded the charters of the colonies.

Winslow's situation at that time, was critical, and his treatment was severe. In his petition to the commissioners, he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed for "a special warrant to the English Colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies." Governor Winthrop censured this petition, as "ill advised; because such precedents might endanger their liberties; that they should do nothing, but by commission out of England."

The petition, however, was favorably received by some of the Board. Winslow was heard several times in support of it, and pointed out a way in which the object might have been attained without any charge to the Crown, by furnishing some of the chief men of the colonies with authority, which they would exercise at their own expense, and without any public national disturbance. This proposal crossed the design of George and Mason, whose aim was to establish a general government; and the archbishop who was engaged in their interest, put a check to Winslow's proposal, by questioning him on Morton's accusation, for his own personal conduct in America. The offences alleged against him were, that he, not being in holy orders, but a mere layman, had taught publicly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the former, Winslow answered, "that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the edification of his brethren." To the latter, "that though he had officiated as a magistrate in the solemnizing of marriage, yet he regarded it only as a civil contract; that the people of Plymouth had for a long time been destitute of a minister, and were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the magistrate in that solemnity; that this was not to them a novelty, having been accustomed to it in Holland where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate, in the state house." On this honest confession, the archbishop pronounced him guilty of the crime of separation from the national church, and prevailed on the Board to consent to his imprisonment. He was therefore committed to the Fleet prison, where he lay confined seventeen weeks. But after that time, on petitioning the Board, he obtained release.

At his return to New England, the colony showed him the highest degree of respect, by choosing him their governor for the succeeding year (1636.) In this office he conducted himself greatly to their satisfaction. In 1644 he was again honored with the same appointment, and in the intermediate years, was the first on the list of magistrates.

When the colonies of New England entered into a confederation for their mutual defence, in 1643, Mr. Winslow was chosen one of the commissioners on behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office till 1646, when he was solicited by the Colony of Massachusetts, to go again to England to answer to the complaints of Samuel Gorton and others, who had charged them with religious intolerance and persecution. The times being changed, and the Puritans being in power,

* The following note from Governor Winthrop's Journal is worthy of observation. "Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of Plymouth. Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten [twelve years,] and now by importunity got off."

This singular trait in Bradford's character, of which there is the most evident evidence, sufficiently invalidates an insinuation of Hutchinson, that Winslow's "employment abroad prevented a competition between Bradford and him for the governor's place."

Hutchinson was a governor of a different character! † Winslow's Journal, 47. Hutch. Hist. II. 457.

Mr. Winslow had great advantage in this business, from the credit and esteem which he enjoyed with that party. We have no account of the particulars of this agency, but only in general, that "by his prudent management, he prevented any damage, and cleared the colony from any blame or dishonor."

One design of the confederation of the colonies, was to promote the civilization of the Indians, and their conversion to the Christian religion. In this great and good work, Mr. Winslow was from principle, very zealously engaged. In England, he employed his interest and friendship with members of the Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune to erect a corporation there for the prosecution of the design. For this purpose, an act of Parliament was passed (1649) incorporating a society in England "for propagating the Gospel in New England." The commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a Board of Correspondents, and distributors of the money, which was supplied in England by charitable donations from all the cities, towns, and parishes in the kingdom. By the influence and exertions of both these respectable bodies, ministers were supported among the Indians of New England: the Bible and other books of piety were translated into the Indian tongue, and printed for their use; and much pains were taken by several worthy ministers, and other gentlemen to instruct the Indians, and reduce them to a civilized life. This society is still in existence, and, till the revolution in America, they kept up a Board of Correspondents at Boston, but since that period it has been discontinued. Of this corporation, at its first establishment, Mr. Winslow was a very active and faithful member in England; where his reputation was great, and his abilities highly valued by the prevailing party, who found him so much employment there, and elsewhere, that he never returned to New England.

When Oliver Cromwell (1655) planned an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and sent Admiral Penn and General Venables to execute it, he appointed three commissioners to superintend and direct their operations: of which number Winslow was the chief; the other two were Richard Holdrip, and Edward Blagge. Their object was to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength which the Spaniards had in Hispaniola.

The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views, and the control of the commissioners was of no avail. The troops, ill appointed and badly provided, were landed at too great a distance from the city, and lost their way in the woods. Worn with hunger and thirst, heat and fatigue, they were routed by an inconsiderable number of Spaniards; six hundred were killed, and the remnant took refuge on board their vessels.

To compensate as far as possible for this unfortunate event, the fleet sailed for Jamaica, which surrendered without any resistance. But Mr. Winslow, who partook of the chagrin of the defeat, did not enjoy the pleasure of the victory. In the passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica, the heat of the climate threw him into a fever; which, operating with the dejection of his mind, put an end to his life on the 8th of May, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was committed to the deep, with the honors of war, forty-two guns being fired by the fleet on that occasion.

The following well-meant but inelegant verses were written by one of the passengers on board the same ship in which he died.

"The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name; a man in chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;
An honor to his place, as all can tell."

Before his departure from New-England, Mr. Winslow had made a settlement on a valuable tract of land in Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Carswell, probably from a castle and seat of that name in Staffordshire. His son, Josiah Winslow, was a magistrate and governor of the colony, and general of the New-England forces, in the war with the Indians, called Philip's war. He died in 1630. Isaac, the son of Josiah Winslow, sustained the chief civil and military offices in the county of Plymouth, after its incorporation with Massachusetts; and was President of the Provincial Council. He died in 1738. John Winslow, the son of Isaac, was a captain in the unfortunate expedition to Cuba in 1740, and afterward an officer in the British service, and major-general in several expeditions to Kennebeck, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point. He died in 1774, aged 71. His son, Dr. Isaac Winslow, is now in possession of the family estate at Marshfield. By

the favor of this gentleman, the letter books and journals of his late father, Major general Winslow, with many ancient family papers, containing a fund of genuine information, are deposited in the library of the Historical Society. There are several other reputable branches of this family in New England and Nova Scotia.

MILES STANDISH.

MILES STANDISH—A Soldier in the Netherlands—Embarks for America—Compels Corbitant to submit—His resolute conduct with the Indians—His Expedition to Wessagusset and Cape Ann—Mr. Hubbard's Observations relating to him—Mr. Robinson's Letter—Standish returns to Plymouth—Expedition against Morton—His settlement at Danbury—His Death and Descendants—Stith's Remarks on sending Convicts to Virginia.

This intrepid soldier, the hero of New England, as John Smith was of Virginia, was a native of Lancashire, in the north of England; but the date of his birth is not preserved. Descended from the younger branch of a family of distinction,* he was "his apparent to a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him," which compelled him to seek subsistence for himself. Though small in stature, he had an active genius, a sanguine temper, and a strong constitution. These qualities led him to the profession of arms; and the Netherlands being, in his youth, a theatre of war, he entered into the service of Queen Elizabeth, in aid of the Dutch; and after the truce, settled with the English refugees at Leyden.

When they meditated a removal to America, Standish, though not a member of their church, was thought a proper person to accompany them. Whether he joined them at their request or his own motion, does not appear; but he engaged with zeal and resolution in their enterprise, and embarked with the first company in 1620.

On their arrival at Cape Cod, he was appointed commander of the first party of sixteen men, who went ashore on discovery; and when they began their settlement at Plymouth, he was unanimously chosen captain, or chief military commander. In several interviews with the natives he was the first to meet them, and was generally accompanied with a very small number of men, selected by himself.

After the league was made with Masassoit, one of his petty sachems, Corbitant, became discontented, and was meditating to join with the Narragansets against the English. Standish, with fourteen men and a guide, went to Corbitant's place, (Swanzy) and surrounded his house; but not finding him at home, they informed his people of their intention of destroying him, if he should persist in his rebellion. Corbitant, hearing of his danger, made an acknowledgment to Masassoit, and entreated his mediation with the English for peace. He was soon after [Sept. 13, 1621] admitted with eight other chiefs, to subscribe an instrument of submission to the English government.

In every hazardous enterprise, Capt. Standish was ready to put himself foremost, whether the objects were discovery, traffic, or war; and the people, animated by his example, and confiding in his bravery and fidelity, thought themselves safe under his command.

When the town of Plymouth [1622] was enclosed and fortified, the defence of it was committed to the captain, who made the most judicious disposition of their force. He divided them into four squadrons, appointing those whom he thought most fit, to command; and ordered every man, on any alarm, to repair to his respective station, and put himself under his proper officer. A select company was appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard, with their backs to the fire, that they might prevent the approach of an enemy during the conflagration.

* All which I have been able to collect relative to the family of Standish, is as follows:

Henry Standish, a Franciscan, D. D. of Cambridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, before the Reformation, was a bigot to Popery. Falling down on his knees, before King Henry VIII. he petitioned him to continue the religious establishment of his ancestors. This prelate died, A. D. 1535, at a very advanced age.

John Standish, nephew to Henry, wrote a book against the translation of the bible into the English Language; and presented it to the Parliament. He died in 1556, in the reign of Queen Mary.

Sir Richard Standish, of Whittle, near Charley. In his grounds a lead mine was discovered, not long before 1695, and wrought with good success. Near the same place is a quarry of Mill-stones.

The village of Standish, and a seat called Standish-Hall, are situate near the river Douglas, in Lancashire, between the towns of Charley and Wigan, which are about 6 miles distant. Wigan is 9 miles north of Warrington, on the southern side of the county. See Camden's Map of Lancashire.

Being sent on a trading voyage to Matachiest, [between Barnstable and Yarmouth, Feb. 1623] a severe storm came on, during the first night, by which the harbor was filled with ice and Captain Standish with his party was obliged to lodge in one of the huts of the savages. They came together in a considerable number, and under the mask of friendship, promised to supply him with corn. Standish suspecting, by their number, that their intention was hostile, would not permit his men to lie down all at once, but ordered them to sleep and watch by turns. In the morning, a discovery was made that some things had been stolen from his shallop. The captain immediately went with his whole force, consisting of six men, surrounded the house of the sachem Ianough, and obliged him to find the thief and restore the stolen things. This resolute behavior struck them with awe; the trade went on peaceably, and when the harbor was cleared the shallop came off with a load of corn, and arrived safely at Plymouth.

This was the first suspicion of a conspiracy, which had for some time been forming among the Indians, to destroy the English. In the following month [March] he had another specimen of their insolence at Manomet,* whether he went to fetch home the corn which Governor Bradford had bought in the preceding autumn. The captain was not received with that welcome which the governor had experienced. Two Indians from Massachusetts were there, one of whom had an iron dagger, which he had gotten from some of Weston's people at Wessagusset, [Weymouth] and which he gave to Canacum, the Sachem of Manomet, in the view of Standish. The present was accompanied with a speech, which the captain did not then perfectly understand, but the purport of it was, "That the English were too strong for the Massachusetts Indians to attack without help from the others; because if they should cut off the people in their bay, yet they feared that those of Plymouth would revenge their death. He therefore invited the sachem to join with them, and destroy both colonies. He magnified his own strength and courage, and derided the Europeans, because he had seen them die, crying and making sour faces, like children." An Indian of Paomet was present, who had formerly been friendly, and now professed the same kindness, offering his personal service to get the corn on board the shallop, though he had never done such work before; and inviting the captain to lodge in his hut, as the weather was cold. Standish passed the night by his fire, but though earnestly pressed to take his rest, kept himself continually in motion, and the next day, by the help of the squaws, got his corn on board, and returned to Plymouth. It was afterward discovered that this Indian intended to kill him, if he had fallen asleep.

About the same time, happened Mr. Winslow's visit to Masassoit in his sickness, and a full discovery of the plot, which the Indians at Massachusetts had contrived to destroy the English. The people whom Weston had sent to plant a colony at Wessagusset, were so disorderly and imprudent, that the Indians were not only disgusted with them, but despised them. These were destined to be the first victims. Their overseer, John Sanders, was gone to Monhegan, to meet the fishermen, at their coming to the coast, and get some provisions. During his absence, the Indians had grown more insolent than before; and it was necessary that some force should be sent thither, as well to protect the colony as to crush the conspiracy. Standish was the commander of the party; and as this was his capital exploit, it may be most satisfactory and entertaining to give the account of it, as related by Mr. Winslow in his narrative.

"The 23d of March [1623] being a yearly Court day, we came to this conclusion; that Captain Standish should take as many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good, against all the Indians in Massachusetts Bay; and because it is impossible to deal with them in open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore that he should pretend trade as at other times; but first to go to the English, and acquaint them with the plot and the end of his own coming, that by comparing it with their carriage towards them, he might better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same; but should forbear, if it were possible, till such time as he could make sure of Wittuwamat, a bloody and bold villain, whose head he had orders to bring with him.

* Manomet is the name of a creek or river which runs through the town of Sandwich, into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Sausset Creek, (into which Standish went and received his corn) is the place, which, for more than a century, has been thought of, as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal, from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay.

Upon this, Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more, because he would prevent jealousy. On the next day, before he could go, came one* of Weston's company to us with a pack on his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians' carriage; whose boldness increased abundantly, inasmuch as they would take their victuals out of their pots, and eat before their faces; yea, if in any thing they grieved them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts. He said that, to give them content, they had hanged one of the company, who had stolen their corn, and yet they regarded it not; that another of them had turned savage; that their people had mostly forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to perish with hunger and cold, and that they were dispersed into three companies, having scarcely any powder and shot. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed; and the wind coming fair the next day, March 25, Captain Standish being now fitted, set forth for Massachusetts.

"The captain being come to Massachusetts, went first to the ship, but found neither man nor dog therein. On the discharge of a musket, the master and some others showed themselves, who were on shore gathering ground-nuts and other food. After salutation, Captain Standish asked them how they durst so leave the ship, and live in such security? They answered, like men senseless of their own misery, that they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having a sword nor a gun, or needing the same. To which the captain replied, that if there were no cause, he was glad. But upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had reposed most confidence were at the plantation, thither he went and made known the Indians' purpose, and the end of his own coming; and told them that if they durst not stay there, it was the intention of the governor and people of Plymouth, to receive them

* His name was Phineas Pratt: an Indian followed him to kill him, but by missing his way, he escaped and got into Plymouth. This man was living in 1677, when Mr. Hubbard wrote his history. The Indian who followed him went to Manomet, and on his return, visited Plymouth, where he was put in irons.

† Mr. Hubbard's account of this matter, is as follows. "The company, as some report, pretended, in way of satisfaction, to punish him that did the theft; but in his stead, hanged a poor decrepit old man, that was unserviceable to the company, and burdensome to keep alive: This was the ground of the story, with which the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras, did in his poetical fancy, make so much sport. The inhabitants of Plymouth tell the story much otherwise, as if the person hanged, was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest. Yet, it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone."

The passage of Hudibras above referred to, is in Part, 2 canto 2, line 403, &c.

"Tho' vice and dark the point appear,
Quoth Ralph, it may hold up and clear;
That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Justice gives sentence many times,
On one man for another's crimes.
Our brethren of New England use,
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead.
Of whom the churches have less need;
As lately happened. In a town,
There liv'd a Cobbler, and but one,
Who out of doctrine, could cut use,
And mend men's lives as well as shoes.
This precious brother, having slain
In time of peace, an Indian,
Not out of malice, but mere zeal
Because he was an Infidel,
The mighty Tottipotimoy
Sent to our elders an envoy,
Complaining sorely of the breach
Of league, held forth by brother Patch,
Against the articles in force
Between both churches, his and ours;
For which he crav'd the saints to render
Into his hands, or hang the offender.
But they, maturely having weigh'd,
They had no more but him of the trade;
A man that serv'd them, in a double
Capacity, to teach and cobbler,
Resolv'd to spare him, yet to do
The Indian Hagan Mogan, too,
Impartial justice, in his stead did
Hang an old Weaver, that was bed-ridden,
Then, wherefore may not you be skipp'd,
And in your room another whipp'd!"

The story is here most ridiculously caricatured as a slur upon the churches of New England. I do not find that the people of Weston's plantation had any church at all; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence. Mr. Neal says, that "he obtained a patent under pretence of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America.

till they could be better provided for. These men answered that they could expect no better, and it was of God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming, desiring that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed; hereupon he advised them to secrecy and to order one third of their company that were farthest off to come home, and on pain of death to keep there, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn, to a man, for a day, though that was spared out of our seed.—The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do any thing.

"In the meantime an Indian came to him and brought some furs, but rather to get what he could from the captain than to trade; and though the captain carried things as smoothly as he could, yet at his return, the Indian reported that he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksout, who was a Pinese [chief] being a man of a notable spirit, to come to Hobamock, [Standish's Indian guide and interpreter] and tell him that he understood the captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there; 'Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares.' Many times after, divers of them, severally or a few together, came to the plantation, where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Among the rest, Wittuwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the handle of which was pictured a woman's face. 'But, said he, I have another at home, wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it, and by and by, these two must be married.' Further he said of that knife which he there had, *Hinnain namen, hinnain michen, matta cuts*, that is to say, *by and by it should see, by and by it should eat, but not speak*. Also Pecksout being a man of greater stature than the captain, told him, 'though you are a great captain, yet you are but a little man; though I be no sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage.' These things the captain observed, but for the present, bore them with patience.

"On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, but Pecksout and Wittuwamat being together, with another man, and the brother of Wittuwamat, a youth of eighteen, putting many tricks on the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own men in the sameroom, the captain gave the word to his men; and the door being fast shut, he began himself with Pecksout, and snatching the knife from his neck, after much struggling killed him therewith; the rest killed Wittuwamat and the other man; the youth they took and hanged. It is incredible how many wounds these men received, before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching at their weapons, and striving to the last. Hobamock stood by as a spectator, observing how our men demeaned themselves in the action; which being ended, he, smiling, brake forth and said, 'Yesterday Pecksout bragged of his own strength and stature, and told you that though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but, to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.'

"There being some women at the same time there, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Weston's people, at the town; and sent word to another company to kill those Indian men that were among them. These killed two more; himself with some of his own men, went to another place and killed another; but through the negligence of one man, an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

"Captain Standish took one half of his men with one or two of Weston's and Hobamock, still seeking them. At length they espied a file of Indians, making toward them; and there being a small advantage in the ground by reason of a hill, both companies strove for it. Captain Standish got it, whereupon the Indians retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobamock. Whereupon Hobamock cast off his coat, and chased them so fast, that our people were not able to hold way with him. They could have but one certain mark, the arm and half the face of a notable villain as he drew [his bow] at Captain Standish, who with another, both discharged at him and brake his arm. Whereupon they fled into a swamp; when they were in the thickest, they parlied but got nothing but foul language. So our captain dared the sachem to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and woman like he was, in tonguing it as he did; but he refused and fled. So

the captain returned to the plantation; where he released the women and took not their beaver coats from them, nor suffered the least discourtesy to be offered them.

"Now were Weston's people resolved to leave the plantation, and go to Monhegan, hoping to get passage and return [to England] with the fishing ships. The captain told them, that for his own part, he durst live there with fewer men than they were; yet since they were otherwise minded, according to his orders from the governor and people of Plymouth, he would help them with corn, which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked to go to Monhegan; and desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop; and seeing the others set sail, and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth, bringing the head of Wittuwamat, which was set up on the fort.*

"This sudden and unexpected execution, had so terrified and amazed the other people who intended to join with the Massachusetts against us, that they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted; living in swamps, and other desert places, and so brought disease upon themselves, whereof many are dead; as Canacum, Sachem of Manomet; Aspinet, of Nauset; and Janough, of Mantachiest. This sachem, [Janough] in the midst of these distractions, said, 'the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger.' From one of these places, a boat was sent with presents to the governor, hoping thereby to work their peace; but the boat was lost, and three of the people drowned; only one escaped, who returned; so that none of them durst come among us."

The Indian who had been confined at Plymouth, on his examination, confessed the plot; in which five persons were principally concerned, of whom two were killed. He protested his own innocence, and his life was spared on condition that he would carry a message to his sachem, Obtakiest, demanding three of Weston's men, whom he held in custody. A woman returned with his answer, that the men were killed before the message arrived, for which he was very sorry.

Thus ended Weston's plantation, within one year after it began. He had been one of the adventurers to Plymouth; but quitted them, and took a separate patent; and his plantation was intended to rival that of Plymouth. He did not come in person to America, till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen, and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm, he was cast away between the rivers of Pascataqua and Merrimack, and was robbed by the natives of all which he had saved from the wreck. Having borrowed a suit of clothes from some of the people at Pascataqua, he came to Plymouth; where, in consideration of his necessity, the government lent him two hundred weight of beaver, with which he sailed to the eastward, with such of his own people as were disposed to accompany him. It is observed that he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach.

The next adventure in which we find Captain Standish engaged, was at Cape Ann, where the fishermen of Plymouth had in 1624 erected a stage, and a company from the west of England in the following year had taken possession of it. Standish was ordered from Plymouth with a party to retake it; but met a refusal. The controversy grew warm, and high words passed on both sides. But the prudence of Roger Conant, agent for the west countrymen, and of Mr. Pierce, master of their ship, prevented matters from coming to extremity. The ship's crew lent their assistance in building another stage, which the Plymouth fishermen accepted in lieu of the former, and thus peace and harmony were restored. Mr. Hubbard, who has preserved the memory of this affair, reflects on Captain Standish in the following manner: He had been bred a soldier in the low countries, and never entered into the school of Christ, or of John the Baptist; or if ever he was there, he had forgot his first lessons, to offer violence to no man, and to part with the cloak, rather than needlessly contend for the coat, though taken away without order. A little chimney is soon fired; so was the Plymouth captain, a man of very small stature, yet of a very hot and angry temper. The fire of his passion, soon kindled,

and blown up into a flame by hot words, might easily have consumed all, had it not been seasonably quenched."

When the news of the transactions at Wessagusset where Standish had killed the Indians, was carried to Europe, Mr. Robinson from Leyden wrote to the Church of Plymouth, "to consider the disposition of their captain, who was of a warm temper. He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; and he thought it would have been happy if they had converted some, before they had killed any."

The best apology for Captain Standish is, that as a soldier he had been accustomed to discipline and obedience; that he considered himself as the military servant of the colony, and received his orders from the governor and people. Seditary persons are not always the best judges of a soldier's merit or feelings.—Men of his own profession will admire the courage of Standish, his promptitude and decision in the execution of his orders. No one has charged him either with failure in point of obedience or of wantonly exceeding the limits of his commission. If the arm of flesh were necessary to establish the rights and defend the lives and property of colonists in a new country, surrounded with enemies and false friends, certainly such a man as Standish, with all his imperfections, will hold a high rank among the worthies of New-England. Mr. Prince does not scruple to reckon him among those heroes of antiquity, "who chose to suffer affliction with the people of God; who through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens;" and even Mr. Hubbard, in another part of his history, says that Captain Standish "was a gentleman very expert in military service; by whom the people were all willing to be ordered in those concerns. He was likewise improved [employed] to good acceptance and success in affairs of the greatest moment in that colony, to whose interest he continued firm and steadfast to the last, and always managed his trust with great integrity and faithfulness."

Two ships which had come with supplies to the colony the same year (1625) returned in the autumn with cargoes of fish and furs. In one of these Standish embarked as agent for the colony, and arrived safely in England; the other was captured by a Turkish ship of war, and the loss of her valuable cargo was a severe blow to the colony. He arrived in a very unfortunate time: the plague raging in London, carried off more than forty thousand people in the space of one year. Commerce was stagnated, the merchants and members of the council of New-England were dispersed and no meeting could be held. All which Captain Standish could do, was, by private conference, to prepare the way for a composition with the company of adventurers, and by the help of a few friends, with great trouble and danger, to procure a small quantity of goods for the colony, amounting to 150*l*. which he took up at the exorbitant interest of 50 per cent. With this insufficient but welcome supply, he returned to Plymouth, in the spring of 1626; bringing the sorrowful news of the death of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Cushman.

Several attempts were, about this time, made to form plantations, within the Bay of Massachusetts, at Cape Ann and Pascataqua. Among these adventurers was one Captain Wollaston, "a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminence, who brought over many servants and much provisions." He pitched on the southern side of the bay, at the head of the creek, and called an adjoining hill Mount Wollaston, [Quincy.] One of his company was Thomas Morton, "a pettifogger of Ffnnival's Inn," who had some property of his own, or of other men committed to him. After a short trial, Wollaston, not finding his expectations realized, went to Virginia, with a great part of the servants; and being better pleased with that country, sent for the rest to come to him. Morton thought this a proper opportunity to make himself head of the company; and, in a drunken frolic, persuaded them to depose Filcher, the lieutenant, and set up for liberty and equality.

Under this influence they soon became licentious and debauched. They sold their goods to the natives for furs, taught them the use of arms, and employed them in hunting. They invited and received fugitives from all the neighboring settlements; and thus endangered their safety, and obliged them to unite their strength in opposition to them. Captain Endicott, from Naumkeag,

* This may excite in some minds an objection to the humanity of our forefathers. The reason assigned for it was, that it might prove a terror to others. In matters of war and public justice, they observed the customs and laws, of the English nation. As late as the year 1747, the heads of the lords, who were concerned in the Scots rebellion, were set up over Temple-Bar, the most frequented passage between London and Westminster.

made them a visit, and gave them a small check, by cutting down a May-pole, which they had erected as a central point of dissipation and extravagance; but it was reserved for Captain Standish to break up their infamous combination. After repeated friendly admonitions, which were disregarded, at the request and joint expense* of the scattered planters, and by order of the Government of Plymouth, he went to Mount Wollaston, and summoned Morton to surrender. Morton prepared for his defence, armed his adherents, heated them with liquor, and answered Standish with abusive language. But, when he stepped out of his door, to take aim at his antagonist, the captain seized his musket with one hand and his collar with the other, and made him prisoner. The others quietly submitted. No blood was shed nor a gun fired. They were all conducted to Plymouth, and then sent to England; where Morton was treated with less severity than he deserved, and was permitted to return and disturb the settlements, till the establishment of the Massachusetts colony, when he retired to Piscataqua, and there ended his days.

After this encounter, which happened in 1628, we have no particular account of Captain Standish. He is not mentioned in the account of the Pequot war, in 1637. He was chosen one of the magistrates or assistants of Plymouth Colony as long as he lived. As he advanced in years, he was much afflicted with the stone and the stranguary; he died in 1636, being then very old, at Duxbury, near Plymouth; where he had a tract of land, which to this day is known by the name of Captain's Hill.

He had one son, Alexander, who died in Duxbury. The late Dr. Wheelock, founder of Dartmouth College, and Mr. Kirkland, Missionary to the Indians, were descended from him. One of his grandsons was in possession of his coat of mail, which is now supposed to be lost; but his sword is preserved in the Cabinet of the Historical Society, of which one of his descendants, John Thornton Kirkland, is a member. His name is still venerated, and the merchants of Plymouth and Boston have named their ships after him. His posterity chiefly reside in several towns of the county of Plymouth.

JOHN WINTHROP,

FIRST GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

JOHN WINTHROP—His birth and ancestry—First Governor of the Colonies—His Character—Examination of his accounts and honorable result—His humility, firmness, and decision—His difficulties with Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers—His firm and correct conduct with the Church at Boston—His opinions of Democracy, Magistracy and Liberty—His pecuniary embarrassments and afflictions—His death—Preservation of his picture in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts—His posterity.

This worthy gentleman was descended from a family remarkable for its attachment to the reformed religion, from the earliest period of the Reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the Gospel, in the reign of Henry VIII. and brother to a memorable friend of the Reformation, in the reign of Mary I. in whose hands the Martyr Philpot left his paper, which make a considerable part of the History of the Martyrs. His father, Adam Winthrop, was a gentleman of the same profession and character. Governor Winthrop was born at the family seat at Groton, in Suffolk, June 12, 1587, and was bred to the law, though he had a strong inclination to theological studies. At the age of eighteen he was made a justice of the peace, and his virtues became conspicuous. He was exemplary in his profession as an upright and impartial magistrate, and in his private character as a christian. He had wisdom to discern, and fortitude to do right in the execution of his office; and as a gentleman, was remarkable for liberality and hospitality. These qualities rendered him dear to men of sobriety and religion, and fitted him to engage in the great and difficult work of founding a colony.

When the design of settling a colony in New England was by some eminent persons undertaken, this gentleman was, by the consent of all, chosen for their leader. Having converted a fine estate of six or seven hundred

pounds sterling per annum into money, he embarked for New England, in the forty-third year of his age and arrived at Salem with the Massachusetts charter, June 12, 1630. Within five days, he, with some of the principal persons of the colony travelled through the woods twenty miles, to look out a convenient situation for a town, in some part of the Bay of Massachusetts. Some of them built their huts on the north side of Charles' river, [Charlestown] but the governor, and most of the assistants pitched upon the peninsula of *Shawmut* and lived there the first winter, intending in the spring to build a fortified town, but undetermined as to its situation. On the sixth of December, they resolved to fortify the isthmus of that peninsula; but changing their minds before the month expired, they agreed upon a place about three miles above Charlestown, which they called first Newtown, and afterwards Cambridge, where they engaged to build houses the ensuing spring. The rest of the winter they suffered much by the severity of the season, and were obliged to live upon acorns, ground-nuts, and shell fish. One of the poorer sort coming to the governor to complain, was told that the last batch was in the oven, but of this he had his share. They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast; but before it came, a ship arrived with provisions, and they turned it into a day of thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, in pursuance of the intended plan, the governor set up the frame of an house at Newtown; the deputy governor also built one, and removed his family. About this time Chickatawb, the chief of the Indians in that neighbourhood, made a visit to the governor, with high professions of friendship. The apprehension of danger from the Indians abated, and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually laid aside; though if it had been retained, the peninsula would have been a situation far preferable to Newtown. The governor took down his frame and removed it to Shawmut, which was finally determined upon for the metropolis, and named Boston.

The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government, for which office he was eminently qualified, and in which he shone with a lustre, which would have done him honor in a larger sphere and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as the governor, of an infant plantation. His time, his study, his exertions, his influence and his interest were all employed in the public service. His wisdom, patience and magnanimity were conspicuous in the most severe trials, and his exemplary behaviour as a christian added a splendor to all his rare qualifications. He maintained the dignity of a governor with the obliging condescension of a gentleman, and was so deservedly respected and beloved, that when Archbishop Laud, hearkening to some calumnies raised against the country on account of their Puritan principles, summoned one Mr. Cleave before King Charles I. in hopes of getting some accusation against the governor, he gave such an account of his laudable deportment in his station, and withal of the devotion with which prayers were made, both in private and public, for the king, that Charles expressed his concern, that so worthy a person as Mr. Winthrop should be no better accommodated than in an American wilderness.

He was an example to the people of that frugality, decency and temperance which were necessary in their circumstances, and even denied himself many of the elegancies and superfluities of life, which his rank, and fortune gave him a just title to enjoy, both that he might set them a proper example, and be the better enabled to exercise that liberality in which he delighted, even, in the end, to the actual impoverishment of himself and his family. He would often send his servants on some errand, at meal times, to the houses of his neighbors, to see how they were provided with food; and if there was a deficiency, would supply them from his own table. The following singular instance of his charity, mixed with humor, will give us an idea of the man. In a very severe winter, when wood began to be scarce in Boston, he received private information, that a neighbor was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. "Does he," said the governor, "call him to me, and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing." The man appeared, and the governor addressed him thus. "Friend it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood, you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till the winter is over." And then merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing!

In the administration of justice, he was for tempering the severity of law with the exercise of mercy. He judged that in the infancy of a plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a set-

tled state. But when other gentlemen of learning and influence had taken office at his lenity, and adopted an opinion that a stricter discipline was necessary, he submitted to their judgment, and strictly adhered to the proposals which were made to support the dignity of government, by an appearance of union and firmness, and a concealment of differences and dissensions among the public officers.

His delicacy was so great, that, though he could not without incivility decline accepting gratuities from divers towns, as well as particular persons, for his public services, yet he took occasion in a public speech, at his third election to declare, that "he received them with a trembling hand in regard of God's word, and his own infirmity," and desired them, that for the future they would not be offended, if he should wholly refuse such presents.

In the year 1634, and the two years following, he was left out of the magistracy. Though his conduct, from his first engaging in the service of the colony, had been irreproachable, yet the envy of some, raised a suspicion of his fidelity, and gave him a small taste of what, in other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have had a large share of. An inquiry having been made of his receipts and disbursements of the public moneys, during his past administration, though it was conducted in a manner too harsh for his delicate sensibility, yet he patiently submitted to the examination of his accounts, which ended to his honor. Upon which occasion he made a declaration which he concluded in these words;—"In the things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the Court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost and labor bestowed in the service of this Commonwealth; but I do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he has been pleased to honor me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his church and people here; the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me."

The same rare humility and steady equality of mind, were conspicuous in his behavior, when a pretence was raised to get him left out of the government, lest by the too frequent choice of one man, the office should cease to be elective, and seem to be his by prescription. This pretence was advanced even in the election sermons; and when he was in fact reduced to a lower station in the government, he endeavoured to serve the people as faithfully as in the highest, nor would he suffer any notice to be taken of some undue methods, which were used to have him left out of the choice. An instance of this rare temper, and the happy fruit of it, deserves remembrance. There was a time when he received a very angry letter from a member of the Court, which having read, he delivered back to the messenger with this answer "I am not willing to keep by me such a matter of provocation." Shortly after, the writer of this letter was compelled by the scarcity of provision, to send to buy one of the governor's cattle: he begged him to accept it as a gift, in token of his good will. On which the gentleman came to him with this acknowledgment "Sir, your overcoming yourself, hath overcome me."

But though condescending and gentle on every occasion of personal ill-treatment, yet where the honor of government or religion, and the interest of the people were concerned, he was equally firm and intrepid, standing foremost in opposition to those whom he judged to be really public enemies, though in the disguise of warm and zealous friends. Of this number was the famous ANNA HUTCHINSON, a woman of a masculine understanding and consummate art, who held private lectures to the women at her house, in which she advanced these doctrines, viz. "That the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person, and that sanctification does not evidence justification." Those who held with her were said to be "under a covenant of grace," and those who opposed her "under a covenant of works." Into those two denominations the whole colony began to be divided. Her adherents prevailed in 1636, to choose for governor, HENRY VANE,* a young gentleman of an apparently grave and serious deportment, who had just arrived from England, and who paid great attention to this woman, and seemed zealously attached to her dis-

* From the bill of expense, sent to the Council of New England, may be seen the number and ability of the plantations in 1628.

Plymouth contributed	21	10
Naumkeag, (Salem)	2	10
Piscataquack, (Mason's Company)	2	10
Mr. Jeffrey and Burslem,	1	
Nantascot,	1	10
Mr. Thomson, (Squantum neck)	15	
Mr. Blackston, (Boston)	12	
Mr. Edward Hilton, (Dover)	1	
	12	7

* This person, so well known afterwards in England, is thus characterized by Lord Clarendon:

"A man of great natural parts and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception and ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, a vultum clausum, that though no man could make a guess of what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole life made good that imagination. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was

tinguishing tenets. Winthrop, then deputy governor, not only differed in sentiment, but saw the pernicious influence of this controversy with regret, and feared, that if it were suffered to prevail, it would endanger the existence of the colony. In the heat of the controversy, Wheelwright, a zealous sectarian, preached a sermon, which not only carried these points to their utmost length, but contained some expressions which the Court laid hold of as tending to sedition, for which he was examined; but a more full inquiry was deferred for that time. Some warm brethren of Boston petitioned the Court in Wheelwright's favor, reflecting on their proceedings, which raised such a resentment in the Court against the town that a motion was made for the next election to be made at Cambridge. Vane, the governor, having no negative voice, could only show his dislike by refusing to put the question. Winthrop, the deputy governor, declined it, as being an inhabitant of Boston; the question was then put by Endicot of Salem, and carried for the removal.

At the opening of the election, (May 17, 1637) a petition was again presented by many inhabitants of Boston, which Vane would have read previous to the choice. Winthrop, who clearly saw that this was a contrivance to throw all into confusion, and spend the day in debate, that the election might be prevented for that time, opposed the reading of the petition until the election should be over. Vane and his party were strenuous, but Winthrop called to the people to divide, and the majority appeared for the election. Vane still refused, till Winthrop said he would proceed without him, which obliged him to submit. The election was carried in favor of Winthrop and his friends. The sergeants who had waited on Vane to the place of election, threw down their halberds, and refused to attend the newly elected governor; he took no other notice of the affront, than to order his own servants to bear them before him, and when the people expressed their resentment, he begged them to overlook the matter.

The town of Boston being generally in favor of the new opinions, the governor grew unpopular there, and a law which was passed this year of his restoration to office, increased their dislike. Many persons who were supposed to favor those opinions, were expected from England, to prevent whose settlement in the country, the Court laid a penalty on all who should entertain any strangers, or allow them the use of any house, or lot, above three weeks, without liberty first granted. This severe order was so ill received in Boston, that on the governor's return from the Court of Cambridge, they all refused to go out to meet him, or to show him any token of respect. The other towns on this occasion increased their respect towards him, and the same summer, in a journey to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.

The same year a synod was called to determine on the controverted points, in which assembly Winthrop, though he did not preside, yet as the head of the civil magistracy, was obliged often to interpose his authority, which he did with wisdom and gravity, silencing passionate and impertinent speakers, desiring that the divine oracles might be allowed to express their own meaning, and be appealed to for the decision of the controversy; and when he saw heat and passion prevail in the assembly, he would adjourn it, that time might be allowed for cool consideration, by which prudent management, the synod came to an amicable agreement in condemning the errors of the day. But the work was not wholly done, until the erroneous persons were banished the colony. This act of severity the Court thought necessary for the peace of the Commonwealth. Toleration had not then been introduced into any of the Protestant countries, and even the wisest and best men were afraid of it as the parent of all error and mischief.

Some of the zealous opinionists in the church of Boston, would have had the elders proceed against the governor in the way of ecclesiastical discipline, for his activity in procuring the sentence of banishment on their brethren. Upon this occasion in a well judged speech to the congregation, he told them that "though in his private capacity, it was his duty to submit to the censure of his brethren, yet he was not amenable to them for his conduct as a magistrate, even though it were unjust. That in the present case, he had acted according to his conscience and his oath, and by the advice of the elders of the church, and was fully satisfied that it would not have been consistent with the public peace to have done otherwise." These reasons satisfied the

uneasy brethren, and his general condescending and obliging deportment, so restored him to their affections, that he was held in greater esteem than before; as a proof of this, upon occasion of a loss which he had sustained in his temporal estate, they made him a present, amounting to several hundred pounds.

A warm dispute having arisen in the General Court, concerning the negative voice of the Upper House, the governor published his sentiments in writing, some passages of which giving great offence, he took occasion at the next meeting of the Court in a public speech to tell them "that as to the matter of his writing, it was according to his judgment, which was not at his own disposal, and that having examined it by the rules of reason, religion, and custom, he saw no cause to retract it; but as for the manner, which was wholly his own, he was ready to acknowledge whatever was blameable. He said, that what he wrote was on great provocation, and to vindicate himself and others from unjust aspersions, yet he ought not to have allowed a distemper of spirit, nor to have been so free with the reputation of his brethren; that he might have maintained his cause without casting any reflection on them, and that he perceived an unbecoming pride and arrogance in some of his expressions, for which he desired forgiveness of God and man!" By this condescending spirit, he greatly endeared himself to his friends, and his enemies were ashamed of their opposition.

He had not so high an opinion of a democratical government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness; but plainly perceived a danger in referring matters of counsel and judicature to the body of the people; and when those who had removed to Connecticut, were about forming their government, he warned them of this danger in a friendly and faithful letter, wherein are these remarkable words: "The best part of a community is always the least and of that best part the wiser is still less; wherefore the old canon was, choose ye out judges, and thou shalt bring the matter before the judge."

In 1645, when he was deputy governor, a great disturbance was raised by some petitioners from Hingham, who complained that the fundamental laws of England were not owned in the colony as the basis of government; that civil privileges were denied to men, merely for not being members of the churches; and they could not enjoy divine ordinances because they belonged to the Church of England. With these complaints, they petitioned for liberty of conscience; or, if that could not be granted, for freedom from taxes and military services; the petition concluded with a menace, that in case of a refusal, complaint would be had to the Parliament of England. This petition gave much offence, and the petitioners were cited to Court, and fined as "movers to sedition." Winthrop was active in their prosecution; but a party in the House of Deputies was so strong in their favor as to carry a vote, requiring him to answer for his conduct in public; the result of which was, that he was honorably acquitted. Then resuming his seat, he took that opportunity publicly to declare his sentiments on the questions concerning the authority of the magistracy, and the liberty of the people. "You have called us," said he, to office, but being called, we have our authority from God, it is the ordinance of God, and hath the image of God stamped on it; and the contempt of it hath been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. When you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to the like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe on ours. The covenant between us and you is, that we shall govern you and judge your causes according to the laws of God and our best skill. As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error, not in the will, but the skill, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you mistake in the point of your liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is inconsistent with authority, impatient of restraint, the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, moral, federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority, a liberty for that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with your lives; and whatever crosses it, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority, and the authority set over you will in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted to by all but such as have a disposition to shake

off the yoke, and lose their liberty by murmuring at the honor and power of authority."

This kind of argument was frequently urged by the fathers of New England in justification of their severity toward those who dissented from them. They maintained that all men had liberty to do right, but no liberty to do wrong. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? and it is too evident from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience, and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the high church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles, and practised the same oppressions on those who dissented from them. Winthrop, before he left England, was of more Catholic spirit than some of his brethren; after he had come to America, he fell in with the reigning principle of intolerance, which almost all the Reformers unhappily retained as a relic of the persecuting church, from which they had separated; but as he advanced in life, he resumed his former moderation; and in the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the deputy-governor pressed him to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying, that "he had done too much of that work already."

Having devoted the greatest part of his interest to the service of the public, and suffering many losses by accidents, and by leaving the management of his private affairs to unfaithful servants, whilst his whole time and attention were employed in the public business, his fortune was so much impaired, that some years before his death, he was obliged to sell the most of his estate for the payment of an accumulated debt. He also met with much affliction in his family, having buried three wives and six children. These troubles, joined to the opposition and ill treatment which he frequently met with from some of the people, so preyed upon his nature, already much worn by the toils and hardships of planting a colony in a wilderness, that he perceived a decay of his faculties seven years before he reached his grand climacteric and often spoke of his approaching dissolution, with a calm resignation to the will of Heaven. At length, when he had entered the sixty-third year of his age, a fever occasioned by a cold, after one month's confinement, put an end to his life on the 26th of March, 1649.

The island called Governor's Island, in the harbor of Boston, was granted to him, and still remains in the possession of his descendants. His picture is preserved in the senate-chamber, with those of other ancient governors. The house in which he lived, remained till 1775, when, with many other old wooden buildings, it was pulled down by the British troops for fuel. He kept an exact journal of the occurrences and transactions in the colony during his residence in it. This journal was of great service to several historians, particularly Hubbard, Mather, and Prince. It is still in possession of the Connecticut branch of his family, and was published at Hartford in 1790. It affords a more exact and circumstantial detail of events within that period, than any compilation which has been or can be made from it; the principles and conduct of this truly great and good man, therein appear in the light which he himself viewed them; while his abilities for the arduous station which he held, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and his fidelity in business, are displayed with that truth and justice in which they ought to appear.

He had five sons living at his decease, all of whom, notwithstanding the reduction of his fortune, acquired and possessed large property, and were persons of eminence. Many of his posterity have borne respectable characters, and filled some of the principal places of trust and usefulness.

JOHN WINTHROP, F. R. S.

GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of Connecticut—His birth and education—His removal to New England—Obtains a Charter Incorporating Connecticut and New Haven—Governor of the colony of Connecticut—Elected Fellow of the Royal Society—His death.

JOHN WINTHROP, eldest son of Governor Winthrop, by his first wife, was born at Groton, in Suffolk, Feb. 12, 1605. His fine genius was much improved by a

chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation [the Scots] which was thought to excel in craft and cunning which he did with a notable pregnancy and dexterity."

* It must be observed, that the Mosaic law was at that time considered as the general standard, and most of the laws of the country were founded on it.

liberal education, in the universities of Cambridge, and Dublin, and by travelling through most of the European kingdoms, as far as Turkey. He came to New England with his father's family, Nov. 4, 1631; and though not above twenty-six years of age, was by the unanimous choice of the freemen, appointed a magistrate of the colony, of which his father was governor. He rendered many services to the country, both at home and abroad, particularly in the year 1634, when returning to England, he was by the stress of weather, forced into Ireland; where meeting with many influential persons at the house of Sir John Clossworthy, he had an opportunity to promote the interest of the colony, by their means.

The next year he came back to New England, with powers from the Lords Say and Brooke, to settle a plantation on Connecticut river. But finding that some worthy persons from Massachusetts had already removed, and others were about removing to make a settlement on that river at Hartford and Wethersfield, he gave them no disturbance; but having made an amicable agreement with them, built a fort at the mouth of the river, and furnished it with artillery and stores which had been sent over, and began a town there, which, from the two Lords who had a principal share in the undertaking, was called Saybrook. This fort kept the Indians in awe and proved a security to the planters on the river.

When they had formed themselves into a body politic they honoured him with an election to the magistracy, and afterward chose him governor of the colony. At the restoration of King Charles II. he undertook a voyage to England, on the behalf of the people both of Connecticut and New Haven; and, by his prudent address, obtained from the king a charter, incorporating both colonies into one, with a grant of privileges, and powers of government, superior to any plantation which had been settled in America. During this negotiation, at a private conference with the king, he presented his majesty with a ring, which King Charles I. had given to his grandfather. This present rendered him very acceptable to the king, and greatly facilitated the business. The people, at his return, expressed their gratitude to him by electing him to the office of governor, for fourteen years together, till his death.

Mr. Winthrop's genius led him to philosophical inquiries, and his opportunities for conversing with learned men abroad, furnished him with a rich variety of knowledge, particularly of the mineral kingdom; and there are some valuable communications of his in the philosophical transactions, which procured him the honor of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had also much skill in the art of physic; and generously distributed many valuable medicines among the people, who constantly applied to him whenever they had need, and were treated with a kindness that did honor to their benefactor.

His many valuable qualities as a gentleman, a christian, a philosopher, and a public ruler, procured him the universal respect of the people under his government; and his unwearied attention to the public business, and great understanding in the art of government, was of unspeakable advantage to them. Being one of the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in the year 1676, in the height of the first general Indian war, as he was attending the service at Boston, he fell sick of a fever, and died on the 5th of April, in the seventy-first year of his age, and was honorably buried in the same tomb with his excellent father.

GEORGE CALVERT, CECILIUS CALVERT,— (LORDS BALTIMORE.) LEONARD CALVERT.

GEORGE CALVERT—His birth and education—In the service of Sir Robert Cecil—He is made Secretary of State—He receives a pension from King James—Becomes a Catholic—Created Baron of Baltimore—He attempts a settlement at Newfoundland—Visits Virginia—Receives a grant of the territory north of the Potomack—His Death—His Character—**CECIL CALVERT**—He receives a Patent of Maryland—Settles the Colony—Appoints his brother, Leonard, Governor—**LEONARD CALVERT**—Conducts settlers to the Colony

GEORGE CALVERT was descended from a noble family of Flanders, and born at Kipling in Yorkshire, (1582.) He received his education at Trinity College, in Oxford, and after taking his Bachelor's degree, (1597) travelled over the continent of Europe. At his return to England, in the beginning of the reign of James I. he was taken into the office of Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State; and when Sir Robert was advanced to the Lord High Treasurer, he retained Cal-

vert in his service, and employed him in several weighty matters of state.

By the interest of Sir Robert, then Earl of Salisbury, he was appointed one of the clerks of the council, and received the honor of knighthood (1617); and in the following year was made Secretary of State, in the room of Sir Thomas Lake. Conceiving the Duke of Buckingham to have been instrumental in his preferment, he presented him with a jewel of great value; but the duke returned it, with a message that he owed his advancement to his own merit and the good pleasure of his sovereign, who was fully sensible of it. His great knowledge of public business, and his diligence and fidelity in conducting it, had rendered him very acceptable to the king, who granted him a pension of 1,000*l.* out of the customs.

In 1624, he conscientiously became a Roman Catholic, and having freely owned his principles to the king, resigned his office. This ingenuous confession so affected the mind of James, that he not only continued him on the list of Privy Counsellors, but created him Baron of Baltimore, in the county of Longford, in Ireland.

Whilst he was Secretary of State and one of the committee of trade and plantations, he obtained from the king, a patent for the south-eastern peninsula of Newfoundland, which he named the Province of Avalon; from Avalonius, a monk, who was supposed to have converted the British King Lucius, and all his court to Christianity; in remembrance of which event, the Abbey of Glastonbury was founded at Avalon, in Somersetshire. Sir George gave his province this name, imagining it would be the first place in North America where the Gospel would be preached.

At Ferryland, in his Province of Avalon, he built a fine house, and spent 25,000*l.* in advancing his plantation, which he visited twice in person. But it was so annoyed by the French, that though he once repulsed and pursued their ships, and took sixty prisoners; yet, he found his province so much exposed to their insults, and the trouble and expense of defending it so very great, that he was obliged to abandon it, and be content with the loss of what he had laid out, in the improvement of a territory, the soil and climate of which were considered as unfavorable to his views.

Being still inclined to form a settlement in America, whither he might retire with his family and friends, of the same religious principles, he made a visit to Virginia, the fertility and advantages of which had been highly celebrated; and in which he had been interested, as one of the adventurers. But the people there, being Protestants of the Church of England, regarded him with a jealous eye, on account of his religion; and by their unwelcome reception of him, he was discouraged from settling within their jurisdiction.

In visiting the Bay of Chesapeake, he observed that the Virginians had established trading houses on some of the islands; but that they had not extended their plantations to the northward of the river Potomack; although the country there was equally valuable with that which they had planted.

When he returned to England, he applied to King Charles I. for the grant of a territory northward of the Potomack; and the king, who had as great an affection for him as had his father James, readily complied with his request. But owing to the tedious forms of public business, before a patent could be completed and pass the seals, Lord Baltimore died at London on the 15th of April, 1632, in the 51st year of his age.

The character of this nobleman is thus drawn. Though he was a Roman Catholic, he kept himself disengaged from all interests, behaving with such moderation and propriety, that all parties were pleased with him, and none complained of him. He was a man of great good sense, not obstinate in his opinions, taking as much pleasure in hearing the sentiments of others as in delivering his own. Whilst he was Secretary of State, he examined all letters, and carried to the king every night an exact and well digested account of affairs. He agreed with Sir John Popham in the design of foreign plantations; but differed in the manner of executing it. Popham was for extirpating the original inhabitants, Calvert was for civilizing and converting them. The former was for present profit; the latter for reasonable expectation, and for employing governors who were not interested merchants, but unconcerned gentlemen; he was for granting liberties with caution, leaving every one to provide for himself by his own industry, and not to depend on a common interest. He left something respecting America in

writing, but it does not appear that it was ever printed.

After the death of Sir George, the patent was again drawn in the name of his eldest son, Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and passed the seals on the 28th of June, 1632. The original draught being in Latin, the patentee is called *Cecilius* and the country "*Terra Maria, alias Maryland*," in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Queen consort of Charles I.*

From the great precision of this charter the powers which it gives to the proprietor, and the privileges and exemptions which it grants to the people, it is evident that Sir George himself was the chief penman of it. One omission was soon discovered; no provision was made, that the laws should be transmitted to the sovereign for his approbation or disallowance. The commissioners of trade and plantations made a representation of this defect to the House of Commons, in 1633, and an act of Parliament was proposed as the only remedy.

The province of Maryland is thus described. All that part of a peninsula in America, lying between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part, by a right line drawn from Watkin's Point, in the aforesaid bay, on the west, to the main ocean on the east. Thence to that part of Delaware Bay on the north, which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England ends. Thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the true meridian of the first fountains of the river Potomack. Thence following the course of said river to its mouth, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake. Thence on a right line, across the bay to Watkin's Point; with all the islands and islets within these limits.

This region was erected into a province; and the proprietor was invested with palatine honors. In conjunction with the freemen or their delegates he had legislative, and, in person, or by officers of his own appointment, he had executive powers. He had also the advowson of churches, the erection of manors, boroughs, cities, and ports; saving the liberty of fishing and drying fish which was declared common to all the king's subjects. The charter provided, that if any doubts should arise concerning the sense of it, such an interpretation should be given as would be most favorable to the interest of the proprietor.

The territory is said to be "in the parts of America not yet cultivated, though inhabited by a barbarous people," and it is provided, that the province "should not be holden or reputed as part of Virginia, or of any other colony, but immediately dependant on the Crown of England." These clauses, together with the construction put on the fortieth degree of latitude, proved the ground of long and bitter controversies, one of which was not closed till after the lapse of a century.

Twelve years before the date of the charter, (1620,) John Porey, sometime secretary of Virginia, who had sailed into the northern part of the Bay of Chesapeake, reported that he found near one hundred English people very happily settled there, and engaged in a fur trade with the natives. In the year before the date of the charter, (1631,) King Charles had granted a license under the privy seal of Scotland, to Sir William Alexander, proprietor of Nova Scotia, and to William Cleyborne, counsellor and secretary of Virginia, to trade in those parts of America, for which there had not been a patent granted to others; and sent an order to the governor of Virginia to permit them freely to trade there. In consequence of which, Sir John Harvey and his council, in the same year, had granted to the said Cleyborne, a permission to sail and traffic to the "adjoining plantations of the Dutch, or to any English plantation on the territory of America." As nothing is said in these instruments of the Swedes, who first planted the shores of the Bay of Delaware, it has been inferred by the advocates of Baltimore, that they had not settled there previous to the charter of Maryland; though the family of Penn insisted on it as a fact, that the occupancy of the Swedes was prior to that period. In consequence of the license given to Cleyborne, he and his associates had made a settlement

* Ogilby says that a blank was left for the name of the territory, which Lord Baltimore intended to have filled with *Crescentia*. But when the king asked him for a name, he complaisantly referred it to his Majesty's pleasure, who proposed the name of the queen, to which his lordship could not but consent.

He also says, that the second Lord Baltimore was christened Cecil, in honor of his father's patron; but was confirmed by the name of *Cecilius*.

on the Isle of Kent, far within the limits of Maryland; and claimed a monopoly of the trade of the Chesapeake. These people, it is said, sent Burgesses to the Legislature of Virginia, and were considered as subject to its jurisdiction, before the establishment of Maryland.

After receiving the charter, Lord Baltimore began to prepare for the collecting and transporting a colony to America. At first, he intended to go in person; but afterward changed his mind, and appointed his brother Leonard Calvert, governor, with two assistants, Jeremy Hawley and Thomas Cornwallis. These, with about two hundred persons, of good families and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, embarked at Cowes at the Isle of Wight, and on the twenty-second of November, 1633, and after a circuitous voyage through the West India islands, touching first at Barbadoes and then at St. Christopher's they came to anchor before Point Comfort in Virginia, on the twenty-fourth of February, 1634; and, on going up to Jamestown, delivered to Governor Harvey, the letters which the king had written in their favor. The governor and his council received them with that civility which was due to the command of their sovereign; but they resolved "to maintain the rights of the prior settlement." They afforded to the new colony supplies of provision for domestic use, but considered them as intruders on their territory, and as obstructing that traffic, from which they had derived and expected to derive much advantage.

On the 3d of March, Calvert with his colony proceeded in the Bay of Chesapeake, to the northward, and entered the Potomack, up which he sailed twelve leagues, and came to anchor under an island, which he named *St. Clement*. Here he fired his canon, erected a cross, and took possession, "in the name of the Saviour of the world and the King of England." Thence he went with his pinnaces fifteen leagues higher to the Indian town of Potomack, on the Virginia side of the river, now called New Marlborough; where he was received in a friendly manner by the guardian regent, the prince of the country being a minor. Thence he sailed twelve leagues farther, to the town of Piscataway, on the Maryland side; where he found *Henry Fleet*, an Englishman, who had resided several years among the natives, and was held by them in great esteem. He procured an interview between Calvert and the Werowance or lord of the place, and officiated as their interpreter. Calvert, determining to pursue a course of conduct founded on pacific and honorable intentions, asked the Werowance, whether he was willing that he and his people should settle in his country. His answer was short and prudent; "I will not bid you to go, nor to stay; but you may use your own discretion." This interview was held on board the governor's pinnace; the natives on shore crowded to the water's edge, to look after their sovereign, and were not satisfied of his safety, till he stood up and showed himself to them.

Having made this discovery of the river, and convinced the natives that his designs were amicable, the governor not thinking it advisable to make his first settlement so high up the river, sailed down to the ships, taking Fleet with him for a guide. The natives, who, when they first saw the ships, and heard the guns, had fled from St. Clement's island and its neighborhood, returned to their habitations, and seemed to repose confidence in their new friends; but this was not deemed a proper station. Under the conduct of Fleet, the governor visited a creek on the northern side of the Potomack, about four leagues from its mouth, where was an Indian village, surrounded by corn-fields, and called *Yocomaco*. Calvert went on shore, and acquainted the prince of the place with his intention, who was rather reserved in his answer, but entertained him in a friendly manner, and gave him a lodging in his own bed.

On the next day, he showed Calvert the country; which pleased him so well, that he determined there to fix his abode; and treated with the prince about purchasing the place. Calvert presented him and his principal men with English cloth, axes, hoes and knives; and they consented that their new friends should reside in one part of their town, and themselves in the

other part, till the next harvest; when they promised to quit the place, and resign it wholly to them. Both parties entered into a contract to live together in a friendly manner; or, if any injury should be done, on either side, the offending party should make satisfaction. Calvert having given them what he deemed a valuable consideration, with which they appeared to be content, they readily quitted a number of their houses and retired to the others; and, it being the season for planting, both parties went to work. Thus on the 27th of March, 1634, the English colony took peaceable possession of the country of Maryland; and gave to the town the name of St. Mary, and to the creek on which it was situate, the name of St. George.

The desire of quieting the natives, by giving them a reasonable and satisfactory compensation for their lands is a trait in the character of the first planters, which will always do honor to their memory.

It was a fortunate circumstance for these adventurers, that, previous to their arrival, the Indians of Yocomaco, had resolved to quit their country, and retire to the westward, that they might be free from the incursions of the Susquehannocks, a powerful and warlike nation, residing between the Bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, who frequently invaded them, and carried off their provisions and women. Some had actually removed, and others were preparing to follow, but were encouraged to remain another season, by the presence of the English. They lived on friendly terms with the colony; the men assisted them in hunting and fishing; the women taught them to manage the planting and culture of corn, and making it into bread; and they were compensated for their labor and kindness in such tools and trinkets as were pleasing to them. According to their promise, they quitted the place wholly, in the following year, and the colony had full and quiet possession.

At his first settlement in this place, Calvert erected a house, and mounted a guard for the security of his people and stores. He was, soon after, visited by Sir John Harvey and by several of the Indian princes. At an entertainment on board one of the ships, the Werowance of Patuxent was seated between the Governor of Virginia and the governor of Maryland. One of his own subjects coming on board and seeing his sovereign in that situation, started with surprise, thinking him a prisoner, as he had been once before, to the Virginians. The prince rose from the table and satisfied the Indian that he was safe, which prevented his affectionate subject from leaping into the water, as he had attempted. This Werowance was so much pleased with the conduct of Calvert and his people, that after many other compliments he said to them, at parting, "I love the English so well, that if I knew they would kill me, I would command my people not to revenge my death; because I am sure they would not kill me, but through my own fault."

The colony had brought with them English meal; but they found Indian corn in great plenty, both at Barbadoes and Virginia; and by the next spring, they were able to export one thousand bushels to New England and Newfoundland; for which they received dried fish and other provisions in return. They procured cattle, swine and poultry from Virginia. They were very industrious in building houses and rooking gardens; in which they sowed the seeds of European esculent vegetables; and had the pleasure of seeing them come to high perfection. They suffered much in their health by the fever and ague, and many of them died; but when the survivors were seasoned to the climate, and had learned the use of indigenous medicinal remedies, they enjoyed their health much better. The country had so many natural advantages, that it soon became populous. Many Roman Catholic families from England resorted thither, and the proprietor with a degree of wisdom and generosity, then unparalleled but in Holland, after having established the Christian religion upon the footing of common law, granted liberty of conscience and equal privileges to Christians of every denomination. With this essential benefit, was connected security of property; lands were given in lots of fifty acres, to every emigrant, in absolute fee simple. Under such advantages the people thought themselves so happy, that in an early period of their colonial existence, they in return granted to the proprietor a subsidy of fifteen pounds of tobacco, on every poll, "as a testimony of their gratitude for his great charge and solicitude, in maintaining the government, in protecting the inhabitants in their rights, and for reimbursing his vast expense," which during the two first years exceeded forty thousand pounds sterling.

WILLIAM PENN.

WILLIAM PENN.—His Birth and Education.—He travels to France.—Goes to Ireland.—Attaches himself to the Quakers.—His arrest and discharge.—Incarcerated by his father.—He comes an itinerant preacher.—Imprisoned in the tower.—His second journey to Ireland.—His father reconciled to him.—His imprisonment in Newgate.—He pleads for the Quakers before Parliament.—Receives a Charter of Pennsylvania.—His terms of settlement.—Sends a letter to the Indians.—Embarks with a number of Quakers for America.—Arrives at Newcastle.—Goes to Chester.—Names his settlement Philadelphia.—Specimen of his style of preaching.—His departure for England.—He publishes a book on the liberty of conscience.—Suspected of being an enemy to King William.—He is involved in debt.—His prudent measures.—Signs a new charter.—Returns to England.—His embarrassments.—His death.

THE FOUNDER of Pennsylvania was the grandson of Captain Giles Penn, an English Consul in the Mediterranean, and the son of Sir William Penn, an Admiral of the English navy, in the protectorate of Cromwell, and in the reign of Charles II. in which office he rendered very important services to the nation, particularly by the conquest of Jamaica from the Spaniards, and in a naval victory over the Dutch. William was born October 14, 1644, in the parish of St. Catharine, near the tower of London, educated at Chigwell, in Essex, and at a private school in London; and in the fifteenth year of his age entered as a student and gentleman commoner of Christ Church in Oxford.

His genius was bright, his disposition sober and studious, and being possessed of a lively imagination and a warm heart, the first turn of his mind towards religious subjects, was attended with circumstances bordering on enthusiasm. Having received his first impressions from the preaching of Thomas Lee, an itinerant Quaker, he conceived a favorable opinion of the flights and refinements of that rising sect, which led him, while, at the university, in conjunction with some other students, to withdraw from the established worship, and hold a private meeting, where they preached and prayed their own way. The discipline of the university being very strict in such matters, he was fined for the *non-conformity*; this served to fix him more firmly in his principles and habits, and exposed his singularity more openly to the world. His conduct being then deemed obstinate, he was, in the sixteenth year of his age, expelled as an incorrigible offender against the laws of uniformity.

On his return home, he found his father highly incensed against him. As neither remonstrances, nor threatenings, nor blows could divest him of his religious attachments, he was, for a while, turned out of the house; but by the influence of his mother he was so far restored to favor as to be sent to France, in company with some persons of quality, with a view to unbend his mind, and refine his manners. Here he learnt the language of the country, and acquired such a polite and courtly behaviour, that his father, after two years absence, received him with joy, hoping that the object of his wishes was attained. He was then admitted into Lincoln's Inn, where he studied law till the plague broke out in 1665, when he returned to his father's house.

About this time (1666) the king's coffers being low, and claims for unrewarded services being importunate, grants were frequently made of lands in Ireland; and the merits of Sir William Penn being not the least conspicuous, he received a valuable estate in the county of Cork, and committed the management of it to his son, then in the twenty-second year of his age. Here he met with his old friend Lee, and immediately attached himself to the society of Quakers, though at that time they were subject to severe persecution. This might have operated as a discouragement to a young gentleman of such quality and expectations, especially as he exposed himself thereby to the renewed displeasure of a parent who loved him, had not the integrity and fervor of his mind induced him to sacrifice all worldly considerations to the dictates of his conscience.

It was not long before he was apprehended at a religious "conventicle," and with eighteen others, committed to prison by the mayor of Cork; but upon his writing a handsome address to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, in which he very sensibly pleaded for liberty of conscience, and professed his desire of a peaceable, and his abhorrence of a tumultuous and disrespectful separation from the established worship, he was discharged. This second stroke of persecution engaged him more closely to the Quakers. He associated openly with them, and bore, with calmness and patience, the cruel abuse which was liberally bestowed on that singular party.

His father being informed of his conduct, remanded

* The names of the principal men in the colony were, George Calvert, brother to the proprietor and governor.

Richard Gerard,
Edward Winter,
Frederick Winter,
Henry Wanman,
John Sanders,
John Baxter,
Edward Crisfield,

Henry Green,
Nicholas Farfax,
Thomas Darrell,
John Meale,
William Sayre,
John Hill,

him home, and though now William's age forbade his trying the force of that species of discipline, to which as a naval commander, he had been accustomed, yet he piled him with those arguments, which it was natural for a man of the world to use, and which, to such an one, would have been prevailing. The prince alone was a threatening to dishonour him, and to this he humbly submitted, though he could by no means be persuaded to take off his hat in presence of the king, the Duke of York, or his father. For this inflexibility he was again turned out a door, upon which he commenced an itinerant preacher, and had much success in making proselytes. In these excursions, the opposition which he met with from the clergy and the magistracy frequently brought him into difficulties, and sometimes to imprisonment, but his integrity was so manifest, and his patience so invincible, that his father, at length, became softened toward him, and not only exerted his interest to release him from confinement, but visited at his return to the family when ever it suited his convenience. His mother was always his friend, and often supplied his necessities without the knowledge of the father.

In the year 664, he commenced author, and having written a book, entitled "The sandy Foundation Shaken," which gave great offence to the spiritual lords, he was imprisoned in the tower, and the visits of his friends were forbidden. But his governors found him proof against their efforts to subvert him, for a message being brought to him by the Bishop of London, that he must either publicly recant, or lie a prisoner, he answered, "My prison shall be my grave, I owe no consequence to no man. They are mistaken in me, I value not their threats. They shall know that I can resist on their malice, and baffle all their designs if he omit of patience." During this confinement he wrote his famous book, "No Cross, no Crown," and another, "Innocency with her open face," in which he explained and vindicated the principles which he had advanced in the book for which he was imprisoned. Thus, with a letter which he wrote to Lord Arlington, secretary of State, added by the interest which his father had at court, procured his release, after seven months' confinement.

Soon after this, he made another visit to Ireland to settle his father's concerns, in which he exerted himself with great industry and success. Here he constantly appeared at the meetings of the Quakers, and in one occasion as a preacher, but used his interest with his old opponent, and others of his nobility, to procure indulgence for them, and get some of them released from their imprisonment.

In 670, in act of Parliament was made, which prohibited the meetings of dissenters, under severe penalties. The Quakers being forcibly interrupted entering their meeting house in Grace Church street, London, assembled before it in the street, where Penn preached to a numerous concourse, and being apprehended in the spot, he was carried from the Lord Mayor, was committed to Newgate, and at the next session took his seat at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded his own cause with the resolution of an Episcopalian and the magnanimity of a hero. The jury at first brought in their verdict, "guilty of speaking in Grace Church street," but his being unsatisfactory to the court, they were beatified all night, and the next day returned their verdict, "not guilty." The court were highly incensed against them, fined them forty marks each, and apprehended them along with Penn, till their fines and fees were paid. An amicable expression which dropped from the recorder on this trial, rendered the cause of the Quakers popular, and their persecutors odious. "I will never be vexed with us," said the intemperate Sir John Howell, "till something like the Spanish Inquisition is established in England." The triumph of Penn was complete, being acquitted by his peers, he was released from prison, on the payment of his fees, and returned to the zealous exercise of his ministry.

His conduct under this prosecution did him great honor. His father became perfectly reconciled to him, and soon after died,* leaving his parental blessing and a plentiful estate. This accession of fortune made no alteration in his manners or habits. He continued to preach, to write, and to travel as before, and, within

a few months afterwards, was taken up again for preaching in the street, and carried to the tower, from whence, after a long examination, he was sent to Newgate, and being discharged without any trial, at the end of nine months, he went over to Holland and Germany, where he continued travelling and preaching, till he king published his declaration of indulgence to tender consciences, upon which he returned to England, married a daughter of Sir William Springet, and settled at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, where he pursued his studies, and multiplied his controversial writings for about five years.

In 677, he had a drawing to renew his travels in Holland and Germany, in company with Fox, Barclay, Keble, and several others of his brethren. The inducement to this journey was the candid reception which had been given to dissenters, and other learned men in Germany, to the sentiments of every well meaning preacher who dissented from the Church of Rome. In the course of these travels they settled the order of church government, discipline, correspondence and marriage* among their friends in Holland, dispersed their books among all sorts of people who were inclined to receive them, visited many persons of distinction, and wrote letters to others, particularly to the King of Poland and the Elector of Prussia. They were received very courteously by the Princess Elizabeth, grand daughter of King James I. then resident at Herwerden, who, though not perfectly initiated into the mystery of "the holy silence," yet had been brought to a "wanting frame," and admitted them to several private meetings and conferences in her apartments, in company with the Countess of Hornes, and other ladies, her attendants, and afterwards kept up a correspondence with Mr. Penn till her death.

On his return to England, he found his friends suffering by the operation of a law made against Papists, the edge of which was unjustly turned against them. The law required a certain oath to be tendered to those who were suspected of popery, and because the Quakers denied the truthfulness of oaths in any case whatever, they were obliged to bear the penalty annexed to the refusal of this oath, which was not less than a fine of twenty pounds per month, or two thirds of their estate. By Penn's advice they petitioned the Parliament for relief, on this grievance, and after explaining the reason of their declining the oath, offered to give their *oath* to the same purport, and to submit to the penalty, "if they should be found faulty." Penn had a hearing before a committee of Parliament, when he pleaded the cause of his friends and of himself, in a sensible, fluent, convincing manner, and what he said had so much weight, that the committee agreed to insert in a bill, then pending a proviso for their relief. The bill passed the Commons, but before it could be got through the House of Lords, it was lost by a sudden prorogation of Parliament.

We have hitherto viewed Mr. Penn as a Christian and a preacher, and he appears to have been honest, zealous, patient and industrious in the concerns of religion. His abilities and his literary acquirements were eminently serviceable to the fraternity with which he was connected, and it was owing to his exertions, in conjunction with Barclay and Keble, that they were formed into order, and that a regular correspondence and discipline were established among the several societies of them dispersed in Europe and America. His writings served to give the world a more just and favorable view of their principles, than could be had from the harangue of a literary preacher, or the disquisitions of a metaphysical writer, while his family and fortune procured for them a degree of respectability at home and abroad. His controversial writings are modest, candid and persuasive. His book, entitled "The Christian Quaker," is a sensible vindication of the doctrine of Universal Saving Faith. His style is clear and perspicuous, and though he does not affect so much scholastic subtilty in his argumentation as his friend Bar-

clay, yet he is by no means inferior to him in solidity of reasoning. His character is thus drawn by the editor of his works: "Our worthy friend, William Penn, was known to be a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition, of quick thought and ready utterance, full of love, without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge; so ready to forgive enemies, that the ungrateful were not excepted. He was earnest without vanity, apt without forwardness, facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious, of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition."

We shall now view him in the character of a legislator, in which respect his earnings, his sufferings, his acquaintance with mankind, and his genuine liberality, were of great use to him. Among his various studies, he had not omitted to acquaint himself with the principles of law and government, and he had more special inducements to this, from the prosecutions and arrests which he frequently suffered, into the legality of which it was natural for him to inquire. He had observed in his travels abroad, as well as in his acquaintance at home, the workings of arbitrary power, and the machinations of usurpation, and he had studied the whole controversy between regal and popular claims, the result of which was, that government must be founded in justice, and exercised with moderation. One of his maxims was, that "the people being the *cris* point of the prince, is a power managed by wisdom than ruled by force." His own feelings, as well as reflections, led him to adopt the most liberal idea of toleration. Freedom of profession and inquiry, and a total abhorrence of persecution for conscience sake, were his darling principles, and it was a singular circumstance in the history of mankind, that Divine Providence should give to such a man as William Penn an opportunity to make a fair and consistent experiment of these excellent maxims, by establishing a colony in America, on the most liberal principles of toleration, at a time, when the policy of the oldest nations in Europe were ineffectually employed in endeavouring to reduce the active minds of men to a most absurd uniformity in articles of faith and modes of worship.

It has been observed that his father, Sir William Penn had merited much by his services in the English navy. There were also certain debts due to him from the crown, at the time of his death, which the royal treasures were poorly able to discharge. His son, after much solicitation, found no prospect of getting his due, in the common mode of payment, and therefore turned his thoughts toward obtaining a grant of land in America, in which he might make the experiment of settling a colony and establishing a government suited to his own principles and views.

Mr. Penn had been concerned with several other Quakers in purchasing of Lord Berkeley, his patent of West Jersey to make a settlement for their persecuted brethren in England, many of whom transported themselves farther, in hopes of an exemption from the troubles which they had endured, from the execution of the penal laws against dissenters. But they found themselves subject to the arbitrary impositions of Sir Edmund Andros, who governed the Duke of York's territory, and expressed the mediation over all the settlements on both sides the Delaware. Penn and his associates remonstrated against his conduct, but their efforts proved ineffectual. However, the concern which Penn had in this purchase gave him not only a taste for speculating in landed interest, but a knowledge of the middle region of the American coasts, and being desirous of acquiring a separate estate, where he might realize his sanguine wishes, he had great advantage in making inquiry and determining on a place.

Having examined all the former grants to the companies of Virginia and New England, the Lord Baltimore, and the Duke of York, he fixed upon a territory bounded on the east by the bay and river of Delaware, extending southward to Lord Baltimore's province of Maryland, westward as far as the western extent of Maryland, and northward as far as plantable. For this he petitioned the king, and being examined before the Privy Council on the 14th of June, concerning those words of his petition "as far as plantable," he declared, "that he should be satisfied with the extent of three degrees of latitude, and that in lieu of such a grant, he was willing to remit his debt from the crown, or some part of it, and to stay for the remainder, till his Majesty should be in a better condition to satisfy it."

Notice of this application was given to the agents of the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, and inquiry was made, how far the pretensions of Penn might consist

* The same review of his father to him deserves to be mentioned. "I have things I commend to you, I let nothing tempt you to wrong your conscience, if you keep peace at home, I will be a rest to you in a day of trouble. 1. Whenever you return to us, let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 2. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 3. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 4. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 5. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 6. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 7. Let it be with a heart of thanksgiving, for God gives us a day of trouble, and a day of thanksgiving. 8. 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with the grants already made to them. The peninsula between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware had been planted by detached companies of Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. It was first by force, and afterwards by treaty, brought under the dominion of the Crown of England. That part of it which bordered on the Delaware was within the Duke of York's patent, while that which joined on the Chesapeake was within the grant to Lord Baltimore.

The Duke's agent consented that Penn should have the land west of Delaware and north of Newcastle, "in consideration of the reason he had to expect favor from his majesty." Lord Baltimore's agent petitioned that Penn's grant might be expressed to lie north of Susquehanna fort, and of a line drawn east and west from it, and that he might not be allowed to sell arms and ammunition to the Indians. To these restrictions Penn had no objection.

The draught of a charter being prepared, it was submitted to lord chief justice North, who was ordered to provide by fit clauses for the interest of the king and the encouragement of the planters. While it was under consideration, the Bishop of London petitioned that Penn might be obliged by his patent to admit a chaplain of his lordship's appointment, at the request of any number of the planters. The giving a name to the province was left to the king.

The charter, consisting of twenty-three sections, "penned with all the appearance of candor and simplicity," was signed and sealed by King Charles II., on the 4th of March, 1681. It constitutes William Penn, and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance and the severignty. It gives him, his heirs and their deputies, power to make laws "for the good and happy government of the country," by advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice for the execution of those laws, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of England. For the encouragement of planters, they were to enjoy the privileges of English subjects, paying the same duties in trade; and no taxes were to be levied on them, but by their own Assemblies or by acts of Parliament. With respect to religion, no more is said than what the Bishop of London had suggested, that if twenty inhabitants should desire a preacher of his lordship's approbation, he should be allowed to reside in the province. This was perfectly agreeable to Mr. Penn's professed principles of liberty of conscience; but it may seem rather extraordinary that this distinguished leader of a sect, who so pointedly denied the lawfulness of war, should accept the powers given him in the sixteenth article of the charter, "to levy, muster, and train all sorts of men; to pursue and vanquish enemies; to take and put them to death by the laws of war; and to do every thing which belonged to the office of captain-general in an army." Mr. Penn, for reasons of state, might find it convenient that he and his heirs should be thus invested with the power of the sword, though it was impossible for him or them to exercise it, without first apostatizing from their religious profession.

The charter being thus obtained, he found himself authorized to agree with such persons as were disposed to be adventurers to his new province. By a public advertisement, he invited purchasers, and described the country with a display of the advantages which might be expected from a settlement in it. This induced many single persons, and some families, chiefly of the denomination of Quakers, to think of a removal. A number of merchants and others formed themselves into a company, for the sake of encouraging the settlement and trade of the country, and purchased twenty thousand acres of his land. They had a president, treasurer, secretary, and a committee of twelve, who resided in England and transacted their common business. Their objects were to encourage the manufacturers of leather and glass, the cutting and sawing of timber, and the whale-fishery.

The land was sold at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. They who rented lands were to pay one penny yearly per acre. Servants, when their terms were expired, were entitled to fifty acres, subject to two shillings per annum; and their masters were allowed fifty acres for each servant so liberated, but subject to four shillings per annum; or if the master should give the servant fifty acres out of his own division, he might receive from the proprietor one hundred acres, subject to six shillings per annum. In every hundred thousand acres, the proprietor reserved ten for himself.

The quit rents were not agreed to without difficulty. The purchasers remonstrated against them as a burden,

unprecedented in any other American colony. But Penn distinguished between the character of proprietor and governor, urging the necessity of supporting government with dignity, and that by complying with this expedient, they would be freed from other taxes. Such distinctions are very convenient to a politician, and by this insinuation the point was carried: upon which it was remarked, (perhaps too severely,) that less of the man of God now appeared, and more of the man of the world."

According to the powers given by the charter, "for regulating and governing property within the province," he entered into certain articles with the purchasers and adventurers (July 11, 1681) which were entitled "Conditions and Concessions." These related to the laying out roads, city and country lots; the privilege of water courses; the property of mines and minerals; the reservation of timber and mulberry-trees; the terms of improvement and cultivation; the traffic with the Indians, and the means of preserving peace with them; of preventing debtors, and other defaulters from making their escape; and of preserving the morals of the planters, by the execution of the penal laws of England, till an Assembly should meet.

These preliminaries being adjusted, the first colony under his authority, came over to America, and began their settlement above the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware. By them the proprietor sent a letter to the Indians, informing them that "the GREAT God had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world; and that the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but that he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; that he was a man of peace, and that the people whom he sent were of the same disposition; but if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides." With this letter, he appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians, about purchasing land, and promised them that he would shortly come and converse with them in person.

About this time (Nov. 1681) he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The next spring he completed a frame of government (April 25, 1682) with the express design "to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power." It is prefaced with a long discourse on the nature, origin, use and abuse of government; which shows that he had not only well studied the subject, but that he was fond of displaying his knowledge.

By this frame of government, there was to be a Provincial Council, consisting of seventy-two persons, answering to the number of elders in the Jewish sanhedrim, who were to be divided into three classes: twenty-four to serve for three years, twenty-four for two years, and twenty-four for one year; the vacancies thus made to be supplied by new elections; and after seven years, every one of those who went off yearly, were to be incapable of re-election for one year following. This rotation was intended "that all might be fitted for government, and have experience of the care and burthen of it." Of this council two-thirds were to be a quorum, and the consent of two-thirds of this quorum was to be had in all matters of moment; but in matters of lesser moment one-third might be a quorum, the majority of whom might determine. The distinction between matters of moment and of lesser moment was not defined; nor was it declared who was to be judge of the distinction. The governor was not to have a negative but a treble voice. The council were to prepare and propose bills to the General Assembly, which were to be published thirty days before its meeting. When met, the Assembly might deliberate eight days, but on the ninth were to give their assent or dissent to the proposed bills; two-thirds of them to be a quorum. With respect to the number of the Assembly, it was provided, that the first year all the freemen in person might compose it; afterward a delegation of two hundred, which might be increased to five hundred." The governor, with the council to be the supreme executive, with a parental and prudential authority, and to be divided into four departments of eighteen each; one of which was called a committee of plantations, another of justice and safety, another of trade and revenue, and another of manners, education and arts.

To this frame of government was subjoined a body of fundamental laws, agreed upon by Penn and the adventurers in London, which respected moral, political, and economical matters; which were not to be altered but by the consent of the governor, or his heirs, and six

parts in the seven of the freemen, met in Provincial Council and Assembly. In this code we find that celebrated declaration which has contributed more than any thing else to the prosperity of Pennsylvania, viz. "That all persons living in the province, who confess and acknowledge the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world; and hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no ways be molested for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever." To which was added another equally conducive to the welfare of society. "That according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and the case of the creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common daily labor, that they may the better dispose themselves to worship God, according to their understandings."

These laws were an original compact between the governor and the freemen of the colony. They appear to be founded in wisdom and equity, and some of them have been copied into the declarations of rights prefixed to several of the present republican constitutions in America. The system of government which Penn produced has been regarded as an Utopian project; but though in some parts visionary and impracticable, yet it was liberal and popular, calculated to gain adventurers with a prospect of republican advantages. Some of its provisions, particularly the rotation of the council, have been adopted by a very enlightened body of American legislators, after the expiration of a century. The experiment is now in operation, and without experiment nothing can be fairly decided in the political, any more than in the physical world.

Having by the help of Sir William Jenes, and other gentlemen of the long robe constructed a plan of government for his colony, Mr. Penn prepared to make the voyage to America, that he might attempt the execution of it.

A part of the lands comprehended within his grant had been subject to the government, which was exercised by the deputy of the Duke of York. To prevent any difficulty, he thought it convenient to obtain from the Duke a deed of sale of the Province of Pennsylvania, which he did on the 21st of August, 1682; and by two subsequent deeds, in the same month, the Duke conveyed to him the town of Newcastle, situate on the western side of the Delaware with a circle of 12 miles radius from the centre of the town, and from thence extending southerly to the Hoar Kills, at Cape Henlopen, the western point of the entrance of Delaware Bay; which tract contained the settlements made by the Dutch, Swedes, and Finns. This was called the territory, in distinction from the province of Pennsylvania, and was divided into three counties, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex.

At this time the penal laws against dissenters were executed with rigor in England, which made many of the Quakers desirous of accompanying or following Penn into America, where they had a prospect of the most extensive liberty of conscience. Having chosen some for his particular companions, he embarked with them in August 1682, and from the Downs, where the ship lay waiting for a wind, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friends, which he called "a farewell to England." After a pleasant passage of six weeks, they came within sight of the American coast, and were refreshed by the land breezes, at the distance of twelve leagues. As the ship sailed up the Delaware, the inhabitants came on board, and saluted the new governor with an air of joy and satisfaction. He landed at Newcastle, and summoned the people to meet him, when possession of the soil was given him in the legal form of that day; and he entertained them with a speech, explaining the purpose of his coming, and the views of his government: assuring them of his intention to preserve civil and religious liberty, and exhorting them to peace and sobriety. Having renewed the commissions of their former magistrates, he went to Chester, where he repeated the same things, and received their congratulations. The Swedes appointed a delegate to compliment him on his arrival, and to assure him of their affection and fidelity.

At this time the number of inhabitants was about three thousand. The first planters were the Dutch, and after them the Swedes and Finns. There had been formerly disputes among them, but for above twenty years they had been in a state of peace. The Dutch were settled on the bay, and applied themselves chiefly to trade; at Newcastle they had a court-house

and a place of worship. The Swedes and Finns lived higher up the river, and followed husbandry. Their settlements were Christina, Tenecum, and Wicoco; at each of which they had a church. They were a plain, robust, sober and industrious people, and most of them had large families. The colony which Penn had sent the year before, began their settlement above Wicoco, and it was by special direction of the proprietor, called PHILADELPHIA. The province was divided into three counties, Chester, Buckingham, and Philadelphia.

Three principal objects engaged the attention of Mr. Penn: one was to unite the territory with the province; another was to enter into a treaty with the Indians; and the third was to lay out a capital city.

The first was entered upon immediately. Within a month after his arrival, he called a General Assembly at Chester, when the constitution, which had been formed in England, was to undergo an experiment.

The freemen both of the province and territory were summoned to compose this Assembly in person. Instead of which, they elected twelve members in each county, amounting in all to seventy-two, the precise number, which by the frame of government was to compose one house only. The elections were accompanied by petitions to the governor, importing that the fewness of the people, their inability in estate, and unskillfulness in government, would not permit them to serve in so large a council and assembly, and therefore it was their desire that the twelve now returned from each county, might serve both for Provincial Council and General Assembly, with the same powers and privileges which by the charter were granted to the whole."

The members were accordingly distributed into two houses; three out of each county made a council, consisting of eighteen, and the remaining part formed an assembly of fifty-four. In this assembly was passed "the act of settlement," in which the frame of government made in England, being styled a *probationary act*, was so far changed, as that three persons of each county might compose the council, and fix the assembly. After several other "variations, explanations and additions, requested by the Assembly, and yielded to by the governor, the aforesaid charter, and frame of government was "recognised and accepted, as if with these alterations it was supposed to be complete." The Assembly is styled "the General Assembly of the province of Pennsylvania and the territories thereunto belonging."

Thus the lower counties, at this time, manifested their willingness to be united with the province of Pennsylvania; but the proprietor had not received from the crown, any right of jurisdiction over that territory, though the Duke had sold him the right of soil; and it was not in the power of the people, as subjects of the King of England, to put themselves under any form of government, without the royal authority. The want of this, with the operation of other causes, produced difficulties, which afterward rendered this union void; and the three lower counties had a separate Assembly, though under the same governor.

Mr. Penn's next object was to treat with the natives. The benevolence of his disposition led him to exercise great tenderness toward them, which was much increased by an opinion which he had formed, and which he openly avowed, that they were descendants of the ten dispersed tribes of Israel. He travelled into the country, visited them in their cabins, was present at their feasts, conversed with them in a free and familiar manner, and gained their affection by his obliging carriage, and his frequent acts of generosity. But on public occasions, he received them with ceremony, and transacted business with solemnity and order.

In one of his excursions in the winter, he found a chief warrior sick, and his wife preparing to sweat him, in the usual manner, by pouring water on a heap of hot stones, in a closely covered hut, and then plunging him into the river, through a hole cut in the ice. To divert himself during the sweating operation, the chief sang the achievements of his ancestors, then his own, and concluded his song with this reflection: "Why are we sick, and these strangers well? It seems as if they were sent to inherit the land in our stead! Ah! it is because they love the Great Spirit, and we do not!" The sentiment was rational, and such as often occurred to the sagacious among the natives; We cannot suppose it was disagreeable to Mr. Penn, whose view was to impress them with an idea of his honest and pacific intentions, and to make a fair bargain with them.

Some of their Chiefs made him a voluntary present of the land which they claimed; others sold it at a stipulated price. The form of one of these treaties is thus described, in a letter which he wrote to his friends in England. "The king sat in the middle of a half moon, and had his council, old and wise, on each hand. Behind, at a little distance, sat the young ones, in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved the business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, took me by the hand, saluted me in the name of the king, told me he was ordered by the king to speak to me, and that now it was not he that spoke but the king, because what he should say was the king's mind. [Having made an apology for their delay,] he fell to the bounds of the land they had to dispose of, and the price, which is now dear, that which would once have bought twenty miles, not now buying two. During the time this person was speaking, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love, as long as the sun gave light. Which done, another made speech to the Indians in the name of all the sachems, first to tell them what was done, next to charge them to love the christians, to live in peace with me and my people, and that they should never do me or my people any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen, in their way. The pay or presents I made them, were not hoarded by the particular owners, but the neighboring kings and clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king, then, by the hands of a person, for that work appointed, was a proportion sent, sorted and folded, with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivided it in like manner among his dependants, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects."

Mr. Penn was so happy as to succeed in his endeavors to gain the good will of the Indians. They have frequently, in subsequent treaties many years after, expressed great veneration for his memory; and to perpetuate it, they have given to the successive governors of Pennsylvania the name of *Onas*, which signifies a *Pen*. By this name they are commonly known and addressed in the speeches made by the Six Nations in all their treaties.

One part of his agreement with the Indians was, that they should sell no lands to any person but to him self or his agents; another was, that his agents should not occupy nor grant any lands, but those which were fairly purchased of the Indians. These stipulations were confirmed by subsequent acts of Assembly; and every bargain made between private persons and the Indians without leave of the proprietor, was declared void. The charter which Mr. Penn had obtained of the crown, comprehended a far greater extent of territory, than it was proper for him at first to purchase of the natives.

He did not think it for his interest to take any more at once than he had a prospect of granting away to settlers. But his colony increased beyond his expectation, and when new tracts were wanted, the Indians rose in their demands. His first purchases were made at his own expense; and the goods delivered on these occasions, went by the name of presents. In a course of time when a treaty and a purchase went on together, the governor and his successors made the speeches, and the Assembly were at the expense of the presents. When one paid the cost, and the other enjoyed the profit, a subject of altercation arose between the proprietary and the popular interests, which other causes contributed to increase and inflame.

The purchases which Mr. Penn made of the Indians were undoubtedly fair and honest; and he is entitled to praise for his wise and peaceable conduct toward them. But there is such a thing as over-rating true merit. He has been celebrated by a late author, as having in these purchases "set an example of moderation and justice in America, which was never thought of before by the Europeans." It had been a common thing in New-England, for fifty years before his time, to make fair and regular purchases of land from the Indians; and many of their deeds are preserved in the public records. As early as 1633, a law was enacted in the colony of Massachusetts, that "no person shall put any of the Indians from their planting grounds, or fishing places; and that upon complaint and proof thereof, they shall have relief in any of the courts of justice, as the English have." To prevent frauds in private bargains, it was ordered by the same act, that

"no person shall buy land of any Indian, without license first had and obtained of the General Court."—Other regulations respecting traffic with them were made at the same time, which bear the appearance, not only of justice and moderation, but of a parental regard to their interest and property.

Nor is it to be supposed that other Europeans neglected their duty in these respects. Several purchases were made before Penn's time in New-Jersey. Mr. Penn himself, in one of his letters, speaking of the quarrels between the Dutch and the Swedes, who had occupied the lands on the Delaware before him, says, "the Dutch, who were the first planters, looked on them [the Swedes] as intruders on their purchase and possession." Of whom could the Dutch have purchased those lands, but of the natives? They could not have occupied them without the consent of the Indians, who were very numerous, and could easily have extirpated them, or prevented their settlement. It is probable that this Dutch purchase is referred to in that part of Penn's letter before quoted, where he speaks of the land at that time, (1683) as *dearer* than formerly, for how could this have been ascertained but by comparing his with former purchases?

It may then be proper to consider Mr. Penn as having followed the "examples of justice and moderation," which had been set by former Europeans, in their conduct toward the natives of America: and as having united his example with theirs, for the imitation of succeeding adventurers. This will give us the true idea of his merit, without detracting from the respect due to those who preceded him in the arduous work of colonizing America.

Mr. Penn easily foresaw that the situation of his province, and the liberal encouragement which he had given to settlers, would draw people of all denominations thither, and render it a place of commerce; he therefore determined to lay the plan of a capital city, which in conformity to his catholic and pacific ideas, he called *Philadelphia*. The site of it was a neck of land between the river Delaware on the east and the Schuylkill, *Hiding Creek*, a branch on the west; and he designed that the city should extend from one to the other, the distance being two miles. This spot was chosen on account of the firm soil, the gentle rising from each river towards the midst, the numerous springs, the convenience of coves capable of being used as docks, the depth of water for ships of burthen, and the good anchorage. The ground was surveyed, and a plan of the intended city was drawn by Thomas Holme, surveyor-general. Ten streets, of two miles in length, were laid out from river to river, and twenty streets of one mile in length, crossing them at right angles. Four squares were reserved for common purposes, one in each quarter of the city, and in the centre, on the most elevated spot, was a larger square of ten acres, in which were to be built a state-house, a market-house, a school-house and a place of worship. On the side of each river it was intended to build wharves and ware-houses, and from each front street nearest to the rivers, an open space was to be left, in the descent to the shores, which would have added much to the beauty of the city. All owners of one thousand acres were entitled to a city lot, in the front streets, or in the central high street, and before each house was to be an open court, planted with rows of trees. Smaller purchasers were to be accommodated in the other streets; and care was taken in all, that no building should encroach on the street lines. This last regulation has been always attended to, though in some other respects the plan has been either disregarded or not completed.

The city was begun in 1682, and within less than a year, "eighty houses and cottages were built, wherein merchants and mechanics exercised their respective occupations;" and they soon found the country around them so well cultivated by the planters, as to afford them bread and vegetables, while the venison, fowl and fish, made an agreeable variety with the salted provisions which they imported. Penn himself writes, with an air of cheerfulness, that he was well contented with the country, and the entertainment which he found in it. This letter is among his printed works, and in the same collection we find an affectionate address to the people of Pennsylvania; in it he appears to have a tender concern for their moral and religious improvement, and warns them against the temptations to which they were exposed. Their circumstances were indeed peculiar; they had suffered contempt and persecution in England, and were now at rest; in the enjoyment of liberty, under a popular form of government; the eyes of the world were upon them; their former enemies were watching their conduct, and would have

been glad of an opportunity to reproach them; it was therefore his desire that they should be moderate in prosperity, as they had been patient in adversity. The concluding words of this address may give us a specimen of his style and manner of preaching. "My friends, remember that the Lord hath brought you upon the stage; he hath now tried you with liberty, yea, and with power; he hath put precious opportunities into your hands; have a care of a perverse spirit, and do not provoke the Lord by doing those things by which the inhabitants of the land that were before you, grieved his spirit;* but sanctify God, the living God in your hearts, that his blessing may fall and rest as the dew of Heaven on you and your offspring. Then shall it be seen to the nations, that there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel; but your tents shall be goodly and your dwellings glorious."

In the spring of 1683, a second Assembly was held in the new city of Philadelphia, and a great number of laws were passed. Among other good regulations, it was enacted, that to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, called peace-makers, should be chosen by every county court, to hear and determine small differences between man and man. This Assembly granted to the governor an impost on certain goods exported and imported, which he, after acknowledging their goodness, was pleased for the encouragement of the traders, "freely to remit." But the most distinguished act of this Assembly, was their acceptance of another frame of government which the proprietor had devised, which was "in part conformed to the first, in part modified according to the act of settlement, and in part essentially different from both." The most material alterations were the reducing the number of the Assembly from seventy-two to fifty-four, and the giving the governor a negative in lieu of a treble voice in acts of legislation. Their "thankful" acceptance of this second charter, was a proof of his great ascendancy over them, and the confidence which they placed in him; but these changes were regarded by some as a departure from the principles on which the original compact was grounded.

The state of the province at this time has been compared to that of "a father and his family, the latter united by interest and affection; the former revered for the wisdom of his institutions and the indulgent use of his authority. Those who were ambitious of repose, found it in Pennsylvania; and as none returned with an evil report of the land, numbers followed. All partook of the heaven which they found: the community wore the same equal face: no one aspired, no one was oppressed: industry was sure of profit, knowledge of esteem, and virtue of veneration." When we contemplate this agreeable picture, we cannot but lament that Mr. Penn should ever have quitted his province; but after residing in it about two years, he found himself urged by motives of interest as well as philanthropy, to return to England. At his departure in the summer of 1684, his capital city, then only of two years standing, contained nearly three hundred houses, and two thousand inhabitants; besides which there were twenty other settlements begun, including those of the Dutch and Swedes. He left the administration of government in the hands of the Council and Assembly, having appointed five commissioners to preside in his place.

The motives of his return to England were two. A controversy with Lord Baltimore, the proprietor of Maryland, concerning the limits of their respective patents, and, a concern for his brethren, who were suffering by the operation of the penal laws against dissenters from the Established Church.

The controversy with Lord Baltimore originated in this manner. Before Penn came to America, he had written to James Frisby and others, at their plantations on Delaware Bay, then reputed a part of Maryland, advising them, that as he was confident they were within his limits, they should yield an obedience to the laws of Maryland. This warning served as a pretext to some of the inhabitants of Cecil and Baltimore counties, who were impatient of control, to withhold the payment of their rents and taxes. Lord Baltimore and his council ordered the military officers to assist the sheriffs in the execution of their duty which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. After this, Markham, Penn's agent, had a meeting with Lord Baltimore at the village of Upland, which is now called Chester, where a discovery was made by a quadrant, that the place was twelve miles south of the 40th degree of latitude, a circumstance before unknown

to both parties. Baltimore, therefore, concluded to derive an advantage from precision, whilst Penn wished to avail himself of uncertainty. After Penn's arrival in America, he visited Lord Baltimore, and had a conference with him on the subject. An account of this conference taken in short hand by a person present, with a statement of the matter in debate, were sent by Lord Baltimore to England, and laid before the Lords of Trade and plantations in April, 1683. Upon which letters were written to both, advising them to come to an amicable agreement. This could not be done; and therefore, they both went to England, and laid their respective complaints before the Board of Trade. Baltimore alleged that the tract in question, was within the limits of his charter, and had always been so understood, and his claim allowed until disturbed by Penn. The words of his charter were, "to that part of Delaware bay on the north, which lies under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial." Penn, on the other hand, affirmed that Lord Baltimore's grant was of "lands not inhabited by the subjects of any Christian prince;" that the land in question was possessed by the Dutch and Swedes prior to the date of the charter of Maryland; that a surrender having been made by the Dutch of this territory to King Charles, in 1664, the country had ever since been in possession of the Duke of York. The Lords at several meetings, having examined the evidences on both sides, were of opinion that the lands bordering on the Delaware did not belong to Lord Baltimore, but to the king. They then proceeded to settle the boundary, and on the 7th of November, 1685, it was determined, that "for avoiding further differences, the tract of land lying between the river and bay of Delaware, and the eastern sea, on the one side, and Chesapeake bay on the other side, be divided into two equal parts by a line from the latitude from Cape Henlopen, to the 40th degree of northern latitude, and that one half thereof lying towards the Bay of Delaware and the eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his majesty, and that the other half remain to the Lord Baltimore, as comprised within his charter." To this decision Lord Baltimore submitted, happy that he had lost no more, since a quo warranto had been issued against his charter. But the decision, like many others, left room for a farther controversy, which was carried on by their respective successors for above half a century. The question was concerning the construction of "the 40th degree of latitude," which Penn's heirs contended was the beginning, and Baltimore's the completion of the 40th degree, the difference being sixty-nine miles and a half.

The other cause of Mr. Penn's departure for England proved a source of much greater vexation, and involved consequences injurious to his reputation and interest. His concern for his suffering brethren induced him to use the interest which he had at court for their relief. He arrived in the month of August, and the death of Charles, which happened the next February, brought to the throne James II. under whom, when Lord-high-admiral, Penn's father had commanded, and who had always maintained a steady friendship with the son. This succession rather increased than diminished his attachment to the court; but as James openly professed himself a Papist, and the prejudices of a great part of the nation against him were very high, it was impossible for his intimate friends to escape the imputation of being popishly affected. Penn had before been suspected to be a Jesuit, and what now contributed to fix the stigma upon him was, his writing a book on liberty of conscience, a darling principle at court, and vindicating the Duke of Buckingham, who had written on the same subject. Another circumstance which strengthened the suspicion was, his taking lodgings at Kensington, in the neighborhood of the court, and his frequent attendance there, to solicit the liberation of his brethren who now filled the prisons of the kingdom.

He endeavored to allay these suspicions by publishing an address to his brethren, in which he refers to their knowledge of his character, principles and writings, for eighteen years past, and expresses his love of moderation, and his wish that the nation might not become "barbarous for Christianity, nor abuse one another for God's sake." But what gave him the greatest pain was, that his worthy friend Doctor Tillotson had entertained the same suspicion, and expressed it in his conversation. To him he wrote an expostulatory letter, and the Doctor frankly owned to him the ground of his apprehension, which Penn so fully removed, that Doctor Tillotson candidly acknowledged his mistake, and made it his business on all occasions to vindicate

Penn's character. This ingenuous acknowledgment, from a gentleman of so much information, and so determined an enemy to Popery, is one of the best evidences which can be had, of Mr. Penn's integrity in this respect; but the current of popular prejudice was at that time so strong, that it was not in the power of so great and good a man as Doctor Tillotson to turn it.

Had Mr. Penn fallen in with the discontented part of the nation, and encouraged the emigration of those who dreaded the consequences of King James' open profession of Popery, he might have made large additions to the numbers of his colonists, and greatly increased his fortune; but he had received such assurances from the king, of his intention to introduce universal toleration, that he thought it his duty to wait for the enlargement which his brethren must experience from the expected event. His book on liberty of conscience, addressed to the king and council, had not been published many days, before the king issued a general pardon, and instructed the Judges of Assize on their respective circuits to extend the benefit of it to the Quakers in particular. In consequence of this, about thirteen hundred of them, who had been confined in the prisons, were set at liberty. This was followed by a declaration for liberty of conscience, and for suspending the execution of the penal laws against dissenters, which was an occasion of great joy to all denominations of them. The Quakers, at their next general meeting, drew up an address of thanks to the king, which was presented by Mr. Penn.

The declaration of indulgence, being a specimen of that dispensing power, which the house of Stuart were fond of assuming, and being evidently intended to favor the free exercise of the Popish religion, gave an alarm to the nation, and caused very severe censures on those who, having felt the benefit of it, had expressed their gratitude in terms of affection and respect. The Quakers in particular became very obnoxious, and the prejudice against Penn as an abettor of the arbitrary maxims of the court, was increased; though on a candid view of the matter, there is no evidence that he sought any thing more than an impartial and universal liberty of conscience.*

It is much to be regretted, that he had not taken this critical opportunity to return to Pennsylvania. His controversy with Lord Baltimore had been decided by the council, and his pacific principles ought to have led him to acquiesce in their determination, as did his antagonist. He had accomplished his purpose with regard to his brethren, the Quakers, who, being delivered from their difficulties, were at liberty either to remain in the kingdom, or follow him to America. The state of the province was such as to require his presence, and he might at this time have resumed his office, and carried on his business in Pennsylvania, with the greatest probability of spending the remainder of his days there in usefulness and peace.

The revolution which soon followed, placed him in a very disagreeable situation. Having been a friend to James, he was supposed to be an enemy to William. As he was walking one day in Whitehall, he was arrested and examined by the lords in council, before whom he solemnly declared, "that he loved his country and the Protestant religion above his life, and that he had never acted against either; but that King James had been his friend, and his father's friend, and that he thought himself bound in justice and gratitude to be a friend to him." The jealous policy of that day had no ear for sentiments of the heart. He was obliged to find securities for his appearance at the next term, and thence to the succeeding term, in the last day of which, nothing having been specially laid to his charge, he was acquitted.

The next year (1690) he was taken up again on suspicion of holding correspondence with the exiled king. The lords requiring security for his appearance, he appealed to King William in person, who was inclined to acquit him, but to please some of the council, he was for awhile held to bail and then acquitted.

Soon after this, his name was inserted in a proclamation, wherein eighteen lords and others were charged with adhering to the enemies of the kingdom; but no evidence appearing against him, he was a third time acquitted by the Court of King's Bench.

* "If an universal charity, if the asserting an impartial liberty of conscience, if doing to others as one would be done by, and an open avowing and steady practising of these things, in all times, and to all parties, will justly lay a man under the reflection of being a Jesuit or Papist, I must not only submit to the character, but embrace it; and I can bear it with more pleasure than it is possible for them with any justice to give it to me."—(Penn's Let to Sec. Popple, Oct. 24, 1688.

* Probably alluding to the ten tribes of Israel, from whom he supposes the Indians to be descended.

Being now at liberty, he meditated a return to Pennsylvania, and published proposals for another emigration of settlers. He had proceeded so far as to obtain from the Secretary of State an order for a conveyance; but his voyage was prevented by a fourth accusation, on the oath of a person whom the Parliament afterward declared a cheat and impostor; a warrant was issued for apprehending him, and he narrowly escaped an arrest, at his return from the funeral of his friend, George Fox, on the 16th of January, 1691. He then thought it prudent to retire, and accordingly kept himself concealed for two or three years, during which time he employed himself in writing several pieces, one of which entitled "Maxims and Reflections relating to the conduct of human life," being the result of much observation and experience, has been much celebrated, and has passed through several editions. In 1693, by the mediation of several persons of rank, he was admitted to appear before the king in council, where he so maintained his innocence of what had been alleged against him, that he was a fourth time honorably acquitted.

The true cause of these frequent suspicions was the conduct of his wife, who being passionately attached to the queen, consort of James, made a practise to visit her at St. Germain's every year, and to carry to her such presents as she could collect from the friends of the unhappy royal family. Though there was no political connexion or correspondence between Penn's family and the king's, yet this circumstance gave color to the jealousy which had been conceived; but the death of his wife which happened in February, 1694, put an end to all these suspicions. He married a second wife in 1696, a daughter of Thomas Callowhill, of Bristol, by whom he had four sons and one daughter.

By his continual expenses, and by the peculiar difficulties to which he had been exposed, he had run himself deeply into debt. He had lost £7000 before the revolution, and £4000 since; besides his paternal estate in Ireland, valued at £450 per annum. To repair his fortune, he requested his friends in Pennsylvania, that one hundred of them would lend him £100 each, for some years, on landed security. This, he said, would enable him to return to America, and bring a large number of inhabitants with him. What answer was given to this request, does not appear, but from his remaining in England six or seven years after, it may be concluded that he received no encouragement of this kind from them. The low circumstances of the first settlers, must have rendered it impossible to comply with such a request.

Pennsylvania had experienced many inconveniences from his absence. The Provincial Council having no steady hand to hold the balance, had fallen into a controversy respecting their several powers and privileges, and Moore, one of the proprietary officers, had been impeached of high misdemeanors. Disgusted with their disputes, and dissatisfied with the constitution which he had framed and altered, Penn wrote to his commissioners (1685) to require its dissolution; but the Assembly, perceiving the loss of their privileges, and of the rights of the people to be involved in frequent innovations, opposed the surrender. The commissioners themselves were soon after removed by the proprietor, who appointed for his deputy John Blackwell, an officer trained under Cromwell, and completely versed in the arts of intrigue. He began his administration in December, 1688, by a display of the power of the proprietor, and by endeavoring to sow discord among the freemen. Unawed by his insolence, they were firm in defence of their privileges, whilst at the same time they made a profession of peace and obedience. He imprisoned the Speaker of the Assembly which had impeached Moore, and by a variety of artifices evaded the granting an Habeas Corpus. He delayed as long as possible the meeting of a new Assembly; and when they entered on the subject of grievances, he prevailed on some of the members to withdraw from their seats, that there might not be a quorum. The remainder voted that his conduct was treacherous, and a strong prejudice was conceived not only against the deputy, but the proprietor who had appointed him. The province also fell under the royal displeasure. Their laws had not been presented for approbation, and the new king and queen were not proclaimed in Pennsylvania for a long time after their accession; but the administration of government was continued in the name of the exiled monarch. At what time the alteration was made, we cannot be certain; but in the year 1692, the king and queen took the government of the colony into their own hands, and appointed Colonel Fletcher, governor of New York and Pennsylvania, with equal powers and prerogatives

in both, without any reference to the charter of Pennsylvania.

It being a time of war between England and France, and the province of New York being much exposed to the incursions of the Indians in the French interest, the principal object which Fletcher had in view, was to procure supplies for the defence of the country, and the support of those Indians who were in alliance with the English. The assembly insisted on a confirmation of their laws, as a condition of their granting a supply, to which he consented, during the king's pleasure. They would have gone farther, and demanded a redress of grievances; but Fletcher having intimated to them that the king might probably annex them to New York, and they knowing themselves unable to maintain a controversy with the crown, submitted for the present to hold their liberties by courtesy, and voted a supply. On another application of the same kind, they nominated collectors in their bill, which he deemed inconsistent with his prerogative, and after some altercation dissolved them.

In 1696, William Markham, deputy-governor under Fletcher, made a similar proposal, but could obtain no supply, till an expedient was contrived to save their privileges. A temporary act of settlement was passed, subject to the confirmation of the proprietor, and then a grant was made of three hundred pounds; but as they had been represented by some at New York, as having acted inconsistently with their principles in granting money to maintain a war, they appropriated the grant to "the relief of those friendly Indians who had suffered by the war." The request was repeated every year, as long as the war continued; but the infamy, poverty, and embarrassments of the province were alledged for non-compliance. The peace of Ryswick in 1698, put an end to these requisitions.

Thus the province of Pennsylvania, as well as its proprietor, experienced many inconveniences during their long separation of fifteen years; and it is somewhat singular to remark, that whilst they were employed in an ineffectual struggle with the royal governor and his deputy; he, whom Montesquieu styles the American Lycurgus, was engaged in his darling work of religious controversy and of itinerant preaching through England, Wales, and Ireland.

In August, 1699, he embarked with his family, and after a tedious passage of three months, arrived in Pennsylvania. By reason of this long voyage, they escaped a pestilential distemper, which during that time raged in the colony.

He did not find the people so tractable as before. Their minds were soured by his long absence, by the conduct of his deputies and the royal governors; their system of laws was incomplete, and their title to their lands insecure. After much time spent in trying their tempers and penetrating their views, he found it most advisable to listen to their remonstrances. Five sessions of assembly were held during his second residence with them; his expressions in his public speeches were soothing and captivating, and he promised to do every thing in his power to render them happy. They requested of him that in case of his future absence, he would appoint for his deputies men of integrity and property, who should be invested with full powers to grant and confirm lands, and instructed to give true measure; and that he would execute such an instrument as would secure their privileges and possessions. To these requests he seemed to consent, and with the most flattering complaisance desired them to name a person for his substitute, which they with equal politeness declined.

In May, 1700, the charter was surrendered by six parts in seven of the assembly, under a solemn promise of restitution with such alterations and amendments as should be found necessary. When a new charter was in debate, the representatives of the lower counties wanted to obtain some privileges peculiar to themselves, which the others were not willing to allow. The members from the territory therefore refused to join, and thus a separation was made of the Province of Pennsylvania from the three lower counties.

In this new charter, the people had no voice in the election of counsellors; whoever afterwards served in this capacity were appointed by the proprietor, but they had no power of legislation. The executive was vested solely in him, and he had a negative on all their laws. On the other hand the assembly had the right of originating laws, which before had been prepared for their deliberation. The number of members was four from each county, and more if the governor and Assembly should agree. They were invested with all the powers of a legislative body, according to the rights

of English subjects and the practice of other American colonies. The privileges before granted were confirmed, and some of their most salutary laws were included in the body of the charter; all which were declared irrevocable, except by consent of six-sevenths of the assembly with the governor; but the clause respecting liberty of conscience was declared absolutely irrevocable. A provisional article was added, that if in three years, the representatives of the province and territories should not join in legislation, each county of the province might choose eight persons, and the city of Philadelphia two, to represent them in one Assembly, and each county of the territory the same number to constitute another Assembly. On the 28th of October, 1701, this charter was accepted by the representatives of the province: previous to which (viz. on the 25th) the city of Philadelphia was incorporated by another charter, and the government of it committed to a Mayor and Recorder, eight Aldermen and twelve Common Councilmen. The persons in each of these offices were appointed by name in the charter, who were empowered to choose successors to themselves annually, and to add to the number of Aldermen and Common Councilmen so many of the freemen as the whole court should think proper.

These two charters were the last public acts of Mr. Penn's personal administration in Pennsylvania. They were done in haste, and while he was preparing to embark for England, which he did immediately on signing them. The cause of his sudden departure was an account which he had received, that a bill was about to be brought into Parliament, for reducing the proprietary and chartered governments to an immediate dependence on the crown. In his speech to the Assembly, he intimated his intention to return and settle among them with his family; but this proved to be his last visit to America. He sailed from Philadelphia in the end of October, and arrived in England about the middle of December, 1701. The bill in Parliament, which had so greatly alarmed him, was by the solicitation of the friends of the colonies postponed and finally lost. In about two months, King William died, and Queen Anne came to the throne, which brought Penn again into favor at court, and in the name of the society, of which he was at the head, he presented to her an address of congratulation.

He then resumed his favorite employment of writing, preaching, and visiting the societies of Friends in England, till the year 1707, when he found himself involved in a suit at law with the executors of a person who had formerly been his steward. The cause was attended with such circumstances, that though many thought him ill used, the Court of Chancery did not give him relief; which obliged him to live within the rules of the fleet prison for about a year till the matter was accommodated. After this he made another circuitous journey among his friends, and in the year 1710 took a handsome seat at Rushcombe in Buckinghamshire, where he resided during the remainder of his life.

At his departure from Philadelphia, he left for his deputy, Andrew Hamilton, whose principal business was to endeavor a re-union of the province and territory, which being ineffectual, the province claimed the privilege of a distinct Assembly.

On Mr. Hamilton's death John Evans was appointed in 1704 to succeed him. His administration was one unvaried scene of controversy and uneasiness. The territory would have received the charter, and the governor warmly recommended an union, but the province would not hearken to the measure. They drew up a statement of their grievances, and transmitted to the proprietor a long and bitter remonstrance, in which they charge him with not performing his promises, but by deep laid artifices evading them; and with neglecting to get their laws confirmed, though he had received great sums of money to negotiate the business. They took a retrospective view of his whole conduct, and particularly blamed his long absence from 1681 to 1699, during which the interest of the province was sinking, which might have been much advanced, if he had come over according to his repeated promises. They complained that he had not affixed his seal to the last charter; that he had ordered his deputy to call assemblies by his writs, and to prorogue and dissolve them at his pleasure; that he had reserved to himself though in England, an assent to bills passed by his deputy, by which means three negatives were put on their acts, one by the deputy governor, another by the proprietor, and a third by the crown. They also added to their list of grievances, the abuses and extortions of the secretary, surveyor, and other officers, which might

have been prevented if he had passed a bill proposed by the Assembly, in 1701, for regulating fees; the want of an established judicature between him and the people, for the judges being appointed by him, could not in that case be considered as independent and unbiassed; the imposition of quit rents on the city lots, and leaving the ground on which the city was built, encumbered with the claim of its first possessors the Swedes.

The language of this remonstrance was plain and unreserved; but the mode of their conducting it, was attended with a degree of prudence and delicacy which is not commonly observed by public bodies of men in such circumstances. They sent it to him privately by a confidential person, and refused to give any copy of it though strongly urged. They were willing to reclaim the proprietor to a due sense of his obligations, but were equally unwilling to expose him. They had also some concern for themselves; for if it had been publicly known that they had such objections to his conduct, the breach might have been so widened as to dissolve the relation between them; in which case certain inconveniences might have arisen respecting oaths and militia laws, which would not have been pleasing to an Assembly consisting chiefly of Quakers.

Three years after, (viz. in 1707) they sent him another remonstrance, in which they complained that the grievance before mentioned was not redressed; and they added to the catalogue articles of impeachment against Logan the secretary, and Evans the deputy governor. The latter was removed from his office, and was succeeded by Gookin in 1709, and he by Sir William Keith in 1717; but Logan held his place of secretary, and was in fact the prime minister and mover in behalf of the proprietor, though extremely obnoxious to the people.

These deputy governors were dependent on the proprietor for their appointment, and on the people for their support; if they displeased the former, they were recalled, if the latter, their allowance was withheld; and it was next to impossible to keep on good terms with both. Such an appointment could be accepted by none but indigent persons, and could be relished by none but those who were fond of perpetual controversy.

To return to the proprietor. His infirmities and misfortunes increased with his age, and unfitted him for the exercise of his beloved work. In 1711, he dictated a preface to the journal of his old friend John Banks, which was his last printed work. The next year he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which impaired his memory. For three succeeding years he continued in a state of great debility, but attended the meeting of Friends at Reading, as long as he was able to ride in his chariot, and sometimes spoke short and weighty sentences, being incapable of pronouncing a long discourse. Approaching by gradual decay to the close of life, he died on the 30th of July, 1718, in the 74th year of his age, and was buried in his family tomb at Jordon's in Buckinghamshire.

Notwithstanding his large paternal inheritance, and the great opportunities which he enjoyed of accumulating property by his connexion with America, his latter days were passed in a state far from affluent. He was continually subject to the importunity of his creditors, and obliged to mortgage his estate. He was on the point of surrendering his province to the crown for a valuable consideration, to extricate himself from debt. The instrument was preparing for his signature, but his death, which happened rather unexpectedly, prevented the execution of it; and thus his province in America descended to his posterity, who held it till the revolution.

APPENDIX.

MR. WINSLOW's account of the natives of New England, annexed to his Narrative of the Plantations, A. D. 1624.—[Purchas IV. 1667.

A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians; both touching their religion and sundry other customs among them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters, (which came to the press against my will and knowledge) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God; therein I erred, though we could then gather no better; for as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one, whom they call *Kiehtan*, to be the principal maker of all the rest; and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they, and we, and all mankind came; but how they became so far dispersed, that they know not. At

first, they say, that there was no sachen or king, but *Kiehtan*, who dwelleth above the heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends and have their fill of all things. This his habitation lieth westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *quahet*, that is to say, walk abroad for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury. Never man saw this *Kiehtan*, only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good; and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together and cry unto him; and so likewise for plenty, victory, &c. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobba-mock*, and to the northward of us, *Hobba-nogun*; this, as far as we can conceive is the devil. Him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same, for some conceived anger against them; but upon their calling upon him, can and doth help them; but when they are mortal and not curable in nature, then he persuades them *Kiehtan* is angry, and sends them, whom none can cure; inasmuch as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him. This *Hobba-mock* appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a snake. He appears not to all, but the chiefest and most judicious among them; though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor. He appears most ordinary, and is most conversant with three sorts of people; one, I confess, I neither know by name or office directly; of these they have few, but esteem highly of them, and think no weapon can kill them; another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Paniese*.

The office and duty of the *Powah* is to be exercised principally in calling upon the devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with them in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say Amen to that he saith; yet sometimes break out into a short musical note with him. The *Powah* is eager and free in speech; fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same, over the party diseased. If the party be wounded, he will also seem to suck the wound; but if they be curable, (as they say) he toucheth it not; but a shooke, that is the snake, or *Wobsacuck*, that is the eagle, sitteth on the shoulder, and licks the same. This none see but the *Powah*, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus, so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the *Powah*'s speech he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads, knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased; but whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called sometimes to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could to make them understand against the same. They have told me I should see the devil at those times come to the party; but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved; yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in child birth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this *Powah*; though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in other parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after child birth, I have seen the mother with the infant, upon a small occasion, in cold weather, in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases they kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kiehtan*; saying, in their memory he was much more called upon. The *Narohigganset* exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house, wherein only some few (that are, as we may term them, priests) come; thither, at certain known times, resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles,

skins, hatchets, beads, knives, &c. all which are cast by the priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely; and the more he is known to bring hath the better esteem of all men. This, the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their sachems would appoint the like; and because the plague has not reigned at *Narohigganset* as at other places about them, they attributed to this custom there used.

The *Panieses* are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive, maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds with arrows, knives, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting, disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men; for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the sachen's counsel, without whom they will not war, or undertake any weighty business. In war their sachems, for their more safety, go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of great stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous and humane in their carriages than any amongst them, scorn-ing theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men. And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys from their childhood, in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age, the devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sentry and other bitter herbs, till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again and again, till at length through extraordinary pressing of nature it will seem to be all blood; and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness, they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold; also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes and stumps and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their sachems cannot be all called kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection and pay homage unto them; neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation; yet to be commanded by the greater, as occasion seemeth. Of this sort is *Massasowat* our friend, and *Conanacus* of *Narohigganset* our supposed enemy. Every sachem taketh care of the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged and any way maimed, if their friends be dead, or not able to provide for them. A sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth; otherwise, they say their seed would become ignoble; and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family and them in it. The like their men observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure. This government is successive and not by choice; if the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is, I know not.

Every sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth; and that is his own proper inheritance; out of that, if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them in their bounds. In this circuit, whoever hunteth, if any kill venison, they bring him his fee; which is four parts of the same, if it be killed on land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof. The great sachems or kings know not their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest. All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the sachem's. When they come, they tell them how long they will stay and to what place they go; during which time they receive entertainment, according to their persons, but want not. Once a year the *Panieses* use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the sachem. To that end they appoint a certain time and place, near the sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn and make a great stack thereof. There the *Panieses* stand ready to give thanks to the people on the sachem's behalf; and after acquainting the sachem therewith, who fetches the same

and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them. When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oftentimes till their death or recovery. If they die, they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty, many days after the burial, in a most doleful manner, inasmuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical which they take from one another and altogether; yet it will draw tears from their eyes and almost from ours also. But if they recover, then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them, at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoro*. When they bury the dead, they sow up the corpse in a mat, and so put it in the earth; if the party be a sachem, they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child, the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it; also he will cut his hair, and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house; they will pull down the mats, and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house-keeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing. The women live a most slavish life; they carry all their burdens; set and dress their corn, gather it in, and seek out for much of their food; beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices, whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do, they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage, she first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head, till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men; being very chaste also; yet other some are light, lascivious and wanton. If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party, and there live, where they never come unwelcome; for where are most women there is greatest plenty.

When a woman hath her monthly terms, she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone; after which, she washeth herself, and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family. For adultery, the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are, as well as in other places; but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery; for no man will keep such a one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing, the sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of theft, for the first offence, he is disgracefully rebuked; for the second, beaten by the sachem, with a cudgel on the naked back; for the third, he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upwards, that thereby all men may know and shun him. If any man kill another he must likewise die for the same. The sachem not only passeth sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the sachem himself, before whom, being naked, he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away, though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the

time of his correction, than in his offence and punishment.

As for their apparel, they wear breeches and stockings in one, like some Irish, which is made of deer-skins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's-skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel; but when they are at home, or come to their journey's end, they presently pull off their breeches, stockings and shoes, wring out the water, if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment which covereth their secrets. The men wear also, when they go abroad in cold weather, an otter, or fox-skin on their right arm; but only their bracer on the left. Women, and all of that sex, wear strings about their legs, which men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observative; they keep account of time, by the moon, and winters or summers; they know divers of the stars by name; in particular they know the North Star, and call it *Muske*, which is to say *the Bear*; also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather beforehand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list—can raise storms and tempests, which they usually do, when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather, they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they perform their greatest exploits, and at such seasons, when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for their language, it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding by the help of those that daily converse with us.

And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles they take this course: where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith; and lest such holes should be filled or grown up by any accident, as men pass by, they will oft renew the same: by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be less tedious, by reason of many historical discourses which will be related to him.

For that continent on which we are, called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of the main land adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise; for they affirm confidently that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea between us, and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call *Mohegan*, which I take to be the same which we call *Hudson's river*, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this their opinion thus is much; though Virginia be not above an hundred leagues from us, yet they never heard of *Pocahatan*, or knew that any English were planted in this country, save only by us and *Tisquantum*, who went thither in an English ship; and therefore it is more probable, because the water is not passable for them who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years experience I can scarce distinguish New England, from Old England, in respect of heat and cold, frost, snow, rain, wind, &c. Some object because our plantation lieth in the latitude of two and forty, it must needs be much hotter. I confess I cannot give the

reason of the contrary; only experience teaches us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one, which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own conditions with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitutions of the English, not being oppressed with the extremity of heat, nor nipped by biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we enjoy our health, notwithstanding these difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired had we lived in England with the like means. The day is two hours longer than here when at the shortest, and as much shorter when at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, and others a mixed sand, &c. The chiefest grain is the Indian maize, or Guinea wheat; the seed time beginneth in the middle of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quality to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen. But whereas it is objected against New England, that corn will not grow there except the ground be manured with fish: I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground, and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without them, and have as good corn or better than we have, that set with them; though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call *Eurachim*; for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labor and diligence, especially at seed time, when it must also be watched by night, to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days, yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns, it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall plant here, by trading with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same; for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had to affirm, that the English, Dutch and French return yearly many thousand pounds profit by trade only, from that island on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be, and there are had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do, which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbor all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come! I confess we have come so far short of the means, to raise such returns, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; inasmuch as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercies and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter.

THE
HISTORY OF SOUTH AMERICA.

BY WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

I HAD intended after the publication of the "BIOGRAPHIES OF THE EARLY DISCOVERERS," from the pen of that elegant scholar, Dr. Belknap, to have commenced directly on the history of North America, but from a consultation with several profound historians friendly to this work, I have been induced to change my mind, and to publish previously the History of South America, by Dr. Robertson. This admirable work has been popular in both hemispheres. He was a writer "who ornamented every thing he touched." He was indefatigable in his researches, and brought to his work a high sense of truth and fairness. He was honest, eloquent, and philosophical. He filled a large space in the literary world, and time has not diminished a particle of his fame. His work has passed the ordeal of criticism, and is now a text book in our schools, and probably will long remain so.

When the publishers have got out this work from the pen of Dr. Robertson, I shall begin the general history of the United States, going back to the origin of all the colonies and trace their eventful course to Union and Independence, and then come down to a late period in our military and civil affairs, I shall, after this is accomplished, turn to our historical miscellanies, in which our libraries are opulent, and select for the reader such works as may throw light on particular passages of American history. No other than standard works will be given as text, and the editor will hold himself responsible for the matter contained in his own notes; this, when we come to our Revolutionary History will be copious.

PREFACE.

In fulfilling the engagement which I had come under to the Public, with respect to the History of America, it was my intention not to have published any part of the work until the whole was completed. The present state of the British colonies has induced me to alter that resolution. While they are engaged in civil war with Great Britain, inquiries and speculations concerning their ancient forms of policy and laws, which exist no longer, cannot be interesting. The attention and expectation of mankind are now turned towards their future condition. In whatever manner this unhappy contest may terminate, a new order of things must arise in North America, and its affairs will assume another aspect. I wait with the solicitude of a good citizen, until the ferment subside, and regular government be re-established, and then I shall return to this part of my work, in which I had made some progress. That, together with the history of Portuguese America, and of the settlements made by the several nations of Europe in the West India Islands, will complete my plan.

The three volumes which I now publish contain an account of the discovery of the New World, and of the progress of the Spanish arms and colonies there. This is not only the most splendid portion of the American story, but so much detached as by itself to form a perfect whole, remarkable for the unity of the subject. As the principles and maxims of the Spaniards in planting colonies, which have been adopted in some measure by every nation, are unfolded in this part of my work; it will serve as a proper introduction to the history of all the European establishments in America, and convey such information concerning this important article of policy, as may be deemed no less interesting than curious.

In describing the achievements and institutions of the Spaniards in the New World, I have departed in many instances, from the accounts of preceding historians, and have often related facts which seem to have been unknown to them. It is a duty I owe the Public to mention the sources from which I have derived such intelligence which justifies me either in placing transactions in a new light, or in forming any new opinion with respect to their causes and effects. This duty I perform with greater satisfaction, as it will afford an opportunity of expressing my gratitude to those benefactors who have honored me with their countenance and aid in my researches.

As it was from Spain that I had to expect the most important information, with regard to this part of my

work, I considered it as a very fortunate circumstance for me when Lord Grantham, to whom I had the honor of being personally known, and with whose liberality of sentiment, and disposition to oblige, I was well acquainted, was appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid. Upon applying to him, I met with such a reception as satisfied me that his endeavors would be employed in the most proper manner, in order to obtain the gratification of my wishes; and I am perfectly sensible, that what progress I have made in my inquiries among the Spaniards, ought to be ascribed chiefly to their knowing how much his lordship interested himself in my success.

But did I owe nothing more to Lord Grantham than the advantage which I have derived from his attention in engaging Mr. Waddilove, the chaplain of his embassy, to take the conduct of my literary inquiries in Spain, the obligations I lie under to him would be very great. During five years that gentleman has carried on researches for my behoof, with such activity, perseverance and knowledge of the subject, to which his attention was turned, as have filled me with no less astonishment than satisfaction. He procured for me the greater part of the Spanish books, which I have consulted; and as many of them were printed early in the sixteenth century, and are become extremely rare, the collecting of these was such an occupation as alone required much time and assiduity. To his friendly attention I am indebted for copies of several valuable manuscripts, containing facts and details which I might have searched for in vain in works that have been made public. Encouraged by the inviting good will with which Mr. Waddilove conferred his favors, I transmitted to him a set of queries, with respect both to the customs and policy of the native Americans, and the nature of several institutions in the Spanish settlements, framed in such a manner that a Spaniard might answer them without disclosing any thing that was improper to be communicated to a foreigner. He translated these into Spanish, and obtained from various persons who had resided in most of the Spanish colonies, such replies as have afforded me much instruction.

Notwithstanding those peculiar advantages with which my inquiries were carried on in Spain, it is with regret I am obliged to add, that their success must be ascribed to the beneficence of individuals, not to any communication by public authority. By a singular arrangement of Philip V. the records of the Spanish monarchy are deposited in the *Archivo* of Simancas, near Valladolid, at the distance of a hundred and twenty miles from the seat of government and the supreme courts of justice. The papers relative to America, and chiefly

to that early period of its history towards which my attention was directed, are so numerous, that they alone according to one account, fill the largest apartment in the *Archivo*; and, according to another, they compose eight hundred and seventy three large bundles. Conscious of possessing, in some degree, the industry which belongs to an historian, the prospect of such a treasure excited my most ardent curiosity. But the prospect of it is all that I have enjoyed. Spain, with an excess of caution, has uniformly thrown a veil over her transactions in America. From strangers they are concealed with peculiar solicitude. Even to her own subjects the *Archivo* of Simancas is not opened without a particular order from the crown; and, after obtaining that, papers cannot be copied without paying fees of office so exorbitant that the expense exceeds what it would be proper to bestow, when the gratification of literary curiosity is the only object. It is to be hoped, that the Spaniards will at last discover this system of concealment to be no less impolitic than illiberal. From what I have experienced in the course of my inquiries, I am satisfied, that upon a more minute scrutiny into their early operations in the New World, however reprehensible the actions of individuals may appear, the conduct of the nation will be placed in a more favorable light.

In other parts of Europe very different sentiments prevail. Having searched, without success in Spain, for a letter of Cortes to Charles V., written soon after he landed in the Mexican Empire, which has not hitherto been published; it occurred to me, that as the Emperor was setting out for Germany at the time when the messengers from Cortes arrived in Europe, the letter with which they were intrusted might possibly be preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna. I communicated this idea to Sir Robert Murray Keith, with whom I have long had the honor to live in friendship, and I had soon the pleasure to learn, that upon his application her Imperial Majesty had been graciously pleased to issue an order, that not only a copy of that letter (if it were found), but of any other papers in the library which could throw light upon the History of America, should be transmitted to me. The letter from Cortes is not in the Imperial library; but an authentic copy, attested by a notary, of the letter written by the magistrates of the colony planted by him at Vera Cruz, which I have mentioned, p. 210, having been found, it was transcribed, and sent to me. As this letter is no less curious, and as little known as that which was the object of my inquiries, I have given some account, in its proper place, of what is most worthy of notice in it. Together with it, I received a copy

of a letter from Cortes, containing a long account of his expedition to Honduras, with respect to which I did not think it necessary to enter into any particular detail; and likewise those curious Mexican paintings, which I have described.

My inquiries at St. Petersburg were carried on with equal facility and success. In examining into the nearest communication between our continent and that of America, it became of consequence to obtain authentic information concerning the discoveries of the Russians in their navigation from Kamtschatka towards the coast of America. Accurate relations of their first voyage, in 1741, have been published by Muller and Gmelin. Several foreign authors have entertained an opinion that the court of Russia studiously conceals the progress which has been made by more recent navigators, and suffers the public to be amused with false accounts of their route. Such conduct appeared to me unsuitable to those liberal sentiments, and that patronage of science, for which the present sovereign of Russia is eminent; nor could I discern any political reason, that might render it improper to apply for information concerning the late attempts of the Russians to open a communication between Asia and America. My ingenious countryman, Dr. Rogerson, first physician to the Empress, presented my request to Her Imperial Majesty, who not only disclaimed any idea of concealment, but instantly ordered the journal of Captain Krenitzin, who conducted the only voyage of discovery made by public authority since the year 1741, to be translated, and his original chart to be copied for my use. By consulting them, I have been enabled to give a more accurate view of the progress and extent of the Russian Discoveries than has hitherto been communicated to the public.

From other quarters I have received information of great utility and importance. M. le Chevalier de Pinto, the minister from Portugal to the court of Great Britain, who commanded for several years at Matagrossa, a settlement of the Portuguese in the interior part of Brazil, where the Indians are numerous, and their original manners little altered by intercourse with Europeans, was pleased to send me very full answers to some queries concerning the character and institutions of the natives of America, which his polite reception of an application made to him in my name encouraged me to propose. These satisfied me, that he had contemplated with a discerning attention the curious objects which his situation presented to his view, and I have often followed him as one of my best instructed guides.

M. Suard to whose elegant translation of the History of the Reign of Charles V. I owe the favorable reception of that work on the continent, procured me answers to the same queries from M. de Bougainville, who had opportunities of observing the Indians both of North and South America, and from M. Goulin le Jeune, who resided fifteen years among Indians in Quito, and twenty years in Cayenne. The latter are more valuable from having been examined by M. de la Condamine, who, a few weeks before his death, made some short additions to them, which may be considered as the last effort of that attention to science which occupied a long life.

My inquiries were not confined to one region in America. Governor Hutchinson took the trouble of recommending the consideration of my queries to Mr. Hawley and Mr. Brainerd, two protestant missionaries employed among the Indians of the Five Nations, who favored me with answers which discover a considerable knowledge of the people whose customs they describe. From William Smith, Esq. the ingenious historian of New York, I received some useful information. When I enter upon the History of our Colonies in North America, I shall have occasion to acknowledge how much I have been indebted to many other gentlemen of that country.

From the valuable collection of Voyages made by Alexander Dalrymple, Esq. with whose attention to the History of Navigation and Discovery the Public is well acquainted, I have received some very rare books, particularly two large volumes of Memorials, partly manuscript and partly in print, which were presented to the court of Spain during the reigns of Philip III. and Philip IV. From these I have learned many curious particulars with respect to the interior state of the Spanish colonies, and the various schemes formed for their improvement. As this collection of Memorials formerly belonged to the Colbert Library, I have quoted them by that title.

All those books and manuscripts I have consulted with that attention which the respect due from an Author to the Public required; and by minute references

to them, I have endeavored to authenticate whatever I relate. The longer I reflect on the nature of historical composition, the more I am convinced that this scrupulous accuracy is necessary. The historian who records the events of his own time is credited in proportion to the opinion which the Public entertains with respect to his means of information and his veracity. He who delineates the transactions of a remote period, has no title to claim assent, unless he produces evidence in proof of his assertions. Without this he may write an amusing tale, but cannot be said to have composed an authentic history. In those sentiments I have been confirmed by the opinion of an Author, whom his industry, erudition, and discernment, have deservedly placed in a high rank among the most eminent historians of the age. Imboldened by a hint from him, I have published a catalogue of the Spanish books which I have consulted. This practice was frequent in the last century, and was considered as an evidence of laudable industry in an author; in the present, it may, perhaps, be deemed the effect of ostentation; but, as many of those books are unknown in Great Britain, I could not otherwise have referred to them as authorities, without encumbering the page with an insertion of their full titles. To any person who may choose to follow me in this path of inquiry, the catalogue must be very useful.

My readers will observe, that in mentioning sums of money, I have uniformly followed the Spanish method of computing by *pesos*. In America, the *peso fuerte*, or *duro* is the only one known; and that is always meant when any sum imported from America is mentioned. The *peso fuerte*, as well as other coins, has varied in its numerical value; but I have been advised, without attending to such minute variations, to consider it as equal to four shillings and sixpence of our money. It is to be remembered, however, that in the sixteenth century, the effective value of a *peso*, i. e. the quantity of labor which it represented, or of goods which it would purchase, was five or six times as much as at present.

N. B. Since this edition was put into the press, a History of Mexico, in two volumes in quarto, translated from the Italian of the Abbe de Francesco Saverio Clavigero, has been published. From a person who is a native of New Spain, who has resided forty years in that country, and who is acquainted with the Mexican language, it was natural to expect much new information. Upon perusing his work, however, I find that it contains hardly any addition to the ancient History of the Mexican empire, as related by Acosta and Herrera, but what is derived from the improbable narratives and fanciful conjectures of Torquemada and Boturini. Having copied their splendid descriptions of the high state of civilization in the Mexican empire, M. Clavigero, in the abundance of his zeal for the honor of his native country, charges me with having mistaken some points, and with having misrepresented others in the history of it. When an author is conscious of having exerted industry in research, and impartiality in decision, he may, without presumption, claim what praise is due to these qualities, and he cannot be insensible to any accusation that tends to weaken the force of his claim. A feeling of this kind has induced me to examine such strictures of M. Clavigero on my history of America, as merited any attention, especially as these are made by one who seemed to possess the means of obtaining accurate information; and to show that the greater part of them is destitute of any just foundation. This I have done in notes upon the passages in my History which gave rise to his criticisms.

College of Edinburgh, March 1, 1783.

BOOK I.

Progress of Navigation among the ancients.—View of their discoveries as preparatory to those of the moderns.—Improvements of ancient navigation and geography.—Outline of the zones.—Further discoveries checked by the interruption of barbarous nations.—Geographical knowledge still preserved in the East, and among the Arabians.—Revival of commerce and navigation in Europe.—Favored by the Crusades.—extended by travellers into the East.—promoted by the invention of the mariner's compass.—First regular plan of discovery.—Formed by Prince Henry.—State of that kingdom.—Schemes of Prince Henry.—Early attempts feeble.—Progress along the Western coast of Africa.—His of discovering a new route to the East Indies.—Attempts to accomplish this.—Prospects of Success.

THE progress of men, in discovering and peopling the various parts of the earth, has been extremely slow. Several ages elapsed before they removed far from those mild and fertile regions in which they were originally placed by their Creator. The occasion of their first general dispersion is known; but we are unacquainted with the course of their migrations, or the time when they took possession of the different coun-

tries which they now inhabit. Neither history nor tradition furnishes such information concerning these remote events, as enables us to trace with any certainty, the operations of the human race in the infancy of society.

We may conclude, however, that all the early migrations of mankind were made by land. The ocean which surrounds the habitable earth, as well as the various arms of the sea which separate one region from another though destined to facilitate the communication between distant countries, seem, at first view, to be formed to check the progress of man, and to mark the bounds of that portion of the globe to which nature had confined him. It was long, we may believe, before men attempted to pass these formidable barriers, and became so skilful and adventurous as to commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves, or to quit their native shores in quest of remote and unknown regions.

Navigation and ship-building are arts so nice and complicated, that they require the ingenuity, as well as experience, of many successive ages to bring them to any degree of perfection. From the raft or canoe, which first served to carry a savage over the river that obstructed him in the chase, to the construction of a vessel capable of conveying a numerous crew with safety to a distant coast, the progress in improvement is immense. Many efforts would be made, many experiments would be tried, and much labor as well as invention would be employed, before men could accomplish this arduous and important undertaking. The rude and imperfect state in which navigation is still found among all nations which are not considerably civilized, corresponds with this account of its progress, and demonstrates that in early times the art was not so far improved as to enable men to undertake distant voyages, or to attempt remote discoveries.

As soon, however, as the art of navigation became known, a new species of correspondence among men took place. It is from this era that we must date the commencement of such an intercourse between nations as deserves the appellation of commerce. Men are, indeed, far advanced in improvement before commerce becomes an object of great importance to them. They must even have made some considerable progress towards civilization, before they acquired the idea of property, and ascertain it so perfectly as to be acquainted with the most simple of all contracts, that of exchanging by barter one rude commodity for another. But as soon as this important right is established, and every individual feels that he has an exclusive title to possess or to alienate whatever he has acquired by his own labor and dexterity, the wants and ingenuity of his nature suggest to him a new method of increasing his acquisitions and enjoyments, by disposing of what is superfluous in his own stores, in order to procure what is necessary or desirable in those of other men. Thus a commercial intercourse begins, and is carried on among the members of the same community. By degrees, they discover that neighboring tribes possess what they themselves want, and enjoy comforts of which they wish to partake. In the same mode, and upon the same principles, that domestic traffic is carried on within the society, an external commerce is established with other tribes or nations. Their mutual interest and mutual wants render this intercourse desirable, and imperceptibly introduce the maxims and laws which facilitate its progress and render it secure. But no very extensive commerce can take place between contiguous provinces, whose soil and climate being nearly the same yield similar productions. Remote countries cannot convey their commodities by land, to those places where, on account of their rarity, they are desired, and become valuable. It is to navigation that men are indebted for the power of transporting the superfluous stock of one part of the earth to supply the wants of another. The luxuries and blessings of a particular climate are no longer confined to itself alone, but the enjoyment of them is communicated to the most distant regions.

In proportion as the knowledge of the advantages derived from navigation and commerce continued to spread the intercourse among nations extended. The ambition of conquest, or the necessity of procuring new settlements, were no longer the sole motives of visiting distant lands. The desire of gain became a new incentive to activity, roused adventurers, and sent them forth upon long voyages, in search of countries whose products or wants might increase that circulation which nourishes and gives vigor to commerce. Trade proved a great source of discovery: it opened unknown seas, it penetrated into new regions, and contributed more than any other cause to bring men acquainted with the

situation, the nature and commodities of the different parts of the globe. But even after a regular commerce was established in the world, after nations were considerably civilized, and the sciences and arts were cultivated with ardor and success, navigation continued to be so imperfect, that it can hardly be said to have advanced beyond the infancy of its improvement in the ancient world.

Among all the nations of antiquity, the structure of their vessels was extremely rude, and their method of working them very defective. They were unacquainted with several principles and operations in navigation, which are now considered as the first elements on which that science is founded. Though that property of the magnet by which it attracts iron was well known to the ancients, its more important and amazing virtue of pointing to the poles had entirely escaped their observation. Destitute of this faithful guide, which now conducts the pilot with so much certainty in the unbounded ocean during the darkness of night, or when the heavens are covered with clouds, the ancients had no other method of regulating their course than by observing the sun and stars. Their navigation was of consequence uncertain and timid. They durst seldom quit sight of land, but crept along the coast, exposed to all the dangers, and retarded by all the obstructions, unavoidable in holding such an awkward course. An incredible length of time was requisite for performing voyages which are now finished in a short space. Even in the mildest climates, and in seas the least tempestuous, it was only during the summer months that the ancients ventured out of their harbors. The remainder of the year was lost in inactivity. It would have been deemed most inconsiderate rashness to have braved the fury of the winds and waves during winter.

While both the science and practice of navigation continued to be so defective, it was an undertaking of no small difficulty and danger to visit any remote region of the earth. Under every disadvantage, however, the active spirit of commerce exerted itself. The Egyptians, soon after the establishment of their monarchy, are said to have opened a trade between the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, and the western coast of the great Indian continent. The commodities which they imported from the East, were carried by land from the Arabian Gulf to the banks of the Nile, and conveyed down that river to the Mediterranean. But if the Egyptians in early times applied themselves to commerce, their attention to it was of short duration. The fertile soil and mild climate of Egypt produced the necessities and comforts of life with such profusion, as rendered its inhabitants so independent of other countries, that it became an established maxim among that people, whose ideas and institutions differed in almost every point from those of other nations, to renounce all intercourse with foreigners. In consequence of this, they never went out of their own country: they held all seafaring persons in detestation, as impious and profane; and fortifying their own harbors, they denied strangers admittance into them. It was in the decline of their power, and when their veneration for ancient maxims had greatly abated, that they again opened their ports, and resumed any communication with foreigners.

The character and situation of the Phenicians were as favorable to the spirit of commerce and discovery as those of the Egyptians were adverse to it. They had no distinguishing peculiarity in their manners and institutions; they were not addicted to any singular and unsocial form of superstition; they could mingle with other nations without scruple or reluctance. The territory which they possessed was neither large nor fertile. Commerce was the only source from which they could derive opulence or power. Accordingly, the trade carried on by the Phenicians of Sidon and Tyre, was more extensive and enterprising than that of any state in the ancient world. The genius of the Phenicians, as well as the object of their policy and the spirit of their laws, were entirely commercial. They were a people of merchants, who aimed at the empire of the sea, and actually possessed it. Their ships not only frequented all the ports in the Mediterranean, but they were the first who ventured beyond the ancient boundaries of navigation, and, passing the Straits of Gades, visited the western coasts of Spain and Africa. In many of the places to which they resorted, they planted colonies, and communicated to the rude inhabitants some knowledge of their arts and improvements. While they extended their discoveries towards the north and the west, they did not neglect to penetrate into the more opulent and fertile regions of the south and east. Having rendered themselves masters of

several commodious harbors towards the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, they, after the example of the Egyptians, established a regular intercourse with Arabia and the continent of India on the one hand, and with the eastern coast of Africa on the other. From these countries they imported many valuable commodities unknown to the rest of the world, and during a long period engrossed that lucrative branch of commerce without a rival. [8]

The vast wealth which the Phenicians acquired by monopolizing the trade carried on in the Red Sea, incited their neighbors the Jews, under the prosperous reigns of David and Solomon, to aim at being admitted to some share of it. This they obtained, partly by their conquest of Blumea, which stretches along the Red Sea, and partly by their alliance with Hiram, king of Tyre. Solomon fitted out fleets, which, under the direction of Phenician pilots, sailed from the Red Sea to Tarshish and Ophir. These, it is probable, were ports in India and Africa, which their conductors were accustomed to frequent and from them the Jewish ships returned with such valuable cargoes as suddenly diffused wealth and splendor through the kingdom of Israel. But the singular institutions of the Jews, the observance of which was enjoined by their divine Legislator, with an intention of preserving them a separate people, uninfected by idolatry, formed a national character, incapable of that open and liberal intercourse with strangers which commerce requires. Accordingly, this unsocial genius of the people, together with the disasters which befell the kingdom of Israel, prevented the commercial spirit which their monarchs labored to introduce and to cherish, from spreading among them. The Jews cannot be numbered among the nations which contributed to improve navigation, or to extend discovery.

But though the instructions and example of the Phenicians were unable to mould the manners and temper of the Jews, in opposition to the tendency of their laws, they transmitted the commercial spirit with facility, and in full vigor, to their own descendants the Carthaginians. The commonwealth of Carthage applied to trade and naval affairs, with no less ardor, ingenuity, and success, than its parent state. Carthage early rivalled and soon surpassed Tyre in opulence and power, but seems not to have aimed at obtaining any share in the commerce with India. The Phenicians had engrossed this, and had such a command of the Red Sea as secured to them the exclusive possession of that lucrative branch of trade. The commercial activity of the Carthaginians was exerted in another direction. Without contending for the trade of the East with their mother country, they extended their navigation chiefly towards the west and north. Following the course which the Phenicians had opened, they passed the Straits of Gades, and pushing their discoveries far beyond those of the parent state, visited not only all the coasts of Spain, but those of Gaul, and penetrated at last into Britain. At the same time that they acquired knowledge of new countries in this part of the globe, they gradually carried their researches towards the south. They made considerable progress by land into the interior provinces of Africa, traded with some of them, and subjected others to their empire. They sailed along the western coast of that great continent almost to the tropic of Cancer, and planted several colonies, in order to civilize the natives and accustom them to commerce. They discovered the Fortunate Islands, now known by the name of the Canaries, the utmost boundary of ancient navigation in the western ocean.

Nor was the progress of the Phenicians and Carthaginians in their knowledge of the globe, owing entirely to the desire of extending their trade from one country to another. Commerce was followed by its usual effects among both these people. It awakened curiosity, enlarged the ideas and desires of men, and incited them to bold enterprises. Voyages were undertaken, the sole object of which was to discover new countries, and to explore unknown seas. Such, during the prosperous age of the Carthaginian republic, were the famous navigations of Hanno and Himilco. Both their fleets were equipped by authority of the senate, and at public expense. Hanno was directed to steer towards the south, along the coast of Africa, and he seems to have advanced much nearer the equinoctial line than any former navigator. Himilco had it in charge to proceed toward the north, and to examine the western coasts of the European continent. Of the same nature was the extraordinary navigation of the Phenicians round Africa. A Phenician fleet, we are told, fitted out by Necho king of Egypt, took its de-

parture about six hundred and four years before the Christian era, from a port in the Red Sea, doubled the southern promontory of Africa, and after a voyage of three years returned by the Straits of Gades to the mouth of the Nile. Eudoxus of Cyzicus is said to have held the same course, and to have accomplished the same arduous undertaking.

These voyages, if performed in the manner which I have related, may justly be reckoned the greatest effort of navigation in the ancient world; and if we attend to the imperfect state of the art at that time, it is difficult to determine whether we should most admire the courage and sagacity with which the design was formed, or the conduct and good fortune with which it was executed. But unfortunately all the original and authentic accounts of the Phenician and Carthaginian voyages, whether undertaken by public authority or in prosecution of their private trade, have perished. The information which we receive concerning them from the Greek and Roman authors is not only obscure and inaccurate, but if we except a short narrative of Hanno's expedition, is of suspicious authority. Whatever acquaintance with the remote regions of the earth the Phenicians or Carthaginians may have acquired, was concealed from the rest of mankind with a mercantile jealousy. Every thing relative to the course of their navigation was not only a mystery of trade, but a secret of state. Extraordinary facts are related concerning their solicitude to prevent other nations from penetrating into what they wished should remain undivulged. Many of their discoveries seem, accordingly, to have been scarcely known beyond the precincts of their own states. The navigation round Africa, in particular, is recorded by the Greek and Roman writers rather as a strange amusing tale, which they did not comprehend or did not believe, than as a real transaction which enlarged their knowledge and influenced their opinions [9]. As neither the progress of the Phenician or Carthaginian discoveries, nor the extent of their navigation, were communicated to the rest of mankind, all memorials of their extraordinary skill in naval affairs seem in a great measure to have perished, when the maritime power of the former was annihilated by Alexander's conquest of Tyre, and the empire of the latter was overturned by the Roman arms.

Leaving, then, the obscure and pompous accounts of the Phenician and Carthaginian voyages to the curiosity and conjectures of antiquaries, history must rest satisfied with relating the progress of navigation and discovery among the Greeks and Romans, which, though less splendid, is better ascertained. It is evident that the Phenicians, who instructed the Greeks in many other useful sciences and arts, did not communicate to them that extensive knowledge of navigation which they themselves possessed; nor did the Romans imbué that commercial spirit and ardor for discovery which distinguished their rivals the Carthaginians. Though Greece be almost encompassed by the sea, which formed many spacious bays and commodious harbors; though it be surrounded by a great number of fertile islands, yet, notwithstanding such a favorable situation which seemed to invite that ingenious people to apply themselves to navigation, it was long before this art attained any degree of perfection among them. Their early voyages, the object of which was piracy rather than commerce, were so inconsiderable that the expedition of the Argonauts from the coast of Thessaly to the Euxine Sea, appeared such an amazing effort of skill and courage, as entitled the conductors of it to be ranked among the demigods, and exalted the vessel in which they sailed to a place among the heavenly constellations. Even at a later period, when the Greeks engaged in the famous enterprise against Troy, their knowledge in naval affairs seems not to have been much improved. According to the account of Homer, the only poet to whom history ventures to appeal, and who by his scrupulous accuracy in describing the manners and arts of early ages, merits this distinction, the science of navigation at that time, had hardly advanced beyond its rudest state. The Greeks in the heroic age seem to have been unacquainted with the use of iron, the most serviceable of all the metals, without which no considerable progress was ever made in the mechanical arts. Their vessels were of inconsiderable burden, and mostly without decks. They had only one mast, which was erected or taken down at pleasure. They were strangers to the use of anchors. All their operations in sailing were clumsy and unskilful. They turned their observations towards stars, which were improper for regulating their course, and their mode of observing them was inaccurate and fallacious. When they had finished a voyage they drew their paltry barks ashore,

as savages do their canoes, and these remained on dry land until the season of returning to sea approached. It is not then in the early heroic ages of Greece that we can expect to observe the science of navigation, and the spirit of discovery, making any considerable progress. During that period of disorder and ignorance, a thousand causes concurred in restraining curiosity and enterprise within very narrow bounds.

But the Greeks advanced with rapidity to a state of greater civilization and refinement. Government, in its most liberal and perfect form, began to be established in their different communities; equal laws and regular police were gradually introduced; the sciences and arts which are useful or ornamental in life were carried to a high pitch of improvement; and several of the Grecian commonwealths applied to commerce with such ardor and success, that they were considered, in the ancient world, as maritime powers of the first rank. Even then, however, the naval victories of the Greeks must be ascribed rather to the native spirit of the people, and to that courage which the enjoyment of liberty inspires, than to any extraordinary progress in the science of navigation. In the Persian war, those exploits, which the genius of the Greek historians has rendered so famous, were performed by fleets composed chiefly of small vessels without decks; the crews of which rushed forward with impetuous valor, but little art, to board those of the enemy. In the war of Peloponnesus, their ships seem still to have been of inconsiderable burden and force. The extent of their trade, how highly soever it may have been estimated in ancient times, was in proportion to this low condition of their marine. The maritime states of Greece hardly carried on any commerce beyond the limits of the Mediterranean sea. Their chief intercourse was with the colonies of their countrymen planted in the Lesser Asia, in Italy, and Sicily. They sometimes visited the ports of Egypt, of the southern provinces of Gaul, and of Thrace; or, passing through the Hellespont, they traded with the countries situated around the Euxine sea. Amazing instances occur of their ignorance, even of those countries which lay within the narrow precincts to which their navigation was confined. When the Greeks had assembled their combined fleet against Xerxes at Egina, they thought it unadvisable to sail to Samos, because they believed the distance between that island and Egina to be as great as the distance between Egina and the Pillars of Hercules. They were either utterly unacquainted with all the parts of the globe beyond the Mediterranean sea, or what knowledge they had of them was founded on conjecture, or derived from the information of a few persons whose curiosity and the love of science had prompted to travel by land into the Upper Asia, or by sea into Egypt, the ancient seats of wisdom and arts. After all that the Greeks learned from them, they appear to have been ignorant of the most important facts on which an accurate and scientific knowledge of the globe is founded.

The expedition of Alexander the Great into the East considerably enlarged the sphere of navigation and of geographical knowledge among the Greeks. That extraordinary man, notwithstanding the violent passions which incited him at some times to the wildest actions and the most extravagant enterprises, possessed talents which fitted him, not only to conquer, but to govern the world. He was capable of framing those bold and original schemes of policy, which gave a new form to human affairs. The revolution in commerce, brought about by the force of his genius, is hardly inferior to that revolution in empire occasioned by the success of his arms. It is probable that the opposition and efforts of the republic of Tyre, which checked him so long in the career of his victories, gave Alexander an opportunity of observing the vast resources of a maritime power, and conveyed to him some idea of the immense wealth which the Tyrians derived from their commerce especially that with the East Indies. As soon as he had accomplished the destruction of Tyre, and reduced Egypt to subjection, he formed the plan of rendering the empire which he proposed to establish, the centre of commerce as well as the seat of dominion. With this view he founded a great city, which he honored with his own name, near one of the mouths of the river Nile, that by the Mediterranean sea, and the neighborhood of the Arabian Gulf, it might command the trade both of the East and West. This situation was chosen with such discernment, that Alexandria soon became the chief commercial city in the world. Not only during the subsistence of the Grecian empire in Egypt and in the East, but amidst all the successive revolutions in those countries from the time of the Ptolemies to the discovery of the navigation by the Cape of Good

Hope, commerce, particularly that of the East Indies, continued to flow in the channel which the sagacity and foresight of Alexander had marked out for it.

His ambition was not satisfied with having opened to the Greeks a communication with India by sea; he aspired to the sovereignty of those regions which furnished the rest of mankind with so many precious commodities, and conducted his army thither by land. Entertaining, however, as he was, he may be said rather to have viewed than to have conquered that country. He did not, in his progress towards the East, advance beyond the banks of the rivers that fall into the Indus, which is now the western boundary of the vast continent of India. Amidst the wild exploits which distinguish this part of his history, he pursued measures that mark the superiority of his genius as well as the extent of his views. He had penetrated as far into India as to confirm his opinion of its commercial importance, and to perceive that immense wealth might be derived from intercourse with a country where the arts of elegance, having been more early cultivated, were arrived at greater perfection than in any other part of the earth. Full of this idea, he resolved to examine the course of navigation from the mouth of the Indus to the bottom of the Persian Gulf; and, if it should be found practicable, to establish a regular communication between them. In order to affect this, he proposed to remove the cataracts, with which the jealousy of the Persians, and their aversion to correspondence with foreigners, had obstructed the entrance into the Euphrates; to carry the commodities of the East up that river, and the Tigris, which unites with it, into the interior parts of his Asiatic dominions; while, by the way of the Arabian Gulf and the river Nile, they might be conveyed to Alexandria, and distributed to the rest of the world. Nearchus, an officer of eminent abilities, was intrusted with the command of the fleet fitted out for this expedition. He performed this voyage, which was deemed an enterprise so arduous and important, that Alexander reckoned it one of the most extraordinary events which distinguished his reign. Inconsiderable as it may now appear, it was at that time an undertaking of no little merit and difficulty. In the prosecution of it, striking instances occur of the small progress which the Greeks had made in naval knowledge. [4] Having never sailed beyond the bounds of the Mediterranean, where the ebb and flow of the sea are hardly perceptible, when they first observed this phenomenon at the mouth of the Indus, it appeared to them a prodigy, by which the gods testified the displeasure of heaven against their enterprise. [5] During their whole course, they seem never to have lost sight of land, but followed the bearings of the coast so servilely, that they could not avail themselves of those periodical winds which facilitate navigation in the Indian ocean. Accordingly they spent no less than ten months in performing this voyage, which, from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Persian Gulf, does not exceed twenty degrees. It is probable that amidst the convulsions and frequent revolutions in the East, occasioned by the contests among the successors of Alexander, the navigation to India by the course which Nearchus had opened was discontinued. The Indian trade carried on at Alexandria, not only subsisted, but was so much extended, under the Grecian monarchs of Egypt, that it proved a great source of the wealth which distinguished their kingdom.

The progress which the Romans made in navigation and discovery, was still more inconsiderable than that of the Greeks. The genius of the Roman people, their military education, and the spirit of their laws, concurred in estranging them from commerce and naval affairs. It was the necessity of opposing a formidable rival, not the desire of extending trade, which first prompted them to aim at maritime power. Though they soon perceived, that in order to acquire the universal dominion after which they aspired, it was necessary to render themselves masters of the sea, they still considered the naval service as a subordinate station, and reserved for it such citizens as were not of a rank to be admitted into the legions. In the history of the Roman Republic, hardly one event occurs that marks attention to navigation any further than it was instrumental towards conquest. When the Roman valor and discipline had subdued all the maritime states known in the ancient world; when Carthage, Greece, and Egypt had submitted to their power, the Romans did not imbibe the commercial spirit of the conquered nations. Among that people of soldiers, to have applied to trade would have been deemed a degradation to a Roman citizen. They abandoned the mechanical arts, commerce, and navigation, to slaves, to freedmen,

to provincials, and to citizens of the lowest class. Even after the subversion of liberty, when the severity and haughtiness of ancient manners began to abate, commerce did not rise into high estimation among the Romans. The trade of Greece, Egypt, and the other conquered countries, continued to be carried on in its usual channels, after they were reduced into the form of Roman provinces. As Rome was the capital of the world, and the seat of government, all the wealth and valuable productions of the provinces flowed naturally thither. The Romans, satisfied with this, seem to have suffered commerce to remain almost entirely in the hands of the natives of the respective countries. The extent, however, of the Roman power, which reached over the greatest part of the known world, the vigilant inspection of the Roman magistrates, and the spirit of the Roman government, no less intelligent than active, gave such additional security to commerce as animated it with new vigor. The union among nations was never so entire, nor the intercourse so perfect, as within the bounds of this vast empire. Commerce, under the Roman dominion, was not obstructed by the jealousy of rival states, interrupted by frequent hostilities, or limited by partial restrictions. One superintending power moved and regulated the industry of mankind, and enjoyed the fruits of their joint efforts.

Navigation felt its influence, and improved under it. As soon as the Romans acquired a taste for the luxuries of the East, the trade with India through Egypt was pushed with new vigor, and carried on to greater extent. By frequenting the Indian continent, navigators became acquainted with the periodical course of the winds, which, in the ocean that separates Africa from India, blow with little variation during one half of the year from the east, and during the other half blow with equal steadiness from the west. Encouraged by observing this, the pilots who sailed from Egypt to India abandoned their ancient slow and dangerous course along the coast, and, as soon as the western monsoon set in, took their departure from Ocellis, at the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and stretched boldly across the ocean. The uniform direction of the wind, supplying the place of the compass, and rendering the guidance of the stars less necessary, conducted them to the port of Musiris, on the western shore of the Indian continent. There they took on board their cargo, and, returning with the eastern monsoon, finished their voyage to the Arabian Gulf within the year. This part of India, now known by the name of the Malabar coast, seems to have been the utmost limit of ancient navigation in that quarter of the globe. What imperfect knowledge the ancients had of the immense countries which stretch beyond this towards the East, they received from a few adventurers who had visited them by land. Such excursions were neither frequent nor extensive, and it is probable that, while the Roman intercourse with India subsisted, no traveller ever penetrated further than to the banks of the Ganges [6]. The fleets from Egypt which traded at Musiris, were loaded it is true, with the spices and other rich commodities of the continent and islands of the further India; but these were brought to that port, which became the staple of the commerce between the east and west, by the Indians themselves in canoes hollowed out of one tree. The Egyptian and Roman merchants, satisfied with acquiring these commodities in this manner, did not think it necessary to explore unknown seas, and venture upon a dangerous navigation, in quest of the countries which produced them. But though the discoveries of the Romans in India were so limited, their commerce there was such as will appear considerable, even to the present age, in which the Indian trade has been extended far beyond the practice or conception of any preceding period. We are informed by one author of credit, that the commerce with India drained the Roman empire every year of more than four hundred thousand pounds; and by another, that one hundred and twenty ships sailed annually from the Arabian Gulf to that country.

The discovery of this new method of sailing to India, is the most considerable improvement in navigation made during the continuance of the Roman power. But in ancient times, the knowledge of remote countries was acquired more frequently by land than by sea; [7] and the Romans, from their peculiar disinclination to naval affairs, may be said to have neglected totally the latter, though a more easy and expeditious method of discovery. The progress, however, of their victorious armies through a considerable portion of Europe, Asia, and Africa, contributed greatly to extend discovery by land, and gradually opened the navigation of new and unknown seas. Previous to the Roman conquests, the civilized nations of antiquity had little com-

munication with those countries in Europe which now form its most opulent and powerful kingdoms. The interior parts of Spain and Gaul were imperfectly known. Britain, separated from the rest of the world, had never been visited, except by its neighbors the Gauls, and by a few Carthaginian merchants. The name of Germany had scarcely been heard of. Into all these countries the arms of the Romans penetrated. They entirely subdued Spain and Gaul; they conquered the greatest and most fertile parts of Britain; they advanced into Germany, as far as the banks of the river Elbe. In Africa, they acquired a considerable knowledge of the provinces, which stretched along the Mediterranean Sea, from Egypt westward to the Straits of Gades. In Asia, they not only subjected to their power most of the provinces which composed the Persian and the Macedonian empires, but after their victories over Mithridates and Tigranes, they seem to have made a more accurate survey of the countries contiguous to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and to have carried on a more extensive trade than that of the Greeks with the opulent and commercial nations then seated round the Euxine sea.

From this succinct survey of discovery and navigation, which I have traced from the earliest dawn of historical knowledge, to the full establishment of the Roman dominion, the progress of both appears to have been wonderfully slow. It seems neither adequate to what we might have expected from the activity and enterprise of the human mind, nor to what might have been performed by the power of the great empires which successively governed the world. If we reject accounts that are fabulous and obscure; if we adhere steadily to the light and information of authentic history, without substituting in its place the conjectures of fancy or the dreams of etymologists, we must conclude, that the knowledge which the ancients had acquired of the habitable globe was extremely confined. In Europe, the extensive provinces in the eastern part of Germany were little known to them. They were almost totally unacquainted with the vast countries which are now subject to the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Poland, and the Russian empire. The more barren regions that stretch within the arctic circle, were quite unexplored. In Africa, their researches did not extend far beyond the provinces which border on the Mediterranean, and those situated on the western shore of the Arabian Gulf. In Asia, they were unacquainted, as I formerly observed, with all the fertile and opulent countries beyond the Ganges, which furnish the most valuable commodities that in modern times have been the great object of the European commerce with India; nor do they seem to have ever penetrated into those immense regions occupied by the wandering tribes, which they called by the general name of Sarmatians or Scythians, and which are now possessed by Tartars of various denominations, and by the Asiatic subjects of Russia.

But there is one opinion that universally prevailed among the ancients, which conveys a more striking idea of the small progress they had made in the knowledge of the habitable globe than can be derived from any detail of their discoveries. They supposed the earth to be divided into five regions, which they distinguished by the name of Zones. Two of these, which were nearest the poles, they termed frigid zones, and believed the extreme cold which reigned perpetually there rendered them uninhabitable. Another, seated under the line, and extending on either side towards the tropics, they called the Torrid zone, and imagined it to be so burned up with unremitting heat, as to be equally destitute of inhabitants. On the two other zones, which occupied the remainder of the earth, they bestowed the appellation of Temperate, and taught that these being the only regions in which life could subsist, were allotted to man for his habitation. This wild opinion was not a conceit of the uninformed vulgar, or a fanciful fiction of the poets, but a system adopted by the most enlightened philosophers, the most accurate historians and geographers in Greece and Rome. According to this theory, a vast portion of the habitable earth was pronounced to be unfit for sustaining the human species. Those fertile and populous regions within the torrid zone, which are now known not only to yield their own inhabitants the necessities and comforts of life with most luxuriant profusion, but to communicate their superfluous stores to the rest of the world, were supposed to be the mansion of perpetual sterility and desolation. As all the parts of the globe with which the ancients were acquainted lay within the northern temperate zone, their opinion that the other temperate zone was filled with inhabitants, was founded

on reasoning and conjecture, not on discovery. They even believed that, by the intolerable heat of the torrid zone, such an insuperable barrier was placed between the two temperate regions of the earth as would prevent forever any intercourse between their respective inhabitants. Thus, this extravagant theory not only proves that the ancients were unacquainted with the true state of the globe, but it tended to render their ignorance perpetual, by representing all attempts towards opening a communication with the remote regions of the earth, as utterly impracticable. [8.]

But, however imperfect or inaccurate the geographical knowledge which the Greeks and Romans had acquired may appear, in respect of the present improved state of that science, their progress in discovery will seem considerable, and the extent to which they carried navigation and commerce must be reckoned great, when compared with the ignorance of early times. As long as the Roman Empire retained such vigor as to preserve its authority over the conquered nations, and to keep them united, it was an object of public policy, as well as of private curiosity, to examine and describe the countries which composed this great body. Even when the other sciences began to decline, geography, enriched with new observations, and receiving some accession from the experience of every age, and the reports of every traveller, continued to improve. It attained to the highest point of perfection and accuracy to which it ever arrived in the ancient world, by the industry and genius of Ptolemy the Philosopher. He flourished in the second century of the Christian era, and published a description of the terrestrial globe, more ample and exact than that of any of his predecessors.

But, soon after, violent convulsions began to shake the Roman state: the fatal ambition or caprice of Constantine, by changing the seat of government, divided and weakened its force; the barbarous nations, which Providence prepared as instruments to overturn the mighty fabric of the Roman power, began to assemble and to muster their armies on its frontier; the empire tottered to its fall. During this decline and old age of the Roman state, it was impossible that the sciences should go on improving. The efforts of genius were, at that period, as languid and feeble as those of government. From the time of Ptolemy, no inconsiderable addition seems to have been made to a geographical knowledge; nor did any important revolution happen in trade, excepting that Constantinople, by its advantageous situation, and the encouragement of the eastern emperors, became a commercial city of the first note.

At length, the clouds which had been so long gathering round the Roman empire burst into a storm. Barbarous nations rushed in from several quarters with irresistible impetuosity, and in the general wreck, occasioned by the inundation which overwhelmed Europe, the arts, sciences, inventions, and discoveries of the Romans perished in a great measure, and disappeared. All the various tribes which settled in the different provinces of the Roman empire were uncivilized, strangers to letters, destitute of arts, unacquainted with regular government, subordination or laws. The manners and institutions of some of them were so rude as to be hardly compatible with a state of social union. Europe, when occupied by such inhabitants, may be said to have returned to a second infancy, and had to begin anew its career in improvement, science, and civility. The first effect of the settlement of those barbarous invaders was to dissolve the union by which the Roman power had cemented mankind together. They parcelled out Europe into many small and independent states, differing from each other in language and customs. No intercourse subsisted between the members of those divided and hostile communities. Accustomed to a simple mode of life, and averse to industry, they had few wants to supply, and few superfluities to dispose of. The names of *stranger* and *enemy* became once more words of the same import. Customs every where prevailed and even laws were established, which rendered it disagreeable and dangerous to visit any foreign country. Cities, in which alone an extensive commerce can be carried on, were few, inconsiderable, and destitute of those immunities which produce security or excite enterprise. The sciences, on which geography and navigation are founded, were little cultivated. The accounts of ancient improvements and discoveries, contained in the Greek and Roman authors, were neglected or misunderstood. The knowledge of remote regions was lost, their situation, their commodities, and almost their names were unknown.

One circumstance prevented commercial intercourse

with distant nations from ceasing altogether. Constantinople, though often threatened by the fierce invaders who spread desolation over the rest of Europe, was so fortunate as to escape their destructive rage. In that city the knowledge of ancient arts and discoveries was preserved; a taste for elegance and splendor subsisted; the productions and luxuries of foreign countries were in request; and commerce continued to flourish there when it was almost extinct in every other part of Europe. The citizens of Constantinople did not confine their trade to the Islands of the Archipelago, or to the adjacent coasts of Asia; they took a wider range, and, following the course which the ancients had marked out, imported the commodities of the East Indies from Alexandria. When Egypt was torn from the Roman empire, by the Arabians, the industry of the Greeks discovered a new channel by which the productions of India might be conveyed to Constantinople. They were carried up the Indus as far as that great river is navigable; thence they were transported by land to the banks of the river Oxus, and proceeded down its stream to the Caspian sea. There they entered the Volga, and, sailing up it, were carried by land to the Tanae, which conducted them into the Euxine sea, where vessels from Constantinople waited their arrival. This extraordinary and tedious mode of conveyance merits attention, not only as a proof of the violent passion which the inhabitants of Constantinople had conceived for the luxuries of the East, and as a specimen of the ardor and ingenuity with which they carried on commerce; but because it demonstrates that, during the ignorance which reigned in the rest of Europe, an extensive knowledge of remote countries was still preserved in the capital of the Greek empire.

At the same time a gleam of light and knowledge broke in upon the East. The Arabians, having contracted some relish for the sciences of the people whose empire they had contributed to overturn, translated the books of several of the Greek philosophers into their own language. One of the first was that valuable work of Ptolemy which I have already mentioned. The study of geography became, of consequence, an early object of attention to the Arabians. But that acute and ingenious people cultivated chiefly the speculative and scientific parts of geography. In order to ascertain the figure and dimensions of the terrestrial globe, they applied the principles of geometry, they had recourse to astronomical observations, they employed experiments and operations, which Europe in more enlightened times has been proud to adopt and to imitate. At that period, however, the fame of the improvements made by the Arabians did not reach Europe. The knowledge of their discoveries was reserved for ages capable of comprehending and of perfecting them.

By degrees the calamities and desolation brought upon the western provinces of the Roman empire by its barbarous conquerors were forgotten, and in some measure repaired. The rude tribes which settled there acquiring insensibly some idea of regular government, and some relish for the functions and comforts of civil life, Europe began to awake from its torpid and inactive state. The first symptoms of revival were discerned in Italy. The northern tribes which took possession of this country, made progress in improvement with greater rapidity than the people settled in other parts of Europe. Various causes, which it is not the object of this work to enumerate or explain, concurred in restoring liberty and independence to the cities of Italy. The acquisition of these roused industry, and gave motion and vigor to all the active powers of the human mind. Foreign commerce revived, navigation was attended to and improved. Constantinople became the chief mart to which the Italians resorted. There they not only met with a favorable reception, but obtained such mercantile privileges as enabled them to carry on trade with great advantage. They were supplied both with the precious commodities of the east, and with many curious manufactures, the product of ancient arts and ingenuity which still subsisted among the Greeks. As the labor and expense of conveying the productions of India to Constantinople by that long and indirect course which I have described, rendered them extremely rare, and of an exorbitant price, the industry of the Italians discovered other methods of procuring them in greater abundance and at an easier rate. They sometimes purchased them in Aleppo, Tripoli, and other ports on the coast of Syria, to which they were brought by a route not unknown to the ancients. They were conveyed from India by sea up the Persian Gulf, and ascending the Euphrates and Tigris as far as Bagdad, were carried by land across the desert of Palmyra, and from thence to the towns on the Mediterranean. But

from the length of the journey, and the dangers to which the caravans were exposed, this proved always a tedious and often a precarious mode of conveyance. At length the Soldans of Egypt, having revived the commerce with India in its ancient channel, by the Arabian Gulf, the Italian merchants, notwithstanding the violent antipathy to each other with which Christians and the followers of Mahomet were then possessed, repaired to Alexandria, and enduring, from the love of gain, the insolence and exactions of the Mahometans, established a lucrative trade in that port. From that period the commercial spirit of Italy became active and enterprising. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, rose from inconceivable towns to be populous and wealthy cities. Their naval power increased; their vessels frequented not only all the ports in the Mediterranean, but venturing sometimes beyond the straits, visited the maritime towns of Spain, France, the Low Countries, and England; and, by distributing their commodities over Europe, began to communicate to its various nations some taste for the valuable productions of the East, as well as some ideas of manufactures and arts, which were then unknown beyond the precincts of Italy.

While the cities of Italy were thus advancing in their career of improvement, an event happened, the most extraordinary, perhaps, in the history of mankind, which, instead of retarding the commercial progress of the Italians rendered it more rapid. The martial spirit of the Europeans, heightened and inflamed by religious zeal, prompted them to attempt the deliverance of the Holy Land from the dominion of Infidels. Vast armies composed of all the nations in Europe, marched towards Asia upon this wild enterprise. The Genoese, the Pisans, and Venetians, furnished the transports which carried them thither. They supplied them with provisions and military stores. Besides the immense sums which they received on this account, they obtained commercial privileges and establishments of great consequence in the settlements which the Crusaders made in Palestine, and in other provinces of Asia. From those sources, prodigious wealth flowed into the cities which I have mentioned. This was accompanied with a proportional increase of power: and, by the end of the Holy War, Venice in particular became a great maritime state, possessing an extensive commerce and ample territories. Italy was not the only country in which the crusades contributed to revive and diffuse such a spirit as prepared Europe for future discoveries. By their expeditions into Asia, the other European nations became well acquainted with remote regions, which formerly they knew only by name, or by the reports of ignorant and credulous pilgrims. They had an opportunity of observing the manners, the arts, and the accommodations of people more polished than themselves. This intercourse between the East and West subsisted almost two centuries. The adventurers who returned from Asia, communicated to their countrymen the ideas which they had acquired, and the habits of life they had contracted by visiting more refined nations. The Europeans began to be sensible of wants with which they were formerly unacquainted; new desires were excited; and such a taste for the commodities and arts of other countries gradually spread among them, that they not only encouraged the resort of foreigners to their harbors, but began to perceive the advantages and necessity of applying to commerce themselves.

This communication, which was opened between Europe and the western provinces of Asia, encouraged several persons to advance far beyond the countries in which the Crusaders carried on their operations, and to travel by land into the more remote and opulent regions of the East. The wild fanaticism, which seems at that period to have mingled in all the schemes of individuals, no less than in all the counsel of nations, first incited men to enter upon those long and dangerous peregrinations. They were afterwards undertaken from prospects of commercial advantage, or from motives of mere curiosity. Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela, in the kingdom of Navarre, possessed with a superstitious veneration for the law of Moses, and solicitous to visit his countrymen in the East, whom he hoped to find in such a state of power and opulence as might redound to the honor of his sect, set out from Spain, in the year 1160, and travelling by land to Constantinople, proceeded through the countries to the north of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, as far as Chinese Tartary. From thence he took his route towards the south, and after traversing various provinces of the further India, he embarked on the Indian Ocean, visited several of its islands, and returned at the end of thirteen years, by the way of Egypt, to Europe, with much

information concerning a large district of the globe altogether unknown at that time to the western world. The zeal of the head of the Christian Church co-operated with the superstition of Benjamin the Jew in discovering the interior and remote provinces of Asia. All Christendom having been alarmed with the accounts of the rapid progress of the Tartar arms under Zengis Khan [1216.] Innocent IV., who entertained most exalted ideas concerning the plenitude of his own power, and the submission due to his injunctions, sent Father John de Plano Carpini, at the head of a mission of Franciscan monks, and Father Ascolino, at the head of Dominicans, to enjoin Kayuk Kahn, the grandson of Zengis, who was then at the head of the Tartar empire, to embrace the Christian faith, and to desist from desolating the earth by his arms. The haughty descendant of the greatest conqueror Asia had ever beheld, astonished at this strange mandate from an Italian priest, whose name and jurisdiction were alike unknown to him, received it with the contempt which it merited, though he dismissed the mendicants who delivered it with impunity. But as they had penetrated into the country by different routes, and followed for some time the Tartar camps, which were always in motion, they had an opportunity of visiting a great part of Asia. Carpini, who proceeded by the way of Poland and Russia, travelled through its northern provinces as far as the extremities of Thibet. Ascolino, who seems to have landed some where in Syria, advanced through its southern provinces into the interior parts of Persia.

Not long after, [1253] St. Louis of France contributed further towards extending the knowledge which the Europeans had begun to acquire of those distant regions. Some designing impostor, who took advantage of the slender acquaintance of Christendom with the state and character of the Asiatic nations, having informed him that a powerful Khan of the Tartars had embraced the Christian faith, the monarch listened to the tale with pious credulity, and instantly resolved to send ambassadors to this illustrious convert, with a view of enticing him to attack their common enemy the Saracens in one quarter, while he fell upon them in another. As monks were the only persons in that age who possessed such a degree of knowledge as qualified them for a service of this kind he employed in it Father Andrew, a Jacobine, who was followed by Father William de Rubruquis, a Franciscan. With respect to the progress of the former, there is no memorial extant. The journal of the latter has been published. He was admitted into the presence of Mangu, the third Khan in succession from Zengis, and made a circuit through the interior parts of Asia, more extensive than that of any European who had hitherto explored them.

To those travellers whom religious zeal sent forth to visit Asia, succeeded others who ventured into remote countries from the prospect of commercial advantage, or from motives of mere curiosity. The first and most eminent of these was Marco Polo, a Venetian of a noble family. Having engaged early in trade [1255.] according to the custom of his country, his aspiring mind wished for a sphere of activity more extensive than was afforded to it by the established traffic carried on in those parts of Europe and Asia which the Venetians frequented. This prompted him to travel into unknown countries, in expectation of opening a commercial intercourse with them more suited to the sanguine ideas and hopes of a young adventurer.

As his father had already carried some European commodities to the court of the great Khan of the Tartars, and had disposed of them to advantage, he resorted thither. Under the protection of Kublay Khan, the most powerful of all the successors of Zengis, he continued his mercantile peregrinations in Asia upwards of twenty-six years; and during that time advanced towards the east, far beyond the utmost boundaries to which any European traveller had ever proceeded. Instead of following the course of Carpini and Rubruquis, along the vast unpeopled plains of Tartary, he passed through the chief trading cities in the more cultivated parts of Asia, and penetrated to Cambalu, or Peking, the capital of the great kingdom of Cathay, or China, subject at that time to the successors of Zengis. He made more than one voyage on the Indian ocean; he traded in many of the islands from which Europe had long received spices and other commodities which it held in high estimation, though unacquainted with the particular countries to which it was indebted for those precious productions; and he obtained information concerning several countries which he did not visit in person, particularly the island Zipangri, probably the same now known by the

name of Japan. On his return, he astonished his contemporaries with his descriptions of vast regions whose names had never been heard of in Europe, and with such pompous accounts of their fertility, their populousness, their opulence, the variety of their manufactures, and the extent of their trade, as rose far above the conception of an uninformed age.

About half a century after Marco Polo [1322.] Sir John Mandeville, an Englishman, encouraged by his example, visited most of the countries in the East which he had described, and, like him, published an account of them. The narrations of these early travellers abound with many wild incoherent tales, concerning giants, enchanters, and monsters. But they were not from that circumstance less acceptable to an ignorant age, which delighted in what was marvellous. The wonders which they told, mostly on hearsay, filled the multitude with admiration. The facts which they related from their own observation attracted the attention of the more discerning. The former, which may be considered as the popular traditions and fables of the countries through which they had passed, were gradually disregarded as Europe advanced in knowledge. The latter, however incredible some of them may have appeared in their own time, have been confirmed by the observations of modern travellers. By means of both, however, the curiosity of mankind was excited with respect to the remote parts of the earth; their ideas were enlarged; and they were not only insensibly disposed to attempt new discoveries, but received such information as directed to that particular course in which these were afterwards carried on.

While this spirit was gradually forming in Europe, a fortunate discovery was made, which contributed more than all the efforts and ingenuity of the preceding ages to improve and to extend navigation. That wonderful property of the magnet, by which it communicates such virtue to a needle or slender rod of iron as to point towards the poles of the earth, was observed. The use which might be made of this in directing navigation was immediately perceived. That valuable, but now familiar instrument, the mariner's compass, was constructed. When by means of it navigators found that, at all seasons and in every place, they could discover the north and south with so much ease and accuracy, it became no longer necessary to depend merely on the light of the stars and the observation of the sea coast. They gradually abandoned their ancient timid and lingering course along the shore, ventured boldly into the ocean, and relying on this new guide, could steer in the darkest night, and under the most cloudy sky, with a security and precision hitherto unknown. The compass may be said to have opened to man the dominion of the sea, and to have put him in full possession of the earth, by enabling him to visit every part of it. Flavio Gioia, a citizen of Almasi, a town of considerable trade in the kingdom of Naples, was the author of this great discovery, about the year one thousand three hundred and two. It hath been often the fate of those illustrious benefactors of mankind who have enriched science and improved the arts by their inventions, to derive more reputation than benefit from the happy efforts of their genius. But the lot of Gioia has been still more cruel; though the inattention or ignorance of contemporary historians, he has been defrauded even of the fame to which he had such a just title. We receive from them no information with respect to his profession, his character, the precise time when he made this important discovery, or the accidents and inquiries which led to it. The knowledge of this event, though productive of greater effects than any recorded in the annals of the human race, is transmitted to us without any of those circumstances which can gratify the curiosity that it naturally awakens. But though the use of the compass might enable the Italians to perform the short voyages to which they were accustomed with greater security and expedition, its influence was not so sudden or extensive as immediately to render navigation adventurous, and to excite a spirit of discovery. Many causes combined in preventing this beneficial invention from producing its full effect instantaneously. Men relinquish ancient habits slowly and with reluctance. They are averse to new experiments, and venture upon them with timidity. The commercial jealousy of the Italians, it is probable labored to conceal the happy discovery of their countrymen from other nations. The art of steering by the compass with such skill and accuracy as to inspire a full confidence in its direction, was acquired gradually. Sailors unaccustomed to quit the sight of land, durst not launch out at once and commit themselves to unknown seas. Accordingly, near half a century elapsed

from the time of Gioia's discovery, before navigators ventured into any seas which they had not been accustomed to frequent.

The first appearance of a bolder spirit may be dated from the voyages of the Spaniards to the Canary or Fortunate Islands. By what accident they were led to the discovery of those small isles, which lie near five hundred miles from the Spanish coast, and above a hundred and fifty miles from the coast of Africa, contemporary writers have not explained. But, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the people of all the different kingdoms into which Spain was then divided, were accustomed to make piratical excursions thither; in order to plunder the inhabitants, or to carry them off as slaves. Clement VI., in virtue of the right claimed by the Holy See to dispose of all countries possessed by Infidels, erected those isles into a kingdom in the year one thousand three hundred and forty four, and conferred it on Lewis de la Cerda, descended from the royal family of Castile. But that unfortunate prince, destitute of power to assert his nominal title, having never visited the Canaries, John de Bethencourt, a Norman baron, obtained a grant of them from Henry III. of Castile. Bethencourt, with the valour and good fortune which distinguished the adventurers of his country, attempted and effected the conquest; and the possession of the Canaries remained for some time in his family, as a fief held of the crown of Castile. Previous to this expedition of Bethencourt, his countrymen settled in Normandy are said to have visited the coast of Africa, and to have proceeded far to the south of the Canary Islands [1365]. But their voyages thither seem not to have been undertaken in consequence of any public or regular plan for extending navigation and attempting new discoveries. They were either excursions suggested by that roving piratical spirit which descended to the Normans from their ancestors, or the commercial enterprises of private merchants, which attracted so little notice that hardly any memorial of them is to be found in contemporary authors.—In a general survey of the progress of discovery, it is sufficient to have mentioned this event; and leaving it among those of dubious existence, or of small importance, we may conclude, that though much additional information concerning the remote regions of the East had been received by travellers who visited them by land, navigation at the beginning of the fifteenth century had not advanced beyond the state to which it had attained before the downfall of the Roman empire.

At length the period arrived, when Providence decreed that men were to pass the limits within which they had been so long confined, and open to themselves a more ample field wherein to display their talents, their enterprise, and courage. The first considerable efforts towards this were not made by any of the more powerful states of Europe, or by those who had applied to navigation with the greatest assiduity and success. The glory of leading the way in this new career was reserved for Portugal, one of the smallest and least powerful of the European kingdoms. As the attempts of the Portuguese to acquire the knowledge of those parts of the globe with which mankind were then unacquainted, not only improved and extended the art of navigation, but roused such a spirit of curiosity and enterprise as led to the discovery of the New World, of which I propose to write the history, it is necessary to take a full view of the rise, the progress, and success of their various naval operations. It was in this school that the discoverer of America was trained; and unless we trace the steps by which his instructors and guides advanced, it will be impossible to comprehend the circumstances which suggested the idea, or facilitated the execution, of his great design.

Various circumstances prompted the Portuguese to exert their activity in this new direction, and enabled them to accomplish undertakings apparently superior to the natural force of their monarchy. The kings of Portugal, having driven the Moors out of their dominions, had acquired power as well as glory, by the success of their arms, against the Infidels. By their victories over them, they had extended the royal authority beyond the narrow limits within which it was originally circumscribed in Portugal, as well as in other feudal kingdoms. They had the command of the national force, could rouse it to act with united vigour, and, after the expulsion of the Moors, could employ it without dread of interruption from any domestic enemy. By the perpetual hostilities carried on for several centuries against the Mahometans, the martial and adventurous spirit which distinguished all the European nations during the middle ages, was improved and

heightened among the Portuguese. A fierce civil war towards the close of the fourteenth century, occasioned by a disputed succession, augmented the military ardor of the nation, and formed or called forth men of such active and daring genius as are fit for bold undertakings. The situation of the kingdom, bounded on every side by the dominions of a more powerful neighbour, did not afford free scope to the activity of the Portuguese by land, as the strength of their monarchy was no match for that of Castile. But Portugal was a maritime state, in which there were many commodious harbors; the people had begun to make some progress in the knowledge and practice of navigation, and the sea was open to them, presenting the only field for enterprise in which they could distinguish themselves.

Such was the state of Portugal, and such the disposition of the people when John I., surnamed the Bastard, obtained secure possession of the crown by the peace concluded with Castile, in the year one thousand four hundred and eleven. He was a prince of great merit, who, by superior courage and abilities, had opened his way to a throne which of right did not belong to him. He instantly perceived that it would be impossible to preserve public order, or domestic tranquility, without finding some employment for the restless spirit of his subjects. With this view he assembled a numerous fleet at Lisbon, composed of all the ships which he could fit out in his own kingdom, and of many hired from foreigners. This great armament was destined to attack the Moors settled on the coast of Barbary [1412]. While it was equipping, a few vessels were appointed to sail along the western shore of Africa, bounded by the Atlantic ocean, and to discover the unknown countries situated there. From this inconsiderable attempt, we may date the commencement of that spirit of discovery which opened the barriers which had so long shut out mankind from the knowledge of one half of the terrestrial globe.

At the time when John sent forth these ships on this new voyage, the art of navigation was still very imperfect. Though Africa lay so near to Portugal, and the fertility of the countries already known on that continent invited men to explore it more fully, the Portuguese had never ventured to sail beyond Cape Non. That promontory, as its name imports, was hitherto considered as a boundary which could not be passed. But the nations of Europe had now acquired as much knowledge as emboldened them to disregard the prejudices and to correct the errors of their ancestors.

The long reign of ignorance, the constant enemy of every curious inquiry and of every new undertaking, was approaching to its period. The light of science began to dawn. The works of the ancient Greeks and Romans began to be read with admiration and profit. The sciences cultivated by the Arabians were introduced into Europe by the Moors settled in Spain and Portugal, and by the Jews, who were very numerous in both these kingdoms. Geometry, astronomy, and geography, the sciences on which the art of navigation is founded, became objects of studious attention. The memory of discoveries made by the ancients, was revived, and the progress of their navigation and commerce began to be traced. Some of the causes which have obstructed the cultivation of science in Portugal, during this century and the last did not exist, or did not operate in the same manner, in the fifteenth century; [9] and the Portuguese at that period seem to have kept pace with other nations on this side of the Alps in literary pursuits.

As the genius of the age favored the execution of that new undertaking, to which the peculiar state of the country invited the Portuguese; it proved successful. The vessels sent on the discovery doubled that formidable Cape, which had terminated the progress of former navigators, and proceeded a hundred and sixty miles beyond it, to Cape Bojador. As its rocky cliffs, which stretched a considerable way into the Atlantic, appeared more dreadful than the promontory which they had passed, the Portuguese commanders durst not attempt to sail round it, but returned to Lisbon, more satisfied with having advanced so far, than ashamed of having ventured no further.

Inconsiderable as this voyage was, it increased the passion for discovery which began to arise in Portugal. The fortunate issue of the king's expedition against the Moors of Barbary added strength to that spirit in the nation, and pushed it on to new undertakings. In order to render these successful, it was necessary that they should be conducted by a person who possessed abilities capable of discerning what was attainable, who enjoyed leisure to form a regular system for prosecu-

ting discovery, and who was animated with ardor that would persevere in spite of obstacles and repulses. Happily for Portugal, she found all those qualities in Henry Duke of Viesco, the fourth son of King John, by Philippa of Lancaster, sister of Henry IV. king of England. That prince, in his early youth, having accompanied his father in his expedition to Barbary, distinguished himself by many deeds of valor. To the martial spirit, which was the characteristic of every man of noble birth at that time, he added all the accomplishments of a more enlightened and polished age. He cultivated the arts and sciences, which were then unknown and despised by persons of his rank. He applied with peculiar fondness to the study of geography; and by the instruction of able masters, as well as by the accounts of travellers, he early acquired such knowledge of the habitable globe, as discovered the great possibility of finding new and opulent countries, by sailing along the coast of Africa. Such an object was formed to awaken the enthusiasm and ardor of a youthful mind, and he espoused with the utmost zeal the patronage of a design which might prove as beneficial as it appeared to be splendid and honorable. In order that he might pursue this great scheme without interruption, he retired from court immediately after his return from Africa, and fixed his residence at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where the prospect of the Atlantic ocean invited his thoughts continually towards his favorite project, and encouraged him to execute it. In this retreat he was attended by some of the most learned men in his country, who aided him in his researches. He applied for information to the Moors of Barbary, who were accustomed to travel by land into the interior provinces of Africa in quest of ivory, gold dust, and other rich commodities. He consulted the Jews settled in Portugal. By promises, rewards and marks of respect, he allured into his service several persons, foreigners as well as Portuguese, who were eminent for their skill in navigation. In taking those preparatory steps, the great abilities of the prince were seconded by his private virtues. His integrity, his affability, his respect for religion, his zeal for the honor of his country, engaged persons of all ranks to applaud his design, and to favor the execution of it. His schemes were allowed, by the greater part of his countrymen, to proceed neither from ambition nor the desire of wealth, but to flow from the warm benevolence of a heart eager to promote the happiness of mankind, and which justly entitle him to assume a motto for his device, that described the quality by which he wished to be distinguished, *the talent of doing good*.

His first effort, as is usual at the commencement of any new undertaking, was extremely inconsiderable. He fitted out a single ship [1418], and giving the command of it to John Gonzales Zarco and Tristan Vaz, two gentlemen of his household, who voluntarily offered to conduct the enterprise, he instructed them to use their utmost efforts to double Cape Bojador, and thence to steer towards the south. They, according to the mode of navigation which still prevailed, held their course along the shore; and by following that direction, they must have encountered almost insuperable difficulties in attempting to pass Cape Bojador. But fortune came in aid to their want of skill, and prevented the voyage from being altogether fruitless. A sudden squall of wind arose, drove them out to sea, and when they expected every moment to perish, landed them on an unknown island, which from their happy escape they named *Porto Santo*. In the infancy of navigation, the discovery of this small island appeared a matter of such moment, that they instantly returned to Portugal with the good tidings, and were received by Henry with the applause and honor due to fortunate adventurers. This faint dawn of success filled a mind ardent in the pursuit of a favorite object, with such sanguine hopes as were sufficient incitements to proceed. Next year [1419] Henry sent out three ships under the same commanders, to whom he joined Bartholomew Perestrello, in order to take possession of the island which they had discovered. When they began to settle in Porto Santo, they observed towards the south a fixed spot in the horizon like a small black cloud. By degrees, they were led to conjecture that it might be land; and steering towards it, they arrived at a considerable island, uninhabited and covered with wood, which on that account they called *Madaira*. As it was Henry's chief object to render his discoveries useful to his country, he immediately equipped a fleet to carry a colony of Portuguese to these islands [1420]. By his provident care, they were furnished not only with the seeds, plants and domestic animals common in Europe; but, as he foresaw that the warmth of the climate

mate and fertility of the soil would prove favorable to the rearing of other productions, he procured slips of the vine from the island of Cyprus, the rich wines of which were then in great request, and plants of the sugar-cane from Sicily, into which it had been lately introduced. These thrived so prosperously in this new country, that the benefit of cultivating them was immediately perceived, and the sugar and wine of Madeira quickly became articles of some consequence in the commerce of Portugal.

As soon as the advantages derived from this first settlement to the west of the European continent began to be felt, the spirit of discovery appeared less chimerical, and became more adventurous. By their voyages to Madeira, the Portuguese were gradually accustomed to a bolder navigation, and, instead of creeping servilely along the coast, ventured into the open sea. In consequence of taking this course, Gilianez, who commanded one of prince Henry's ships, doubled Cape Bojador [1433.] the boundary of the Portuguese navigation upwards of twenty years, and which had hitherto been deemed unpassable. This successful voyage, which the ignorance of the age placed on a level with the most famous exploits recorded in history, opened a new sphere to navigation, as it discovered the vast continent of Africa, still washed by the Atlantic ocean, and stretching towards the south. Part of this was soon explored; the Portuguese advanced within the tropics, and in the space of a few years discovered the river Senegal, and all the coast extending from Cape Blanco to Cape de Verd.

Hitherto the Portuguese had been guided in their discoveries, or encouraged to attempt them, by the light and information which they received from the works of the ancient mathematicians and geographers. But when they began to enter the torrid zone, the notion which prevailed among the ancients, that the heat which reigned perpetually there was so excessive as to render it uninhabitable, deterred them, for some time, from proceeding. Their own observations, when they first ventured into this unknown and formidable region, tended to confirm the opinion of antiquity concerning the violent operation of the direct rays of the sun. As far as the river Senegal, the Portuguese had found the coast of Africa inhabited by people nearly resembling the Moors of Barbary. When they advanced to the south of that river, the human form seemed to put on a new appearance. They beheld men with skins black as ebony, with short curled hair, flat noses, thick lips, and all the peculiar features which are now known to distinguish the race of negroes. This surprising alteration they naturally attributed to the influence of heat, and if they should advance nearer to the line, they began to dread that its effects would be still more violent. Those dangers were exaggerated; and many other objections against attempting further discoveries were proposed by some of the grandees, who, from ignorance, from envy, or from that cold timed prudence which rejects whatever has the air of novelty or enterprise, had hitherto condemned all prince Henry's schemes. They represented, that it was altogether chimerical to expect any advantage from countries situated in that region which the wisdom and experience of antiquity had pronounced to be unfit for the habitation of men; that their forefathers, satisfied with cultivating the territory which Providence had allotted them, did not waste the strength of the kingdom by fruitless projects in quest of new settlements; that Portugal was already exhausted by the expense of attempts to discover lands which either did not exist, or which nature destined to remain unknown; and was drained of men, who might have been employed in undertakings attended with more certain success, and productive of greater benefit. But neither their appeal to the authority of the ancients, nor their reasonings concerning the interests of Portugal, made any impression upon the determined philosophic mind of prince Henry. The discoveries which he had already made, convinced him that the ancients had little more than a conjectural knowledge of the torrid zone. He was no less satisfied that the political arguments of his opponents, with respect to the interest of Portugal, were malevolent and ill founded. In those sentiments he was strenuously supported by his brother Pedro, who governed the kingdom as guardian of their nephew Alphonso V., who had succeeded to the throne during his minority [1438]; and, instead of slackening his efforts, Henry continued to pursue his discoveries with fresh ardor.

But in order to silence all the murmurs of opposition, he endeavored to obtain the sanction of the highest authority in favor of his operations. With this view

he applied to the Pope, and represented, in pompous terms, the pious and unwearied zeal with which he had exerted himself during twenty years, in discovering unknown countries, the wretched inhabitants of which were utter strangers to true religion, wandering in heathen darkness, or led astray by the delusions of Mahomet. He besought the holy father, to whom, as the vicar of Christ, all the kingdoms of the earth were subject, to confer on the crown of Portugal a right to all the countries possessed by infidels, which should be discovered by the industry of its subjects, and subdued by the force of its arms. He entreated him to enjoin all Christian powers, under the highest penalties, not to molest Portugal while engaged in this laudable enterprise, and to prohibit them from settling in any of the countries which the Portuguese should discover. He promised that in all their expeditions, it should be the chief object of his countrymen to spread the knowledge of the Christian religion, to establish the authority of the Holy See, and to increase the flock of the universal pastor. As it was by improving with dexterity every favorable conjuncture for acquiring new powers, that the court of Rome had gradually extended its usurpations, Eugene IV., the Pontiff to whom this application was made, eagerly seized the opportunity which now presented itself. He instantly perceived that, by complying with Prince Henry's request, he might exercise a prerogative no less flattering in its own nature than likely to prove beneficial in its consequences. A bull was accordingly issued, in which, after applauding in the strongest terms the past efforts of the Portuguese, and exhorting them to proceed in that laudable career on which they had entered, he granted them an exclusive right to all the countries which they should discover, from Cape Non to the continent of India.

Extravagant as this donation, comprehending such a large portion of the habitable globe, would now appear, even in Catholic countries, no person in the fifteenth century doubted that the Pope in the plenitude of his apostolic power, had a right to confer it. Prince Henry was soon sensible of the advantages which he derived from this transaction. His schemes were authorized and sanctified by the bull approving of them. The spirit of discovery was connected with zeal for religion, which in that age was a principle of such activity and vigor as to influence the conduct of nations. All Christian princes were deterred from intruding into those countries which the Portuguese had discovered, or from interrupting the progress of their navigation and conquests. [10]

The fame of the Portuguese voyages soon spread over Europe. Men long accustomed to circumscribe the activity and knowledge of the human mind within the limits to which they had been hitherto confined, were astonished to behold the sphere of navigation so suddenly enlarged, and a prospect opened of visiting regions of the globe the existence of which was unknown in former times. The learned and speculative reasoned and formed theories concerning those unexpected discoveries. The vulgar inquired and wondered; while enterprising adventurers crowded from every part of Europe, soliciting prince Henry to employ them in this honorable service. Many Venetians and Genoese, in particular, who were at that time superior to all other nations in the science of naval affairs, entered aboard the Portuguese ships, and acquired a more perfect and extensive knowledge of their profession in that new school of navigation. In emulation of these foreigners, the Portuguese exerted their own talents. The nation seconded the designs of the prince. Private merchants formed companies [1446.] with a view to search for unknown countries. The Cape de Verde Islands, which lie off the promontory of that name, were discovered [1449.] and soon after the isles called Azores. As the former of these are above three hundred miles from the African coast, and the latter nine hundred miles from any continent, it is evident by their venturing so boldly into the open seas, that the Portuguese had by this time improved greatly in the art of navigation.

While the passion for engaging in new undertakings was thus warm and active, it received an unfortunate check by the death of prince Henry [1463.] whose superior knowledge had hitherto directed all the operations of the discoverers, and whose patronage had encouraged and protected them. But notwithstanding all the advantages which they derived from these, the Portuguese during his life did not advance in their utmost progress towards the south, within five degrees of the equinoctial line; and after their continued exertions for half a century, [from 1412 to 1463.] hardly

fifteen hundred miles of the coast of Africa were discovered. To an age acquainted with the efforts of navigation in its state of maturity and improvement, these essays of its early years must necessarily appear feeble and unskilful. But inconsiderable as they may be deemed, they were sufficient to turn the curiosity of the European nations into a new channel, to excite an enterprising spirit, and to point the way to future discoveries.

Alphonso, who possessed the throne of Portugal at the time of prince Henry's death, was so much engaged in supporting his own pretensions to the crown of Castile, or in carrying on his expeditions against the Moors of Barbary, that, the force of his kingdom being exerted in other operations, he could not prosecute the discoveries in Africa with ardor. He committed the conduct of them to Fernando Gomez, a merchant in Lisbon, to whom he granted an exclusive right of commerce with all the countries of which prince Henry had taken possession. Under the restraint and oppression of a monopoly, the spirit of discovery languished. It ceased to be a national object, and became the concern of a private man more attentive to his own gain than to the glory of his country. Some progress, however, was made. The Portuguese ventured at length [1471.] to cross the line, and, to their astonishment, found that region of the torrid zone, which was supposed to be scorched with intolerable heat, to be not only habitable, but populous and fertile.

John II., who succeeded his father Alphonso [1481,] possessed talents capable both of forming and executing great designs. As part of his revenues, while prince, had arisen from duties on the trade with the newly discovered countries, this naturally turned his attention towards them, and satisfied him with respect to their utility and importance. In proportion as his knowledge of these countries extended, the possession of them appeared to be of greater consequence. While the Portuguese proceeded along the coast of Africa, from Cape Non to the river of Senegal, they found all that extensive tract to be sandy, barren and thinly inhabited by a wretched people professing the Mahometan religion, and subject to the vast empire of Morocco. But to the south of that river, the power and religion of the Mahometans were unknown. The country was divided into small independent principalities, the population was considerable, the soil fertile, and the Portuguese soon discovered that it produced ivory, rich gums, gold, and other valuable commodities. By the acquisition of these, commerce was enlarged, and became more adventurous. Men, animated and rendered active by the certain prospect of gain, pursued discovery with greater eagerness than when they were excited only by curiosity and hope.

This spirit derived from small reinforcement of vigor from the countenance of such a monarch as John. Declaring himself the patron of every attempt towards discovery, he promoted it with all the ardor of his grand uncle, prince Henry, and with superior power. The effects of this were immediately felt. A powerful fleet was fitted out [1484.] which after discovering the kingdoms of Benin and Congo, advanced above fifteen hundred miles beyond the line, and the Portuguese, for the first time, beheld a new heaven, and observed the stars of another hemisphere. John was not only solicitous to discover, but attentive to secure the possession of those countries. He built forts on the coast of Guinea; he sent out colonies to settle there; he established a commercial intercourse with the more powerful kingdoms; he endeavored to render such as were feeble or divided tributary to the crown of Portugal. Some of the petty princes voluntarily acknowledged themselves his vassals. Others were compelled to do so by force of arms. A regular and well digested system was formed with respect to this new object of policy, and by firmly adhering to it the Portuguese power and commerce in Africa were established upon a solid foundation.

By their constant intercourse with the people of Africa, the Portuguese gradually acquired some knowledge of those parts of that country which they had not visited. The information which they received from the natives, added to what they had observed in their own voyages, began to open prospects more extensive, and to suggest the idea of schemes more important than those which had hitherto allured and occupied them. They had detected the error of the ancients concerning the nature of the torrid zone. They found as they proceeded southwards, that the continent of Africa, instead of extending in breadth, according to the doctrine of Ptolemy, at that time the oracle and guide of the learned in the science of geography, appeared sensibly to con-

tract itself, and to bend towards the east. This induced them to give credit to the accounts of the ancient Phœnician voyages round Africa, which had long been deemed fabulous, and led them to conceive hopes, that by following the same route, they might arrive at the East Indies, and engross that commerce which has been the source of wealth and power to every nation possessed of it. The comprehensive genius of prince Henry, as we may conjecture from the words of the Pope's bull, had early formed some idea of this navigation. But though his countrymen, at that period, were incapable of conceiving the extent of his views and schemes, all the Portuguese mathematicians and pilots now concurred in representing them as well founded and practicable. The king entered with warmth into their sentiments, and began to concert measures for this arduous and important voyage.

Before his preparations for this expedition were finished, accounts were transmitted from Africa, that various nations along the coast had mentioned a mighty kingdom situated on their continent, at a great distance towards the east, the king of which, according to their description, professed the Christian religion. The Portuguese monarch immediately concluded, that this must be the emperor of Abyssinia, to whom the Europeans, seduced by a mistake of Rubriques, Marco Polo, and other travellers to the East, absurdly gave the name of Prester, or Presbyter John; and as he hoped to receive information and assistance from a Christian prince, in prosecuting a scheme that tended to propagate their common faith, he resolved to open, if possible, some intercourse with his court. With this view, he made choice of Pedro de Covillam, and Alphonso de Payva, who were perfect masters of the Arabic language, and sent them to the East to search for the residence of this unknown potentate, and to make him proffers of friendship. They had in charge likewise to procure whatever intelligence the nations which they visited could supply, with respect to the trade of India, and the course of navigation to that continent.

While John made this new attempt by land, to obtain some knowledge of the country which he wished so ardently to discover, he did not neglect the prosecution of this great design by sea. The conduct of a voyage for this purpose, the most arduous and important which the Portuguese had ever projected, was committed to Bartholomew Diaz [1486] an officer whose sagacity, experience, and fortitude, rendered him equal to the undertaking. He stretched boldly towards the south, and proceeding beyond the utmost limits to which his countrymen had hitherto advanced, discovered near a thousand miles of new country. Neither the danger to which he was exposed, by a succession of violent tempests in unknown seas, and by the frequent mutinies of his crew, nor the calamities of a famine which he suffered from losing his storeship, could deter him from prosecuting his enterprise. In recompense of his labors and perseverance, he at last deserved that lofty promontory which bounds Africa to the south. But to desert it was all that he had in his power to accomplish. The violence of the winds, the shattered condition of his ships, and the turbulent spirit of the sailors, compelled him to return after a voyage of sixteen months, in which he discovered a far greater extent of country than any former navigator. Diaz had called the promontory which terminated his voyage *Cape Tormentosa*, or the stormy Cape; but the king, his master, as he now entertained no doubt of having found the long desired route to India, gave it a name more inviting, and of a better omen, *The Cape of Good Hope*.

Those sanguine expectations of success were confirmed by the intelligence which John received over land, in consequence of his embassy to Abyssinia. Covillam and Payva, in obedience to their master's instructions, had repaired to Grand Cairo. From that city they travelled along with a caravan of Egyptian merchants, and embarking on the Red Sea, arrived at Aden, in Arabia. There they separated; Payva sailed directly towards Abyssinia; Covillam embarked for the East Indies, and having visited Calcut, Goa, and other cities on the Malabar coast, returned to Sofala, on the east side of Africa, and thence to Grand Cairo, which Payva and he had fixed upon as their place of rendezvous. Unfortunately the former was cruelly murdered in Abyssinia; but Covillam found at Cairo two Portuguese Jews, whom John, whose provident sagacity attended to every circumstance that could facilitate the execution of his schemes, had despatched after them, in order to receive a detail of their proceedings, and to communicate to them new instructions. By one of these Jews, Covillam transmitted to Portugal a journal of his travels by sea and land, his remarks

upon the trade of India, together with exact maps of the coasts on which he had touched; and from what he himself had observed, as well as from the information of skilful seamen, in different countries, he concluded, that, by sailing round Africa, a passage might be found to the East Indies.

The happy coincidence of Covillam's opinion and report, with the discoveries which Diaz had lately made, left hardly any shadow of doubt with respect to the possibility of sailing from Europe to India. But the vast length of the voyage, and the furious storms which Diaz had encountered near the Cape of Good Hope, alarmed and intimidated the Portuguese to such a degree, although by long experience they were now become adventurous and skilful mariners, that some time was requisite to prepare their minds for this dangerous and extraordinary voyage. The courage, however, and authority of the monarch gradually dispelled the vain fears of his subjects, or made it necessary to conceal them. As John thought himself now upon the eve of accomplishing that great design which had been the principal object of his reign, his earnestness in prosecuting it became so vehement, that it occupied his thoughts by day and bereaved him of sleep through the night. While he was taking every precaution that his wisdom and experience could suggest, in order to ensure the success of the expedition, which was to decide concerning the fate of his favorite project, the fame of the vast discoveries which the Portuguese had already made, the reports concerning the extraordinary intelligence which they had received from the East, and the prospect of the voyage which they now meditated, drew the attention of all the European nations, and held them in suspense and expectation. By some, the maritime skill and navigation of the Portuguese were compared with those of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and exalted above them. Others formed conjectures concerning the revolutions which the success of the Portuguese schemes might occasion in the course of trade, and the political state of Europe. The Venetians began to be disquieted with the apprehension of losing their Indian commerce, the monopoly of which was the chief source of their power as well as opulence, and the Portuguese already enjoyed in fancy the wealth of the East. But during this interval, which gave such scope to the various workings of curiosity, of hope, and of fear, an account was brought to Europe of an event no less extraordinary than unexpected, the discovery of a New World situated on the West; and the eyes and admiration of mankind turned immediately towards that great object.

BOOK II.

Birth and education of Columbus—acquires naval skill in the service of Portugal—conceives hopes of reaching the East Indies by holding a westerly course—his system founded on the ideas of the ancients, and knowledge of their navigation—and on the discoveries of the Portuguese—his negotiations with different courts—obstacles which he had to surmount in Spain—Voyage of discovery—difficulties—success—return to Spain—Astonishment of mankind on this discovery of a new world—Papal grant of it—Second voyage—Colony settled—Further discoveries—War with the Indians—First tax imposed on them—Third voyage—He discovers the Continent—State of the Spanish colony—Errors in the first system of colonizing—Voyage of the Portuguese to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope—Effects of this—discoveries made by private adventurers in the New World—Name of America given to it—Machinations against Columbus—disgraced and sent in chains to Europe—Fourth voyage of Columbus—His discoveries—disasters—death.

AMONG the foreigners whom the fame of the discoveries made by the Portuguese had allured into their service, was Christopher Colon, or Columbus, a subject of the Republic of Genoa. Neither the time nor place of his birth is known with certainty [11]; but he was descended of an honorable family, though reduced to indigence by various misfortunes. His ancestors having betaken themselves for subsistence to a seafaring life, Columbus discovered in his early youth the peculiar character and talents which mark out a man for that profession. His parents, instead of thwarting this original propensity of his mind, seem to have encouraged and confirmed it by the education which they gave him. After acquiring some knowledge of the Latin tongue, the only language in which science was taught at that time, he was instructed in geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and the art of drawing. To these he applied with such ardor and predilection, on account of their connexion with navigation, his favorite object, that he advanced with rapid proficiency in the study of them. Thus qualified, he went to sea at the age of fourteen [1461], and began

his career on that element which conducted him to so much glory. His early voyages were to those ports in the Mediterranean which his countrymen the Genoese, frequented. This being a sphere too narrow for his active mind, he made an excursion to the northern seas [1467,] and visited the coast of Iceland, to which the English and other nations had begun to resort on account of its fishery. As navigation, in every direction, was now become enterprising, he proceeded beyond that island, the Thule of the ancients, and advanced several degrees within the polar circle. Having satisfied his curiosity, by a voyage which tended more to enlarge his knowledge of naval affairs than to improve his fortune, he entered into the service of a famous sea-captain of his own name and family. This man commanded a small squadron fitted out at his own expense, and by cruising sometimes against the Mahometans, sometimes against the Venetians, the rivals of his country in trade, had acquired both wealth and reputation. With him Columbus continued for several years, no less distinguished for his courage than for his experience as a sailor. At length, in an obstinate engagement off the coast of Portugal, with some Venetian caravels returning richly laden from the Low Countries, the vessel on board which he served took fire, together with one of the enemy's ships to which it was fast grappled. In this dreadful extremity his intrepidity and presence of mind did not forsake him. He threw himself into the sea, laid hold of a floating oar, and by the support of it, and his dexterity in swimming, he reached the shore, though above two leagues distant, and saved a life reserved for great undertakings.

As soon as he recovered strength for the journey, he repaired to Lisbon, where many of his countrymen were settled. They soon conceived such a favorable opinion of his merit, as well as talents, that they warmly solicited him to remain in that kingdom, where his naval skill and experience could not fail of rendering him conspicuous. To every adventurer animated either with curiosity to visit new countries, or with ambition to distinguish himself, the Portuguese service was at that time extremely inviting. Columbus listened with a favorable ear to the advice of his friends, and having gained the esteem of a Portuguese lady, whom he married fixed his residence in Lisbon. This alliance, instead of detaching him from a seafaring life, contributed to enlarge the sphere of his naval knowledge, and to excite a desire of extending it still further. His wife was a daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, one of the captains employed by prince Henry in his early navigations, and who, under his protection, had discovered and planted the islands of Porto Santo and Madeira. Columbus got possession of the journals and charts of this experienced navigator; and from them he learned the course which the Portuguese had held in making their discoveries, as well as the various circumstances which guided or encouraged them in their attempts. The study of these soothed and inflamed his favorite passion; and while he contemplated the maps, and read the descriptions of the new countries which Perestrello had seen, his impatience to visit them became irresistible. In order to indulge it, he made a voyage to Madeira, and continued during several years to trade with that island, with the Canaries, the Azores, the settlements in Guinea, and all the other places which the Portuguese had discovered on the continent of Africa.

By the experience which Columbus acquired, during such a variety of voyages to almost every part of the globe with which at that time any intercourse was carried on by sea, he was now become one of the most skilful navigators in Europe. But, not satisfied with that praise, his ambition aimed at something more. The successful progress of the Portuguese navigators had awakened a spirit of curiosity and emulation, which set every man of science upon examining all the circumstances that led to the discoveries which they had made, or that afforded a prospect of succeeding in any new and bolder undertaking. The mind of Columbus, naturally inquisitive, capable of deep reflection, and turned to speculations of this kind, was so often employed in revolving the principles upon which the Portuguese had founded their schemes of discovery, and the mode on which they had carried them on, that he gradually began to form an idea of improving upon their plan, and of accomplishing discoveries which hitherto they had attempted in vain.

To find out a passage by sea to the East Indies, was the important object in view at that period. From the time that the Portuguese doubled Cape de Verd, this was the point at which they aimed in all their navigations, and in comparison with all their discoveries in Africa appeared inconsiderable. The fertility and

riches of India had been known for many ages; its spices and other valuable commodities were in high request throughout Europe, and the vast wealth of the Venitians, arising from their having engrossed this trade, had raised the envy of all nations. But how intent soever the Portuguese were upon discovering a new route to those desirable regions, they searched for it only by steering towards the south, in hopes of arriving at India by turning to the east after they had sailed round the farther extremity of Africa. This course was still unknown, and even if discovered, was of such immense length, that a voyage from Europe to India must have appeared at that period an undertaking extremely arduous, and of very uncertain issue. More than half a century had been employed in advancing from Cape Non to the equator; a much longer space of time might elapse before the more extensive navigation from that to India could be accomplished. These reflections upon the uncertainty, the danger, and tediousness of the course which the Portuguese were pursuing, naturally led Columbus to consider whether a shorter and more direct passage to the East Indies might not be found out. After revolving long and seriously every circumstance suggested by his superior knowledge in the theory as well as the practice of navigation; after comparing attentively the observations of modern pilots with the hints and conjectures of ancient authors, he at last concluded, that by sailing directly towards the west, across the Atlantic ocean, new countries, which probably formed a part of the great continent of India, must infallibly be discovered.

Principles and arguments of various kinds, and derived from different sources, induced him to adopt this opinion, seemingly as chimerical as it was new and extraordinary. The spherical figure of the earth was known, and its magnitude ascertained with some degree of accuracy. From this it was evident, that the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, as far as they were known at that time, formed but a small portion of the terraqueous globe. It was suitable to our ideas concerning the wisdom and beneficence of the Author of Nature, to believe that the vast space still unexplored was not covered entirely by a waste unprofitable ocean, but occupied by countries fit for the habitation of man. It appeared likewise extremely probable that the continent on this side of the globe was balanced by a proportional quantity of land in the other hemisphere. These conclusions concerning the existence of another continent, drawn from the figure and structure of the globe, were confirmed by the observations and conjectures of modern navigators. A Portuguese pilot, having stretched further to the west than was usual at that time, took up a piece of timber artificially carved floating upon the sea; and as it was driven towards him by a westerly wind, he concluded that it came from some unknown land situated in that quarter. Columbus's brother-in-law had found to the west of the Madeira isles, a piece of timber fashioned in the same manner, and brought by the same wind; and had seen likewise canes of an enormous size floating upon the waves, which resembled those described by Ptolemy as productions peculiar to the East Indies. After a course of westerly winds, trees torn up by the roots were often driven upon the coast of the Azores; and at one time, the dead bodies of two men, with singular features, resembling neither the inhabitants of Europe nor of Africa, were cast ashore there.

As the force of this united evidence, arising from theoretical principles and practical observations, led Columbus to expect the discovery of new countries in the western ocean, other reasons induced him to believe that these must be connected with the continent of India. Though the ancients had hardly ever penetrated into India further than the banks of the Ganges, yet some Greek authors had ventured to describe the provinces beyond that river. As men are prone, and at liberty, to magnify what is remote or unknown, they represented them as regions of an immense extent. Ctesias affirmed that India was as large as all the rest of Asia. Onesicritus, whom Pliny the naturalist follows, contended that it was equal to a third part of the habitable earth. Nearchus asserted, that it would take four months to march in a straight line from one extremity of India to the other. The journal of Marco Polo, who had proceeded towards the East far beyond the limits to which any European had ever advanced, seemed to confirm these exaggerated accounts of the ancients. By his magnificent descriptions of the kingdoms of *Cathay* and *Cipango*, and of many other countries the names of which were unknown in Europe, India appeared to be a region of vast extent. From these accounts, which, however defective, were the

most accurate that the people of Europe had received at that period with respect to the remote parts of the East, Columbus drew a just conclusion. He contended that, in proportion as the continent of India stretched out towards the East, it must, in consequence of the spherical figure of the earth, approach near to the islands which had lately been discovered to the west of Africa; that the distance from the one to the other was probably not very considerable; and that the most direct as well as shortest course to the remote regions of the East was to be found by sailing due west. [12] This notion concerning the vicinity of India to the western parts of our continent, was countenanced by some eminent writers among the ancients, the sanction of whose authority was necessary, in that age, to procure a favorable reception to any tenet. Aristotle thought it probable that the Columns of Hercules, or Straits of Gibraltar, were not far removed from the East Indies, and that there might be a communication by sea between them. Seneca, in terms still more explicit, affirms, that with a fair wind one might sail from Spain to India in a few days. The famous Atlantic islands described by Plato, and supposed by many to be a real country, beyond which an unknown continent was situated, is represented by him as lying at no great distance from Spain. After weighing all these particulars, Columbus, in whose character the modesty and diffidence of true genius were united with the ardent enthusiasm of a projector, did not rest with such absolute assurance, either upon his own arguments, or upon the authority of the ancients, as not to consult such of his contemporaries as were capable of comprehending the nature of the evidence which he produced in support of his opinion. As early as the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-four, he communicated his ideas concerning the probability of discovering new countries, by sailing westward, to Paul a physician of Florence, eminent for his knowledge of cosmography, and who, from the learning as well as candor which he discovers in his reply, appears to have been well entitled to the confidence which Columbus placed in him. He warmly approved of the plan, suggested several facts in confirmation of it, and encouraged Columbus to persevere in an undertaking so laudable, and which must redound so much to the honor of his country and the benefit of Europe.

To a mind less capable of forming and of executing great designs than that of Columbus, all those reasonings and observations and authorities would have served only as the foundation of some plausible and fruitless theory, which might have furnished matter for ingenious discourse or fanciful conjecture. But with his sanguine and enterprising temper speculation led directly to action. Fully satisfied himself with respect to the truth of his system, he was impatient to bring it to the test of experiment, and to set out upon a voyage of discovery. The first step towards this was to secure the patronage of some of the considerable powers in Europe capable of undertaking such an enterprise. As long absence had not extinguished the affection which he bore to his native country, he wished that it should reap the fruits of his labors and invention. With this view, he laid his scheme before the senate of Genoa, and, making his country the first tender of his service, offered to sail under the banners of the republic in quest of the new regions which he expected to discover. But Columbus had resided for so many years in foreign parts, that his countrymen were unacquainted with his abilities and character; and, though a maritime people, were so little accustomed to distant voyages, that they could form no just idea of the principles on which he founded his hopes of success. They inconsiderately rejected his proposal, as the dream of a chimerical projector, and lost forever the opportunity of restoring their commonwealth to its ancient splendor.

Having performed what was due to his country, Columbus was so little discouraged by the repulse which he had received, that instead of relinquishing his undertaking he pursued it with fresh ardor. He made his next overture to John II. king of Portugal, in whose dominions he had been long established, and whom he considered on that account, as having the second claim to his service. Here every circumstance seemed to promise him a more favorable reception: he applied to a monarch of an enterprising genius, no incompetent judge in naval affairs, and proud of patronising every attempt to discover new countries. His subjects were the most experienced navigators in Europe, and the least apt to be intimidated either by the novelty and boldness of any maritime expedition. In Portugal, the professional skill of Columbus, as

well as his personal good qualities, were thoroughly known, and as the former rendered it probable that his scheme was not altogether visionary, the latter exempted him from the suspicion of any sinister intention in proposing it. Accordingly, the king listened to him in the most gracious manner, and referred the consideration of his plan to Diego Ortiz, Bishop of Ceuta, and two Jewish Physicians, eminent cosmographers, whom he was accustomed to consult in matters of this kind. As in Genoa, ignorance had opposed and disappointed Columbus; in Lisbon, he had to combat with prejudice, an enemy no less formidable. The persons according to whose decision his scheme was to be adopted, or rejected, had been the chief directors of the Portuguese navigations, and had advised to search for a passage to India, by steering a course directly opposite to that which Columbus recommended as shorter and more certain. They could not, therefore, approve of his proposal without submitting to the double mortification of condemning their own theory, and acknowledging his superior sagacity. After teasing him with captious questions, and starting innumerable objections, with a view of betraying him into such a particular explanation of his system as might draw from him a full discovery of its nature, they deferred passing a final judgment with respect to it. In the mean time they conspired to rob him of the honor and advantages which he expected from the success of his scheme, advising the king to despatch a vessel secretly, in order to attempt the proposed discovery, by following exactly the course which Columbus seemed to point out. John, forgetting on this occasion the sentiments becoming a monarch, meanly adopted this perfidious counsel. But the pilot chosen to execute Columbus's plan had neither the genius nor the fortitude of its author. Contrary winds arose, no sight of approaching land appeared, his courage failed, and he returned to Lisbon, execrating the project as equally extravagant and dangerous.

Upon discovering this dishonorable transaction, Columbus felt the indignation natural to an ingenious mind, and in the warmth of his resentment determined to break off all intercourse with a nation capable of such flagrant treachery. He instantly quitted the kingdom, and landed in Spain towards the close of the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-four. As he was now at liberty to court the protection of any patron whom he could engage to approve of his plan, and to carry it into execution, he resolved to propose it in person to Ferdinand and Isabella, who at that time governed the united kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. But as he had already experienced the uncertain issue of application to kings and ministers, he took the precaution of sending into England his brother Bartholomew, to whom he had fully communicated his ideas, in order that he might negotiate at the same time with Henry VII. who was reputed one in the most sagacious as well as opulent princes in Europe.

It was not without reason that Columbus entertained doubts and fears with respect to the reception of his proposals in the Spanish court. Spain was at that juncture engaged in a dangerous war with Granada, the last of the Moorish kingdoms in that country. The wary and suspicious temper of Ferdinand was not formed to relish bold or uncommon designs. Isabella, though more generous and enterprising, was under the influence of her husband in all her actions. The Spaniards had hitherto made no efforts to extend navigation beyond its ancient limits, and had beheld the amazing progress of discovery among their neighbors the Portuguese without one attempt to imitate or to rival them. The war with the infidels afforded an ample field to the national activity and love of glory. Under circumstances so unfavorable, it was impossible for Columbus to make rapid progress with a nation naturally slow and dilatory in forming all its resolutions. His character, however, was admirably adapted to that of the people whose confidence and protection he solicited. He was grave, though courteous in his deportment; circumspect in his words and actions, irreproachable in his morals, and exemplary in his attention to all the duties and functions of religion. By qualities so respectable, he not only gained many private friends, but acquired such general esteem, that, notwithstanding the plainness of his appearance, suitable to the mediocrity of his fortune, he was not considered as a mere adventurer, to whom indigence had suggested a visionary project, but was received as a person to whose propositions serious attention was due.

Ferdinand and Isabella, though fully occupied by their operations against the Moors, paid so much regard to Columbus, as to remit the consideration of his plan

to the queen's confessor, Ferdinand de Talavera. He consulted such of his countrymen as were supposed best qualified to decide with respect to a subject of this kind. But true science had hitherto made so little progress in Spain, that the pretended philosophers, selected to judge in a matter of such moment, did not comprehend the first principles upon which Columbus founded his conjectures and hopes. Some of them from mistaken notions concerning the dimensions of the globe, contended that a voyage to those remote parts of the east which Columbus expected to discover, could not be performed in less than three years. Others concluded, that either he would find the ocean to be of infinite extent, according to the opinion of some ancient philosophers; or, if he should persist in steering towards the west beyond a certain point, that the convex figure of the globe would prevent his return, and that he must inevitably perish in the vain attempt to open a communication between the two opposite hemispheres which nature had forever disjoined. Even without deigning to enter into any particular discussion, many rejected the scheme in general, upon the credit of a maxim, under which the ignorant and unenterprising shelter themselves in every age. "That it is presumptuous in any person, to suppose that he alone possesses knowledge superior to all the rest of mankind united." They maintained, that if there were really any such countries as Columbus pretended, they could not have remained so long concealed, nor would the wisdom and sagacity of former ages have left the glory of this invention to an obscure Genoese pilot.

It required all Columbus's patience and address to negotiate with men capable of advancing such strange propositions. He had to contend not only with the obstinacy of ignorance, but with what is still more intractable, the pride of false knowledge. After innumerable conferences, and wasting five years in fruitless endeavors to inform and to satisfy judges so little capable of deciding with propriety, Talavera at last made such an unfavorable report to Ferdinand and Isabella, as induced them to acquaint Columbus, that until the war with the Moors should be brought to a period, it would be imprudent to engage in any new and extensive enterprise.

Whatever care was taken to soften the harshness of this declaration, Columbus considered it as a final rejection of his proposals. But, happily for mankind, that superiority of genius, which is capable of forming great and uncommon designs, is usually accompanied with an ardent enthusiasm, which can neither be cooled by delays nor damped by disappointment. Columbus was of this sanguine temper. Though he felt deeply the cruel blow given to his hopes, and retired immediately from a court where he had been amused so long with vain expectations, his confidence in the justness of his own system did not diminish, and his impatience to demonstrate the truth of it by an actual experiment became greater than ever. Having courted the protection of sovereign states without success, he applied next to persons of inferior rank, and addressed successively the Dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, who, though subjects, were possessed of power and opulence more than equal to the enterprise which he projected. His negotiations with them proved as fruitless as those in which he had been hitherto engaged; for these noblemen were either as little convinced by Columbus's arguments as their superiors, or they were afraid of alarming the jealousy and offending the pride of Ferdinand, by countenancing a scheme which he had rejected.

Amid the painful sensations occasioned by such a succession of disappointments, Columbus had to sustain the additional distress of having received no accounts of his brother whom he had sent to the court of England. In his voyage to that country, Bartholomew had been so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of pirates, who having stripped him of every thing detained him a prisoner for several years. At length he made his escape, and arrived in London, but in such extreme indigence, that he was obliged to employ himself, during a considerable time in drawing and selling maps, in order to pick up as much money as would purchase a decent dress in which he might venture to appear at court. He then laid before the king the proposals with which he had been intrusted by his brother; and notwithstanding Henry's excessive caution and parsimony, which rendered him averse to new or extensive undertakings, he received Columbus's overtures with more approbation than any monarch to whom they had hitherto been presented.

Meanwhile, Columbus being unacquainted with his brother's fate, and having now no prospect of encour-

agement in Spain, resolved to visit the court of England in person, in hopes of meeting with a more favorable reception there. He had already made preparations for this purpose, and taken measures for the disposal of his children during his absence, when Juan Perez, the guardian of the monastery of Rabida, near Palos, in which they had been educated, earnestly solicited him to defer his journey for a short time. Perez was a man of considerable learning, and of some credit with queen Isabella, to whom he was known personally. He was warmly attached to Columbus, with whose ability as well as integrity he had many opportunities of being acquainted. Prompted by curiosity or by friendship, he entered upon an accurate examination of his system, in conjunction with a physician settled in the neighborhood, who was a considerable proficient in mathematical knowledge. This investigation satisfied them so thoroughly, with respect to the solidity of the principles on which Columbus founded his opinion, and the probability of success in executing the plan which he proposed, that Perez, in order to prevent his country from being deprived of the glory and benefit which must accrue to the patrons of such a grand enterprise, ventured to write to Isabella, conjuring her to consider the matter anew with the attention which it merited.

Moved by the representations of a person whom she respected, Isabella desired Perez to repair immediately to the village of Santa Fe, in which, on account of the siege of Granada, the court resided at that time, that she might confer with him on this important subject. The first effect of their interview was a gracious invitation of Columbus back to court, accompanied with the present of a small sum to equip him for the journey. As there was now a certain prospect that the war with the Moors would speedily be brought to a happy issue by the reduction of Granada, which would leave the nation at liberty to engage in new undertakings; this, as well as the mark of royal favor, with which Columbus had been lately honored, encouraged his friends to appear with greater confidence than formerly in support of his scheme. The chief of these, Alonzo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the finances in Castile, and Luis de Santangel, receiver of the ecclesiastical revenues in Aragon, whose meritorious zeal in promoting this great design entitles their names to an honorable place in history, introduced Columbus to many persons of high rank, and interested them warmly in his behalf.

But it was not an easy matter to inspire Ferdinand with favorable sentiments. He still regarded Columbus's project as extravagant and chimerical; and in order to render the efforts of his partisans ineffectual he had the address to employ, in this new negotiation with him, some of the persons who had formerly pronounced his scheme to be impracticable. To their astonishment, Columbus appeared before them with the same confident hopes of success as formerly, and insisted upon the same high recompense. He proposed that a small fleet should be fitted out, under his command, to attempt the discovery, and demanded to be appointed hereditary admiral and viceroy of all the seas and lands which he should discover, and to have the tenths of the profits arising from them, settled irrevocably upon himself and his descendants. At the same time, he offered to advance the eighth part of the sum necessary for accomplishing his design, on condition that he should be entitled to a proportional share of benefit from the adventure. If the enterprise should totally miscarry, he made no stipulation for any reward or emolument whatever. Instead of viewing this conduct as the clearest evidence of his full persuasion with respect to the truth of his own system, or being struck with that magnanimity which, after so many delays and repulses, would stoop to nothing inferior to its original claims, the persons with whom Columbus treated began meanly to calculate the expense of the expedition, and the value of the reward which he demanded. The expense, moderate as it was, they represented to be too great for Spain in the present exhausted state of its finances. They contended that the honors and emoluments claimed by Columbus were exorbitant, even if he should perform the utmost of what he had promised; and if all his sanguine hopes would prove illusive, such vast concessions to an adventurer would be deemed not only inconsiderate, but ridiculous. In this imposing garb of caution and prudence, their opinion appeared so plausible, and was so warmly supported by Ferdinand, that Isabella declined giving any countenance to Columbus, and abruptly broke off the negotiation with him which she had begun.

This was more mortifying to Columbus than all the disappointments which he had hitherto met with. The

invitation to court from Isabella, like an unexpected ray of light, had opened such prospects of success as encouraged him to hope that his labors were at an end; but now darkness and uncertainty returned, and his mind firm as it was, could hardly support the shock of such an unforeseen reverse. He withdrew in deep anguish from court, with an intention of prosecuting his voyage to England as his last resource.

About that time Granada surrendered, and Ferdinand and Isabella, in triumphal pomp, took possession of a city [Jan. 2, 1492.] the reduction of which extirpated a foreign power from the heart of their dominions, and rendered them master of all the provinces extending from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the frontiers of Portugal. As the flow of spirits which accompanies success elevates the mind, and renders it enterprising, Quintanilla and Santangel, the vigilant and discerning patrons of Columbus, took advantage of this favorable situation, in order to make one effort more in behalf of their friend. They addressed themselves to Isabella; and after expressing some surprise, that she, who had always been the munificent patroness of generous undertakings, should hesitate so long to countenance the most splendid scheme that had ever been proposed to any monarch; they represented to her, that Columbus was a man of a sound understanding and virtuous character, well qualified, by his experience in navigation, as well as his knowledge of geometry, to form just ideas with respect to the structure of the globe and the situation of its various regions; that, by offering to risk his own life and fortune in the execution of his scheme, he gave the most satisfying evidence both of his integrity and hope of success; that the sum requisite for equipping such an armament as he demanded was inconsiderable, and the advantages which might accrue from his undertaking were immense; that he demanded no recompense for his invention and labor, but what was to arise from the countries which he should discover; that, as it was worthy of her magnanimity to make this noble attempt to extend the sphere of human knowledge, and to open an intercourse with regions hitherto unknown, so it would afford the highest satisfaction to her piety and zeal, after re-establishing the Christian faith in those provinces of Spain from which it had been long banished, to discover a new world, to which she might communicate the light and blessings of divine truth; that if now she did not decide instantly, the opportunity would be irretrievably lost; that Columbus was on his way to foreign countries, where some prince more fortunate or adventurous, would close with his proposals and Spain would for ever bewail that fatal timidity which had excluded her from the glory and advantages that she had once in her power to have enjoyed.

These forcible arguments, urged by persons of such authority, and at a juncture so well chosen, produced the desired effect. They dispelled all Isabella's doubts and fears; she ordered Columbus to be instantly recalled, declared her resolution of employing him on his own terms, and regretting the low estate of her finances, generously offered to pledge her own jewels in order to raise as much money as might be needed in making preparations for the voyage. Santangel, in a transport of gratitude, kissed the queen's hand, and, in order to save her from having recourse to such a mortifying expedient for procuring money, engaged to advance immediately the sum that was requisite.

Columbus had proceeded some leagues on his journey, when the messenger from Isabella overtook him. Upon receiving an account of the unexpected resolution in his favor, he returned directly to Santa Fe, though some remainder of diffidence still mingled itself with his joy. But the cordial reception which he met with from Isabella, together with the near prospect of setting out upon that voyage which had so long been the object of his thoughts and wishes, soon effaced the remembrance of all that he had suffered in Spain during eight tedious years of solicitation and suspense. The negotiation now went forward with facility and despatch, and a treaty of capitulation with Columbus was signed on the 17th of April, one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. The chief articles of it were:—1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as sovereigns of the ocean, constituted Columbus their high admiral in all the seas, islands, and continents, which should be discovered by his industry; and stipulated that he and his heirs for ever should enjoy this office, with the same powers and prerogatives which belonged to the high admiral of Castile within the limits of his jurisdiction. 2. They appointed Columbus their viceroy in all the islands and continents which he should discover; but if, for the better administration of affairs, it would hereafter be

necessary to establish a separate governor in any of those countries; they authorized Columbus to name three persons of whom they would choose one for that office; and the dignity of viceroy with all its immunities, was likewise to be hereditary in the family of Columbus. 3. They granted to Columbus and his heirs for ever the tenth of the free profits accruing from the productions and commerce of the countries which he should discover. 4. They declared, that if any controversy or lawsuit should arise with respect to any mercantile transaction in the countries which should be discovered, it should be determined by the sole authority of Columbus, or of judges to be appointed by him. 5. They permitted Columbus to advance one-eighth part of what should be expended in preparing for the expedition, and in carrying on commerce with the countries which he should discover, and entitled him, in return to one eighth part of the profit.

Though the name of Ferdinand appears enjoined with that of Isabella in this transaction, his distrust of Columbus was still so violent that he refused to take any part in the enterprise as king of Aragon. As the whole expense of the expedition was to be defrayed by the crown of Castile, Isabella reserved for her subjects of that kingdom an exclusive right to all the benefits which might redound from its success.

As soon as the treaty was signed, Isabella, by her attention and activity in forwarding the preparations for the voyage, endeavored to make some reparation to Columbus for the time which he had lost in fruitless solicitation. By the twelfth of May, all that depended upon her was adjusted; and Columbus waited on the king and queen in order to receive their final instructions. Every thing respecting the destination and conduct of the voyage they committed implicitly to the disposal of his prudence. But that they might avoid giving any just cause of offence to the king of Portugal, they strictly enjoined him not to approach near to the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Guinea, or in any of the other countries to which the Portuguese claimed right as discoverers. Isabella had ordered the ships of which Columbus was to take the command to be fitted out in the port of Palos a small maritime town in the province of Andalusia. As the guardian Juan Perez, to whom Columbus had already been so much indebted, resided in the neighborhood of this place, he, by the influence of that good ecclesiastic, as well as by his own connection with the inhabitants, not only raised among them what he wanted of the sum that he was bound by treaty to advance, but engaged several of them to accompany him in the voyage. The chief of these associates were three brothers of the name of Pinzon, of considerable wealth, and of great experience in naval affairs, who were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in the expedition.

But after all the efforts of Isabella and Columbus, the armament was not suitable either to the dignity of the nation by which it was equipped, or to the importance of the service for which it was destined. It consisted of three vessels. The largest, a ship of no considerable burden, was commanded by Columbus, as admiral, who gave it the name of *Santa Maria*, out of respect for the Blessed Virgin, whom he honored with singular devotion. Of the second, called the *Pinta*, Marton Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis pilot. The third, named the *Nigna*, was under the command of Vincent Yanez Pinzon. These two were light vessels hardly superior in burden or force to large boats. The squadron, if it merits that name, was victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety men, mostly sailors, together with a few adventurers who followed the fortune of Columbus, and some gentlemen of Isabella's court, whom she appointed to accompany him. Though the expense of the undertaking was one of the circumstances which chiefly alarmed the court of Spain, and retarded so long the negotiation with Columbus, the sum employed in fitting out this squadron did not exceed four thousand pounds.

As the art of ship-building in the fifteenth century was extremely rude, and the bulk of vessels was accommodated to the short and easy voyages along the coast which they were accustomed to perform, it is a proof of the courage, as well as enterprising genius of Columbus, that he ventured, with a fleet so unfit for a distant navigation, to explore unknown seas, where he had no chart to guide him, no knowledge of the tides and currents, and no experience of the dangers to which he might be exposed. His eagerness to accomplish the great design which had so long engrossed his thoughts, made him overlook or disregard every circumstance that would have intimidated a mind less adventurous. He pushed forward the preparations with

such ardor, and was seconded so effectually by the persons to whom Isabella committed the superintendence of this business, that every thing was soon in readiness for the voyage. But as Columbus was deeply impressed with sentiments of religion, he would not set out upon an expedition so arduous, and of which one great object was to extend the knowledge of the Christian faith, without imploring publicly the guidance and protection of Heaven. With this view, he, together with all the persons under his command, marched in solemn procession to the monastery of Rabida. After confessing their sins, and obtaining absolution, they received the holy sacrament from the hands of the guardian, who joined his prayers to theirs for the success of an enterprise which he had so zealously patronized.

Next morning, being Friday the third day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Columbus set sail, a little before sunrise, in presence of a vast crowd of spectators, who sent up their supplications to Heaven for the prosperous issue of the voyage, which they wished rather than expected. Columbus steered directly for the Canary Islands, and arrived there [Aug 13] without any occurrence that would have deserved notice on any other occasion. But, in a voyage of such expectation and importance, every circumstance was the object of attention. The rudder of the *Pinta* broke loose the day after she left the harbor; and that accident alarmed the crew, no less superstitious than unskilful, as a certain omen of the unfortunate destiny of the expedition. Even in the short run to the Canaries, the ships were found to be so crazy and ill appointed, as to be very improper for a navigation, which was expected to be both long and dangerous. Columbus refitted them, however, to the best of his power; and having supplied himself with fresh provisions, he took his departure from Gomera, one of the most westerly of the Canary Islands, on the sixth day of September.

Here the voyage of discovery may properly be said to begin; for Columbus, holding his course due west, left immediately the usual tract of navigation, and stretched into unfrequented and unknown seas. The first day, as it was very calm, he made but little way; but on the second he lost sight of the Canaries; and many of the sailors, dejected already, and dismayed, when they contemplated the boldness of the undertaking, began to beat their breasts, and to shed tears, as if they were never more to behold land. Columbus comforted them with assurances of success, and the prospect of vast wealth in those opulent regions whither he was conducting them. This early discovery of the spirit of his followers taught Columbus that he must prepare to struggle not only with the unavoidable difficulties which might be expected from the nature of his undertaking, but with such as were likely to arise from the ignorance and timidity of the people under his command; and he perceived that the art of governing the minds of men would be no less requisite for accomplishing the discoveries which he had in view, than naval skill and undaunted courage. Happily for himself, and for the country by which he was employed, he joined to the ardent temper and inventive genius of a projector, virtues of another species which are rarely united with them. He possessed a thorough knowledge of mankind, an insinuating address, a patient perseverance in executing any plan, the perfect government of his own passions, and the talent of acquiring an ascendancy over those of other men. All these qualities, which formed him to command, were accompanied with that superior knowledge of his profession, which begets confidence in times of difficulty and danger. To unskilful Spanish sailors, accustomed only to coasting voyages in the Mediterranean, the maritime science of Columbus, the fruit of thirty years' experience, improved by an acquaintance with all the inventions of the Portuguese, appeared immense. As soon as they put to sea, he regulated every thing by his sole authority; he superintended the execution of every order; and allowing himself only a few hours for sleep, he was at all other times upon deck. As his course lay through seas, which had not formerly been visited, the sounding line, or instruments for observation, were continually in his hands. After the example of the Portuguese discoverers, he attended to the motion of tides and currents, watched the flight of birds, the appearance of fishes, seaweeds, and of every thing that floated on the waves, and entered every occurrence, with a minute exactness, in the journal which he kept. As the length of the voyage could not fail of alarming sailors, habituated only to short excursions, Columbus endeavored to conceal from them the real pro-

gress which they made. With this view, though they run eighteen leagues on the second day after they left Gomera, he gave out that they had advanced only fifteen, and he uniformly employed the same artifice of reckoning short during the whole voyage. By the fourteenth of September the fleet was above two hundred leagues to the west of the Canary Isles, at a greater distance from land than any Spaniard had been before that time. There they were struck with an appearance no less astonishing than new. They observed that the magnetic needle, in their compasses, did not point exactly to the polar star, but varied towards the west; and as they proceeded, this variation increased. This appearance, which is now familiar, though it still remains one of the mysteries of nature, into the cause of which the sagacity of man has not been able to penetrate, filled the companions of Columbus with terror. They were now in a boundless and unknown ocean, far from the usual course of navigation; nature itself seemed to be altered, and the only guide which they had left was about to fail them. Columbus, with no less quickness than ingenuity, invented a reason for this appearance, which, though it did not satisfy himself, seemed so plausible to them, that it dispelled their fears or silenced their murmurs.

He still continued to steer due west, nearly in the same latitude with the Canary Islands. In this course he came within the sphere of the trade wind which blows invariably from east to west, between the tropics and a few degrees beyond them. He advanced before this steady gale with such uniform rapidity that it was seldom necessary to shift a sail. When about four hundred leagues to the west of the Canaries, he found the sea so covered with weeds, that it resembled a meadow of vast extent, and in some places they were so thick as to retard the motion of the vessels. This strange appearance occasioned new alarm and disquiet. The sailors imagined that they were now arrived at the utmost boundary of the navigable ocean; that these floating weeds would obstruct their further progress, and concealed dangerous rocks, or some large track of land, which had sunk, they knew not how, in that place. Columbus endeavored to persuade them that what had alarmed ought rather to have encouraged them, and was to be considered as a sign of approaching land. At the same time, a brisk gale arose, and carried them forward. Several birds were seen hovering about the ship [13.] and directing their flights towards the west. The desponding crew resumed some degree of spirit, and began to entertain fresh hopes.

Upon the first of October they were, according to the admiral's reckoning, seven hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Canaries; but lest his men should be intimidated by the prodigious length of the navigation, he gave out that they had proceeded only five hundred and eighty four leagues, and fortunately, for Columbus, neither his own pilot, nor those of the other ships, had skill sufficient to correct this error, and discover the deceit. They had now been above three weeks at sea; they had proceeded far beyond what former navigators had attempted or deemed possible; all their prognostics of discovery, drawn from the flight of birds and other circumstances, had proved fallacious; the appearances of land, with which their own credulity or the artifice of their commander had from time to time flattered and amused them, had been altogether illusive, and their prospect of success seemed now to be as distant as ever. These reflections occurred often to men who had no other object or occupation than to reason and discourse concerning the intention and circumstances of their expedition. They made impression at first upon the ignorant and timid, and extending by degrees to such as were better informed or more resolute, the contagion spread at length from ship to ship. From secret whispers or murmurings, they proceeded to open cabals and public complaints. They taxed their sovereign with inconsiderate credulity in paying such regard to the vain promises and rash conjectures of an indigent foreigner, as to hazard the lives of so many of her own subjects in prosecuting a chimerical scheme. They affirmed that they had fully performed their duty, by venturing so far in an unknown and hopeless course, and could incur no blame for refusing to follow any longer a desperate adventurer to certain destruction. They contended, that it was necessary to think of returning to Spain, while their crazy vessels were still in a condition to keep the sea, but expressed their fears that the attempt would prove vain, as the wind, which hitherto have been so favourable to their course, must render it impossible to sail in an opposite direction. All agreed that Columbus should be

compelled by force to adopt a measure on which their common safety depended. Some of the more audacious proposed, as the most expeditious and certain method of getting rid at once of his remonstrances, to throw him into the sea, being persuaded that, upon their return to Spain, the death of an unsuccessful projector, would excite little concern, and be inquired into with no curiosity.

Columbus was fully sensible of his perilous situation. He had observed, with great uneasiness, the fatal operation of ignorance and of fear in producing disaffection among his crew, and saw that it was now ready to burst out into open mutiny. He retained, however, perfect presence of mind. He affected to seem ignorant of their machinations. Notwithstanding the agitation and solicitude of his own mind, he appeared with a cheerful countenance, like a man satisfied with the progress he had made, and confident of success. Sometimes he employed all the arts of insinuation to soothe his men. Sometimes he endeavored to work upon their ambition or avarice, by magnificent descriptions of the fame and wealth which they were about to acquire. On other occasions he assumed a tone of authority, and threatened them with vengeance from their sovereign, if, by their dastardly behavior, they should defeat this noble effort to promote the glory of God, and to exalt the Spanish name above that of every other nation. Even with seditious sailors, the words of a man whom they had been accustomed to reverence, were weighty and persuasive, and not only restrained them from those violent excesses which they meditated, but prevailed with them to accompany their admiral for some time longer.

As they proceeded, the indications of approaching land seemed to be more certain, and excited hope in proportion. The birds began to appear in flocks, making towards the south-west. Columbus, in imitation of the Portuguese navigators, who had been guided, in several of their discoveries, by the motion of birds, altered his course from due west towards that quarter whither they pointed their flight. But, after holding on for several days in this new direction, without any better success than formerly, having seen no object, during thirty days, but the sea and the sky, the hopes of his companions subsided faster than they had risen; their fears revived with additional force; impatience, rage, and despair, appeared in every countenance. All sense of subordination was lost: the officers, who had hitherto concurred with Columbus in opinion, and supported his authority, now took part with the private men; they assembled tumultuously on the deck, expostulated with their commander, mingled threats with their expostulations, and required him instantly to tack about and to return to Europe. Columbus perceived that it would be of no avail to have recourse to any of his former arts, which, having been tried so often, had lost their effect; and that it was impossible to rekindle any zeal for the success of the expedition among men in whose breasts fear had extinguished every generous sentiment. He saw that it was no less vain to think of employing either gentle or severe measures to quell a mutiny so general and so violent. It was necessary, on all these accounts, to soothe the passions which he could no longer command, and to give way to a torrent too impetuous to be checked. He promised solemnly to his men that he would comply with their request, provided they would accompany him, and obey his command for three days longer, and, if during that time, land were not discovered, he would then abandon the enterprise, and direct his course towards Spain.

Enraged as the sailors were, and impatient to turn their faces again toward their native country, this proposition did not appear to them unreasonable. Nor did Columbus hazard much in confining himself to a term so short. The presages of discovering land were now so numerous and promising, that he deemed them infallible. For some days the sounding line reached the bottom, and the soil which it brought up indicated land to be at no great distance. The flocks of birds increased, and were composed not only of sea-fowl, but of such land birds as could not be supposed to fly far from the shore. The crew of the *Pinta* observed a cane floating, which seemed to have been newly cut, and likewise a piece of timber artificially carved. The sailors aboard the *Niña* took up the branch of a tree with red berries, perfectly fresh. The clouds around the setting sun assumed a new appearance; the air was more mild and warm, and during the night the wind became unequal and variable. From all these symptoms, Columbus was so confident of being near land, that on the evening of the eleventh of October,

after public prayers for success, he ordered the sails to be furled, and the ships to lie to, keeping strict watch, lest they should be driven ashore in the night. During this interval of suspense and expectation, no man shut his eyes, all kept upon deck, gazing intently towards that quarter where they expected to discover the land, which had been so long the object of their wishes.

About two hours before midnight, Columbus, standing on the fore-castle, observed a light at a distance, and privately pointed it out to Pedro Gutierrez, a page of the Queen's wardrobe. Gutierrez perceived it, and calling to Salcedo, comptroller of the fleet, all three saw it in motion, as if it were carried from place to place. A little after midnight the joyful sound of *land! land!* was heard from the *Pinta*, which kept always ahead of the other ships. But, having been so often deceived by fallacious appearances, every man was now become slow of belief, and waited in all the anguish of uncertainty and impatience for the return of day. As soon as morning dawned [Oct. 12], all doubts and fears were dispelled. From every ship an island was seen about two leagues to the north, whose flat and verdant fields, well stored with wood, and watered with many rivulets, presented the aspect of a delightful country. The crew of the *Pinta* instantly began the *Te Deum*, as a hymn of thanksgiving to God, and were joined by those of the other ships, with tears of joy and transports of congratulation. This office of gratitude to Heaven, was followed by an act of justice to their commander. They threw themselves at the feet of Columbus, with feelings of self-condemnation mingled with reverence. They implored him to pardon their ignorance, incredulity, and insolence, which had created him so much unnecessary disquiet, and had so often obstructed the prosecution of his well concerted plan; and passing, in the warmth of their admiration, from one extreme to another, they now pronounced the man, whom they had so lately reviled and threatened, to be a person inspired by Heaven with sagacity and fortitude more than human, in order to accomplish a design so far beyond the ideas and conception of all former ages.

As soon as the sun arose all their boats were manned and armed. They rowed towards the island with their colors displayed, with warlike music, and other martial pomp. As they approached the coast, they saw it covered with a multitude of people, whom the novelty of the spectacle had drawn together, whose attitudes and gestures expressed wonder and astonishment at the strange objects which presented themselves to their view. Columbus was the first European who set foot in the New World which he had discovered. He landed in a rich dress, and with a naked sword in his hand. His men followed, and kneeling down, they all kissed the ground which they had so long desired to see. They next erected a crucifix, and prostrating themselves before it, returned thanks to God for conducting their voyage to such a happy issue. They then took solemn possession of the country, for the crown of Castile and Leon, with all the formalities which the Portuguese were accustomed to observe in acts of this kind, in their new discoveries.

The Spaniards, while thus employed, were surrounded by many of the natives, who gazed in silent admiration upon actions which they could not comprehend, and of which they did not foresee the consequences. The dress of the Spaniards, the whiteness of their skins, their beards, their arms, appeared strange and surprising. The vast machines in which they had traversed the ocean, that seemed to move upon the waters with wings, and uttered a dreadful sound resembling thunder, accompanied with lightning and smoke, struck them with such terror, that they began to respect their new guests as a superior order of beings, and concluded that they were children of the Sun, who had descended to visit the earth.

The Europeans were hardly less amazed at the scene now before them. Every herb, and shrub, and tree, was different from those which flourished in Europe. The soil seemed to be rich, but bore few marks of cultivation. The climate, even to the Spaniards, felt warm, though extremely delightful. The inhabitants appeared in the simple innocence of nature, entirely naked. Their black hair, long and uncurled, floated upon their shoulders, or was bound in tresses around their heads. They had no beards, and every part of their bodies was perfectly smooth. Their complexion was of a dusky copper color, their features singular, rather than disagreeable, their aspect gentle and timid. Though not tall, they were well shaped and active. Their faces, and several parts of their body, were fantastically painted with glaring colors. They were shy at first through fear, but soon became familiar with the

Spaniards, and with transports of joy received from them hawkbells, glass beads, or other baubles, in return for which they gave such provisions as they had, and some cotton yarn, the only commodity of value that they could produce. Towards evening, Columbus returned to his ship, accompanied by many of the islanders in their boats, which they called *canoes*, and though rudely formed out of the trunk of a single tree, they rowed them with surprising dexterity. Thus, in the first interview between the inhabitants of the old and new worlds, every thing was conducted amicably, and to their mutual satisfaction. The former, enlightened and audacious, formed already vast ideas with respect to the advantages which they might derive from the regions that began to open to their view. The latter, simple and undiscerning, had no foresight of the calamities and desolation which were approaching their country.

Columbus, who now assumed the title and authority of admiral and viceroy, called the island which he had discovered *San Salvador*. It is better known by the name of *Guanahani*, which the natives gave to it, and is one of that large cluster of islands called the Lucaya or Bahama isles. It is situated above three thousand miles to the west of Gomera; from which the squadron took its departure, and only four degrees to the south of it; so little had Columbus deviated from the westerly course, which he had chosen as the most proper.

Columbus employed the next day in visiting the coasts of the island; and from the universal poverty of the inhabitants, he perceived that this was not the rich country for which he sought. But, conformably to his theory concerning the discovery of those regions of Asia which stretched towards the east, he concluded that San Salvador was one of the isles which geographers described as situated in the great ocean adjacent to India. Having observed that most of the people whom he had seen wore small plates of gold, by way of ornament, in their nostrils, he eagerly inquired where they got that precious metal. They pointed towards the south, and made him comprehend by signs, that gold abounded in countries situated in that quarter. Thither he immediately determined to direct his course, in full confidence of finding there those opulent regions which had been the object of his voyage, and would be a recompense for all his toils and dangers. He took along with him seven of the natives of San Salvador, that, by acquiring the Spanish language, they might serve as guides and interpreters; and those innocent people considered it as a mark of distinction when they were selected to accompany him.

He saw several islands, and touched at three of the largest, on which he bestowed the names of St. Mary of the Conception, Ferdinand, and Isabella. But, as their soil, productions, and inhabitants nearly resembled those of San Salvador, he made no stay in any of them. He inquired every where for gold, and the signs that were uniformly made by way of answer, confirmed him in the opinion that it was brought from the south. He followed that course, and soon discovered a country which appeared very extensive, not perfectly level, like those which he had already visited, but so diversified with rising grounds, hills, rivers, woods, and plains, that he was uncertain whether it might prove an island, or part of the continent. The natives of San Salvador, whom he had on board, called it *Cuba*; Columbus gave it the name of *Juana*. He entered the mouth of a large river with his squadron, all the inhabitants fled to the mountains as he approached the shore. But as he resolved to careen the ships in that place, he sent some Spaniards, together with one of the people of San Salvador, to view the interior part of the country. They having advanced about sixty miles from the shore, reported, upon their return, that the soil was richer and more cultivated than any they had hitherto discovered; that, besides many scattered cottages, they had found one village, containing above a thousand inhabitants; that the people, though naked, seemed to be more intelligent than those of San Salvador, but had treated them with the same respectful attention, kissing their feet, and honoring them as sacred beings added to heaven; that they had given them to eat a certain root, the taste of which resembled roasted chestnuts, and likewise a singular species of corn called *maze*, which, either when roasted whole or ground into meal, was abundantly palatable; that there seemed to be no four-footed animals in the country, but a species of dog, which could not bark, and a creature resembling a rabbit, but of a much smaller size; that they had observed some ornaments of gold among the people, but of no great value.

These messengers had prevailed with some of the

natives to accompany them, who informed Columbus, that the gold of which they made their ornaments was found in *Cubanacan*. By this word they meant the middle or inland part of Cuba; but Columbus, being ignorant of their language, as well as unaccustomed to their pronunciation, and his thoughts running continually upon his own theory concerning the discovery of the East Indies, he was led, by the resemblance of sound, to suppose that they spoke of the great Khan, and imagined that the opulent kingdom of *Cathay*, described by Marco Polo, was not very remote. This induced him to employ some time in viewing the country. He visited almost every harbor, from Porto del Principe, on the north coast of Cuba, to the eastern extremity of the island; but, though delighted with the beauty of the scenes which every where presented themselves, and amazed at the luxuriant fertility of the soil, both which, from their novelty, made a more lively impression upon his imagination [14], he did not find gold in such quantity as was sufficient to satisfy either the avarice of his followers, or the expectations of the court to which he was to return. The people of the country, as much astonished at his eagerness in quest of gold as the Europeans were at their ignorance and simplicity, pointed towards the east, where an island which they called *Hayti* was situated, in which that metal was more abundant than among them. Columbus ordered his squadron to bend its course thither; but Martin Alonso Pinzon, impatient to be the first who should take possession of the treasures which this country was supposed to contain, quitted his companions, regardless of all the admiral's signals to slacken sail until they should come up with him.

Columbus, retarded by contrary winds, did not reach Hayti till the sixth of December. He called the port where he first touched St. Nicholas, and the island itself *Espagnola*, in honor of the kingdom by which he was employed; and it is the only country, of those he had yet discovered, which has retained the name that he gave it. As he could neither meet with the Pinta, nor have any intercourse with the inhabitants, who fled in great consternation towards the woods, he soon quitted St. Nicholas, and, sailing along the northern coast of the island, he entered another harbor, which he called *Concepcion*. Here he was more fortunate; his people overtook a woman who was flying from them, and after treating her with great gentleness, dismissed her with a present of such toys as they knew were most valued in those regions. The description which she gave to her countrymen of the humanity and wonderful qualities of the strangers; their admiration of the trinkets, which she showed with exultation; and their eagerness to participate of the same favors; removed all their fears, and induced many of them to repair to the harbor. The strange objects which they beheld, and the baubles which Columbus bestowed upon them, amply gratified their curiosity and their wishes. They nearly resembled the people of Guahanani and Cuba. They were naked like them, ignorant and simple; and seemed to be equally unacquainted with all the arts which appear most necessary in polished societies; but they were gentle, credulous, and timid, to a degree which rendered it easy to acquire the ascendant over them, especially as their excessive admiration led them into the same error with the people of the other islands, in believing the Spaniards to be more than mortals, and descended immediately from heaven. They possessed gold in greater abundance than their neighbors, which they readily exchanged for bells, beads, or pins; and in this unequal traffic both parties were highly pleased, each considering themselves as gainers by the transaction. Here Columbus was visited by a prince or *cacique* of the country. He appeared with all the pomp known among a simple people, being carried in a sort of palanquin upon the shoulders of four men, and attended by many of his subjects, who served him with great respect. His deportment was grave and stately, very reserved towards his own people, but with Columbus and the Spaniards extremely courteous. He gave the admiral some thin plates of gold, and a girdle of curious workmanship, receiving in return presents of small value, but highly acceptable to him.

Columbus, still intent on discovering the mines which yielded gold, continued to interrogate all the natives with whom he had any intercourse, concerning their situation. They concurred in pointing out a mountainous country, which they called *Cibao*, at some distance from the sea, and further towards the east. Struck with this sound, which appeared to him the same with *Cipango*, the name by which Marco Polo, and other travellers to the east, distinguished the island of Japan, he no longer doubted with respect to

the vicinity of the countries which he had discovered to the remote parts of Asia; and in full expectation of reaching soon those regions which had been the object of his voyage, he directed his course towards the east. He put into a commodious harbor, which he called St. Thomas, and found that district to be under the government of a powerful *cacique*, named *Guacanahari*, who, as he afterwards learned, was one of the five sovereigns among whom the whole island was divided. He immediately sent messengers to Columbus, who in his name delivered to him the present of a mask curiously fashioned with the ears, nose and mouth of beaten gold, and invited him to the place of his residence, near the harbor now called Cape Francois some leagues towards the east. Columbus despatched some of his officers to visit this prince, who, as he behaved himself with greater dignity, seemed to claim more attention. They returned with such favorable accounts both of the country and of the people, as made Columbus impatient for that interview with Guacanahari to which he had been invited.

He sailed for this purpose from St. Thomas, on the twenty-fourth of December, with a fair wind, and the sea perfectly calm; and as, amidst the multiplicity of his occupations, he had not shut his eyes for two days, he retired at midnight in order to take some repose, having committed the helm to the pilot, with strict injunctions not to quit it for a moment. The pilot, dreading no danger, carelessly left the helm to an inexperienced cabin boy, and the ship, carried away by a current, was dashed against a rock. The violence of the shock awakened Columbus. He ran up to the deck. There all was confusion and despair. He alone retained presence of mind. He ordered some of the sailors to take a boat, and carry out an anchor astern; but instead of obeying, they made off towards the Nigma, which was about half a league distant. He then commanded the masts to be cut down, in order to lighten the ship; but all his endeavors were too late; the vessel opened near the keel, and filled so fast with water that its loss was inevitable. The smoothness of the sea, and the timely assistance of boats from the Nigma, enabled the crew to save their lives. As soon as the islanders heard of this disaster, they crowded to the shore, with their prince Guacanahari at their head. Instead of taking advantage of the distress in which they beheld the Spaniards, to attempt any thing to their detriment, they lamented their misfortune with tears of sincere condolence. Not satisfied with this unavailing expression of their sympathy, they put to sea a number of canoes, and under the direction of the Spaniards, assisted in saving whatever could be got out of the wreck; and by the united labor of so many hands, almost every thing of value was carried ashore. As fast as the goods were landed, Guacanahari in person took charge of them. By his orders they were all deposited in one place, and armed sentinels were posted, who kept the multitude at a distance, in order to prevent them not only from embezzling, but from inspecting too curiously what belonged to their guests. [15] Next morning this prince visited Columbus, who was now on board the Nigma, and endeavored to console him for his loss, by offering all that he possessed to repair it.

The condition of Columbus was such that he stood in need of consolation. He had hitherto procured no intelligence of the Pinta, and no longer doubted but that his treacherous associate had set sail for Europe, in order to have the merit of carrying the first tidings of the extraordinary discoveries which had been made, and to pre-empt so far the ear of their sovereign, as to rob him of the glory and reward to which he was so justly entitled. There remained but one vessel, and that the smallest and most crazy of the squadron, to traverse such a vast ocean, and carry so many men back to Europe. Each of those circumstances was alarming, and filled the mind of Columbus with the utmost solicitude. The desire of overtaking Pinzon, and of offsetting the unfavorable impressions which his misrepresentations might make in Spain, made it necessary to return thither without delay. The difficulty of taking such a number of persons on board the Nigma confirmed him in an opinion which the fertility of the country, and the gentle temper of the people, had already induced him to form. He resolved to leave a part of his crew in the island, that by residing there, they might learn the language of the natives, study their disposition, examine the nature of the country, search for mines, prepare for the commodious settlement of the colony which he purposed to return, and thus secure and facilitate the acquisition of those advantages which he expected from his discoveries. When he mentioned this to his

men, all approved of the design; and from impatience under the fatigue of a long voyage, from the levity natural to sailors, or from the hopes of amassing wealth in a country which afforded such promising specimens of its riches, many offered voluntarily to be among the number of those who should remain.

Nothing was now wanting towards the execution of this scheme, but to obtain the consent of Guacanahari; and his unsuspecting simplicity soon presented to the admiral a favorable opportunity of proposing it. Columbus having, in the best manner he could, by broken words and signs, expressed some curiosity to know the cause which had moved the islanders to fly with such precipitation upon the approach of his ships, the *cacique* informed him that the country was much infested by the incursions of certain people, whom he called *Carribeans*, who inhabited several islands to the south-east. These he described as a fierce and warlike race of men, who delighted in blood, and devoured the flesh of the prisoners who were so unhappy as to fall into their hands; and as the Spaniards at their first appearance were supposed to be Carribeans, whom the natives, however numerous, durst not face in battle, they had recourse to their usual method of securing their safety, by flying into the thickest and most impenetrable woods. Guacanahari, while speaking of those dreadful invaders, discovered such symptoms of terror, as well as such consciousness of the inability of his own people to resist them, as led Columbus to conclude that he would not be alarmed at the proposition of any scheme which afforded him the prospect of an additional security against their attacks. He instantly offered him the assistance of the Spaniards to repel his enemies: he engaged to take him and his people under the protection of the powerful monarch whom he served, and offered to leave in the island such a number of his men as should be sufficient, not only to defend the inhabitants from future incursions, but to avenge their past wrongs.

The credulous prince closed eagerly with the proposal, and thought himself already safe under the patronage of beings sprung from heaven, and superior in power to mortal men. The ground was marked out for a small fort, which Columbus called *Navidad*, because he had landed there on Christmas day. A deep ditch was drawn around it. The ramparts were fortified with palisades, and the great guns, saved out of the admiral's ship, were planted upon them. In ten days the work was finished; that simple race of men laboring with inconsiderate assiduity in erecting this first monument of their own servitude. During this time, Columbus, by his caresses and liberality, labored to increase the high opinion which the natives entertained of the Spaniards. But while he endeavored to inspire them with confidence in their disposition to do good, he wished likewise to give them some striking idea of their power to punish and destroy such as were the objects of their indignation. With this view, in presence of a vast assembly, he drew up his men in order of battle, and made an ostentatious but innocent display of the sharpness of the Spanish swords, of the force of their spears, and the operation of their cross-bows. These rude people, strangers to the use of iron, and unacquainted with any hostile weapons but arrows of reed pointed with the bones of fishes, wooden swords, and javelins hardened in the fire, wondered and trembled. Before this surprise or fear had time to abate, he ordered the great guns to be fired. The sudden explosion struck them with such terror that they fell flat to the ground, covering their faces with their hands; and when they beheld the astonishing effect of the bullets among the trees, towards which the cannon had been pointed, they concluded that it was impossible to resist men, who had the command of such destructive instruments, and who came armed with thunder and lightning against their enemies.

After giving such impressions both of the beneficence and power of the Spaniards, as might have rendered it easy to preserve an ascendant over the minds of the natives, Columbus appointed thirty-eight of his people to remain in the island. He intrusted the command of these to Diego de Arado, a gentleman of Cordova, investing him with the same powers which he himself had received from Ferdinand and Isabella; and furnished him with every thing requisite for the subsistence or defence of this infant colony. He strictly enjoined them to maintain concord among themselves, to yield an unreserved obedience to their commander, to avoid giving offence to the natives by any violence or exaction, to cultivate the friendship of Guacanahari, but not to put themselves in his power by dragging in small parties, or marching too far from the fort. He promised to visit them soon with such a reinforcement of strength

as might enable them to take full possession of the country, and to reap all the fruits of their discoveries. In the mean time he engaged to mention their names to the king and queen, and to place their merit and services in the most advantageous light.

Having thus taken every precaution for the security of the colony, he left Navidad on the fourth of January, one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, and steering towards the east, discovered and gave names to most of the harbors on the northern coast of the island. On the sixth he descried the Pinta, and soon came up with her, after a separation of more than six weeks. Pinzon endeavored to justify his conduct by pretending that he had been driven from his course by stress of weather, and prevented from returning by contrary winds. The admiral, though he still suspected his perfidious intentions, and knew well what he urged in his own defence to be frivolous as well as false, was so sensible that this was not a proper time for venturing upon any high strain of authority, and felt such satisfaction in this junction with his consort, which delivered him from many disquieting apprehensions, that, lame as Pinzon's apology was, he admitted of it without difficulty, and restored him to favor. During his absence from the admiral, Pinzon had visited several harbors in the island, had acquired some gold by trafficking with the natives, but had made no discovery of any importance.

From the condition of his ships, as well as the temper of his men, Columbus now found it necessary to hasten his return to Europe. The former having suffered much during a voyage of such an unusual length, were extremely leaky. The latter expressed the utmost impatience to revisit their native country, from which they had been so long absent, and where they had things so wonderful and unheard-of to relate. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of January, he directed his course towards the north-east, and soon lost sight of land. He had on board some of the natives, whom he had taken from the different islands which he discovered; and besides the gold, which was the chief object of research, he had collected specimens of all the productions which were likely to become subjects of commerce in the several countries, as well as many unknown birds, and other natural curiosities, which might attract the attention of the learned, or excite the wonder of the people. The voyage was prosperous to the fourteenth of February, and he had advanced near five hundred leagues across the Atlantic ocean, when the wind began to rise, and continued to blow with increasing rage, which terminated in a furious hurricane. Every thing that the naval skill and experience of Columbus could devise was employed in order to save the ships. But it was impossible to withstand the violence of the storm, and, as they were still far from any land, destruction seemed inevitable. The sailors had recourse to prayers to Almighty God, to the invocation of saints, to vows, and charms, to every thing that religion dictates, or superstition suggests to the afflicted mind of man. No prospect of deliverance appearing, they abandoned themselves to despair, and expected every moment to be swallowed up in the waves. Besides the passions which naturally agitate and alarm the human mind in such awful situations, when certain death, in one of his most terrible forms, is before it, Columbus had to endure feelings of distress peculiar to himself. He dreaded that all knowledge of the amazing discoveries which he had made was now to perish; mankind were to be deprived of every benefit that might have been derived from the happy success of his schemes, and his own name would descend to posterity as that of a rash deluded adventurer, instead of being transmitted with the honor due to the author and conductor of the most noble enterprise that had ever been undertaken. These reflections extinguished all sense of his own personal danger. Less affected with the loss of life than solicitous to preserve the memory of what he had attempted and achieved, he retired to his cabin and wrote upon a parchment a short account of the voyage which he had made, of the course which he had taken, of the situation and riches of the countries which he had discovered, and of the colony that he had left there. Having wrapped up this in an oiled cloth, which he enclosed in a cake of wax, he put it into a cask carefully stopped up, and threw it into the sea, in hopes that some fortunate accident might preserve a deposit of so much importance to the world. [16]

At length Providence interposed to save a life reserved for other services. The wind abated, the sea became calm, and on the evening of the fifteenth, Columbus and his companions discovered land; and though uncertain what it was, they made towards it.

They soon knew it to be St. Mary, one of the Azores or western isles, subject to the crown of Portugal. There, after a violent contest with the governor, in which Columbus displayed no less spirit than prudence, he obtained a supply of fresh provisions, and whatever else he needed. One circumstance, however, greatly disquieted him. The Pinta, of which he had lost sight on the first day of the hurricane, did not appear; he dreaded for some time that she had foundered at sea, and that all her crew had perished; afterwards, his former suspicions recurred, and he became apprehensive that Pinzon had borne away for Spain, that he might reach it before him, and by giving the first account of his discoveries, might obtain some share of his fame.

In order to prevent this, he left the Azores as soon as the weather would permit [Feb. 24]. At no great distance from the coast of Spain, when near the end of his voyage, and seemingly beyond the reach of any disaster, another storm arose, little inferior to the former in violence; and after driving before it during two days and two nights, he was forced to take shelter in the river Tagus [March 4]. Upon application to the King of Portugal, he was allowed to come up to Lisbon; and, notwithstanding the envy which it was natural for the Portuguese to feel, when they beheld another nation entering upon that province of discovery which they had hitherto deemed peculiarly their own, and in its first essay not only rivaling but eclipsing their fame, Columbus was received with all the marks of distinction due to a man who had performed things so extraordinary and unexpected. The king admitted him into his presence, treated him with the highest respect, and listened to the account which he gave of his voyage with admiration mingled with regret. While Columbus, on his part, enjoyed the satisfaction of describing the importance of his discoveries, and of being now able to prove the solidity of his schemes to those very persons, who, with an ignorance disgraceful to themselves, and fatal to their country, had lately rejected them as the projects of a visionary or designing adventurer.

Columbus was so impatient to return to Spain, that he remained only five days in Lisbon. On the fifteenth of March he arrived in the port of Palos, seven months and eleven days from the time when he set out thence upon his voyage. As soon as the ship was discovered approaching the port, all the inhabitants of Palos ran eagerly to the shore, in order to welcome their relations and fellow-citizens, and to hear tidings of their voyage. When the prosperous issue of it was known, when they beheld the strange people, the unknown animals, and singular productions, brought from the countries which had been discovered, the effusion of joy was general and unbounded. The bells were rung, the cannon fired; Columbus was received at landing with royal honors, and all the people in solemn procession, accompanied him and his crew to the church, where they returned thanks to Heaven, which had so wonderfully conducted and crowned with success a voyage of greater length and of more importance than had been attempted in any former age. On the evening of the same day, he had the satisfaction of seeing the Pinta, which the violence of the tempest had driven far to the north, enter the harbor.

The first care of Columbus was to inform the king and queen, who were then at Barcelona, of his arrival and success. Ferdinand and Isabella, no less astonished than delighted with this unexpected event, desired Columbus, in terms the most respectful and flattering, to repair immediately to court, that from his own mouth they might receive a full detail of his extraordinary services and discoveries. During his journey to Barcelona, the people crowded from the adjacent country, following him every where with admiration and applause. His entrance into the city was conducted, by order of Ferdinand and Isabella, with pomp suitable to the great event, which added such distinguishing lustre to their reign. The people whom he brought along with him from the countries which he had discovered, marched first, and by their singular complexion, the wild peculiarity of their features, and uncouth finery, appeared like men of another species. Next to them were carried the ornaments of gold, fashioned by the rude art of the natives, the grains of gold found in the mountains, and dust of the same metal gathered in the rivers. After these appeared the various commodities of the new discovered countries, together with their curious productions. Columbus himself closed the procession, and attracted the eyes of all the spectators, who gazed with admiration on the extraordinary man, whose superior sagacity and

fortitude had conducted their countrymen, by a route concealed from past ages, to the knowledge of a new world. Ferdinand and Isabella received him clad in their royal robes, and seated upon a throne, under a magnificent canopy. When he approached, they stood up, and raising him as he kneeled to kiss their hands, commanded him to take his seat upon a chair prepared for him, and to give a circumstantial account of his voyage. He delivered it with a gravity and composure no less suitable to the disposition of the Spanish nation than to the dignity of the audience in which he spoke, and with that modest simplicity which characterizes men of superior minds, who, satisfied with having performed great actions, court not vain applause by an ostentatious display of their exploits. When he had finished his narration, the king and queen, kneeling down, offered up solemn thanks to Almighty God for the discovery of those new regions, from which they expected so many advantages to flow in upon the kingdoms subject to their government. [17] Every mark of honor that gratitude or admiration could suggest was conferred upon Columbus. Letters patent were issued, confirming to him and to his heirs all the privileges contained in the capitulation concluded at Santa Fe; his family was ennobled; the king and queen, and after their example the courtiers, treated him on every occasion with all the ceremonious respect paid to persons of the highest rank. But what pleased him most, as it gratified his active mind, bent continually upon great objects, was an order to equip, without delay, an armament of such force as might enable him not only to take possession of the countries which he had already discovered, but to go in search of those more opulent regions which he still confidently expected to find.

While preparations were making for this expedition, the fame of Columbus's successful voyage spread over Europe, and excited general attention. The multitude, struck with amazement when they heard that a new world had been found, could hardly believe an event so much above their conception. Men of science, capable of comprehending the nature, and of discerning the effects of this great discovery, received the account of it with admiration and joy. They spoke of his voyage with rapture, and congratulated one another upon their felicity in having lived in the period when, by this extraordinary event, the boundaries of human knowledge were so much extended, and such a new field of inquiry and observation opened, as would lead mankind to a perfect acquaintance with the structure and productions of the habitable globe. [18] Various opinions and conjectures were formed concerning the new found countries, and what division of the earth they belonged to. Columbus adhered tenaciously to his original opinion, that they should be reckoned a part of those vast regions in Asia, comprehended under the general name of India. This sentiment was confirmed by the observations which he made concerning the productions of the countries he had discovered. Gold was known to abound in India, and he had met with such promising samples of it in the islands which he visited, as led him to believe that rich mines of it might be found. Cotton, another production of the East Indies, was common there. The pimento of the islands he imagined to be a species of the East Indian pepper. He mistook a root, somewhat resembling rhubarb, for that valuable drug, which was then supposed to be a plant peculiar to the East Indies. The birds brought home by him were adorned with the same rich plumage which distinguishes those of India. The alligator of the one country appeared to be the same with the crocodile of the other. After weighing all these circumstances, not only the Spaniards, but the other nations of Europe, seem to have adopted the opinion of Columbus. The countries which he had discovered were considered as a part of India. In consequence of this notion, the name of Indies is given to them by Ferdinand and Isabella, in a ratification of their former agreement, which was granted to Columbus upon his return. Even after the error which gave rise to this opinion was detected, and the true position of the New World was ascertained, the name has remained, and the appellation of *West Indies* is given by all the people of Europe to the country, and that of *Indians* to its inhabitants.

The name by which Columbus distinguished the countries which he had discovered was so inviting, the specimens of their riches and fertility which he produced were so considerable, and the reports of his companions, delivered frequently with the exaggeration natural to travellers, so favorable, as to excite a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards.

Though little accustomed to naval expeditions, they were impatient to set out upon their voyage. Volunteers of every rank solicited to be employed. Allured by the inviting prospects which opened to their ambition and avarice, neither the length nor danger of the navigation intimidated them. Cautious as Ferdinand was, and averse to every thing new or adventurous, he seems to have caught the same spirit with his subjects. Under its influence, preparations for a second expedition were carried on with rapidity unusual in Spain, and to an extent that would be deemed not inconsiderable in the present age. The fleet consisted of seventeen ships, some of which were of good burden. It had on board fifteen hundred persons, among whom were many of noble families, who had served in honorable stations. The greater part of these, being destined to remain in the country, were furnished with every thing requisite for conquest or settlement, with all kinds of European domestic animals, with such seeds and plants as were most likely to thrive in the climate of the West Indies with utensils and instruments of every sort, and with such artificers as might be most useful in an infant colony.

But, formidable and well provided as this fleet was, Ferdinand and Isabella did not rest their title to the possession of the newly discovered countries upon its operations alone. The example of the Portuguese, as well as the superstition of the age, made it necessary to obtain from the Roman pontiff a grant of those territories which they wished to occupy. The Pope, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth. Alexander VI., a pontiff infamous for every crime which disgraces humanity, filled the Papal throne at that time. As he was born Ferdinand's subject, and very solicitous to secure the protection of Spain, in order to facilitate the execution of his ambitious schemes in favor of his own family, he was extremely willing to gratify the Spanish monarchs. By an act of liberality which cost him nothing, and that served to establish the jurisdictions and pretensions of the Papal See, he granted in full right to Ferdinand and Isabella all the countries inhabited by Infidels, which they had discovered, or should discover; and, in virtue of that power which he derived from Jesus Christ, he conferred on the crown of Castile vast regions, to the possession of which he himself was so far from having any title, that he was unacquainted with their situation, and ignorant even of their existence. As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, he appointed that a line, supposed to be drawn from pole to pole, a hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores, should serve as a limit between them; and, in the plenitude of his power, bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards. Zeal for propagating the Christian faith was the consideration employed by Ferdinand in soliciting this bull, and is mentioned by Alexander as his chief motive for issuing it. In order to manifest some concern for this laudable object, several friars, under the direction of Father Boyl, a Catalan monk of great reputation, as apostolical vicar, were appointed to accompany Columbus, and to devote themselves to the instruction of the natives. The Indians whom Columbus had brought along with him, having received some tincture of Christian knowledge, were baptized with much solemnity, the king himself, the prince his son, and the chief persons of his court, standing as their godfathers. Those first fruits of the New World have not been followed by such an increase as pious men wished, and had reason to expect.

Ferdinand and Isabella having thus acquired a title, which was then deemed completely valid, to extend their discoveries and to establish their dominion over such a considerable portion of the globe, nothing now retarded the departure of the fleet. Columbus was extremely impatient to revisit the colony which he had left, and to pursue that career of glory upon which he had entered. He set sail from the bay of Cadiz on the twenty-fifth of September, and touching again at the island of Gomera, he steered further towards the south than in his former voyage. By holding this course, he enjoyed more steadily the benefit of the regular winds, which reign within the tropics, and was carried towards a large cluster of islands, situated considerably to the east of those which he had already discovered. On the twenty-sixth day after his departure from Gomera [Nov. 2], he made land. It was one of the Caribbee or Leeward Islands, to which he gave the name of Descada, on account of the impatience of his crew to discover some part of the New World. After this he

visited successively Dominica, Marigalante, Guadeloupe, Antigua, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and several other islands, scattered in his way as he advanced towards the north-west. All these he found to be inhabited by that fierce race of people whom Guacanahari had painted in such frightful colors. His descriptions appeared not to have been exaggerated. The Spaniards never attempted to land without meeting with such a reception as discovered the martial and daring spirit of the natives: and in their habitations were found relics of those horrid feasts which they had made upon the bodies of their enemies taken in war.

But as Columbus was eager to know the state of the colony which he had planted, and to supply it with the necessaries of which he supposed it to be in want, he made no stay in any of those islands, and proceeded directly to Hispaniola [Nov. 22]. When he arrived off Navidad, the station in which he had left the thirty-eight men under the command of Arada, he was astonished that none of them appeared, and expected every moment to see them running with transports of joy to welcome their countrymen. Full of solicitude about their safety, and foreboding in his mind what had befallen them, he rowed instantly to land. All the natives from whom he might have received information had fled. But the fort which he had built was entirely demolished, and the tattered garments, the broken arms and utensils scattered about it, left no room to doubt concerning the unhappy fate of the garrison. While the Spaniards were shedding tears over those sad memorials of their fellow-citizens, a brother of the cazique Guacanahari arrived. From him Columbus received a particular detail of what had happened after his departure from the island. The familiar intercourse of the Indians with the Spaniards tended gradually to diminish the superstitious veneration with which their first appearance had inspired that simple people. By their own insouciance and ill conduct, the Spaniards speedily effaced those favorable impressions, and soon convinced the natives, that they had all the wants, and weaknesses, and passions of men. As soon as the powerful restraint which the presence and authority of Columbus imposed was withdrawn, the garrison threw off all regard for the officer whom he had invested with command. Regardless of the prudent instructions which he had given them, every man became independent, and gratified his desires without control. The gold, the women, the provisions of the natives, were all the prey of those licentious oppressors. They roamed in small parties over the island, extending their rapacity and insolence to every corner of it. Gentle and timid as the people were, those unprovoked injuries at length exhausted their patience, and roused their courage. The cazique of Cibao, whose country the Spaniards chiefly infested on account of the gold which it contained, surprised and cut off several of them, while they straggled in as perfect security as if their conduct had been altogether inoffensive. He then assembled his subjects, and surrounding the fort, set it on fire. Some of the Spaniards were killed in defending it; the rest perished in attempting to make their escape by crossing an arm of the sea. Guacanahari, whom all their exactions had not alienated from the Spaniards, took arms in their behalf, and, in endeavoring to protect them, had received a wound, by which he was still confined.

Though this account was far from removing the suspicions which the Spaniards entertained with respect to the fidelity of Guacanahari, Columbus perceived so clearly that this was not a proper juncture for inquiring into his conduct with scrupulous accuracy, that he rejected the advice of several of his officers, who urged him to seize the person of that prince, and to revenge the death of their countrymen by attacking his subjects. He represented to them the necessity of securing the friendship of some potentate of the country, in order to facilitate the settlement which they intended, and the danger of driving the natives to unite in some desperate attempt against them, by such an ill-timed and unavailing exercise of rigor. Instead of wasting his time in punishing past wrongs, he took precautions for preventing any future injury. With this view, he made choice of a situation more healthy and commodious than that of Navidad. He traced out the plan of a town in a large plain near a spacious bay, and obliging every person to put his hand to a work on which their common safety depended, the houses and ramparts were soon so far advanced, by their united labor, as to afford them shelter and security. This rising city, the first that the Europeans founded in the New World, he named Isabella, in honor of his patroness the Queen of Castile.

In carrying on this necessary work, Columbus had not only to sustain all the hardships, and to encounter all the difficulties, to which infant colonies are exposed when they settle in an uncultivated country, but he had to contend with what was more insupportable, the laziness, the impatience, and mutinous disposition of his followers. By the enervating influence of a hot climate, the natural inactivity of the Spaniards seemed to increase. Many of them were gentlemen, unaccustomed to the fatigue of bodily labor, and all had engaged in the enterprise with the sanguine hopes excited by the splendid and exaggerated description of their countrymen who returned from the first voyage, or by the mistaken opinion of Columbus, that the country which he had discovered was either the Cipango of Marco Polo, or the Ophir, from which Solomon imported those precious commodities which suddenly diffused such extraordinary riches through his kingdom. But when, instead of that golden harvest which they had expected to reap without toil or pains, the Spaniards saw that their prospect of wealth was remote as well as uncertain, and that it could not be obtained but by the slow and persevering efforts of industry, the disappointment of those chimerical hopes occasioned such dejection of mind as bordered on despair, and led to general discontent. In vain did Columbus endeavor to revive their spirits by pointing out the fertility of the soil, and exhibiting the specimens of gold daily brought in from different parts of the island. They had not patience to wait for the gradual returns which the former might yield, and the latter they despised as scanty and inconsiderable. The spirit of disaffection spread, and a conspiracy was formed, which might have been fatal to Columbus and the colony. Happily he discovered it; and seizing the ringleaders, punished some of them, sent others prisoners into Spain, whither he despatched twelve of the ships which had served as transports, with an earnest request for a reinforcement of men and a large supply of provisions.

1494] Meanwhile, in order to banish that idleness which, by allowing his people leisure to brood over their disappointment, nourished the spirit of discontent, Columbus planned several expeditions into the interior part of the country. He sent a detachment, under the command of Alonso de Ojeda, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to visit the district of Cibao, which was said to yield the greatest quantity of gold, and followed him in person with the main body of his troops. In this expedition he displayed all the pomp of military magnificence that he could exhibit, in order to strike the imagination of the natives. He marched with colors flying, with martial music, and with a small body of cavalry that paraded sometimes in the front and sometimes in the rear. As those were the first horses which appeared in the New World, they were objects of terror no less than of admiration to the Indians, who, having no tame animals themselves, were unacquainted with that vast accession of power which man hath acquired by subjecting them to his dominion. They supposed them to be rational creatures. They imagined that the horse and the rider formed one animal, with whose speed they were astonished, and whose impetuosity and strength they considered as irresistible. But while Columbus endeavored to inspire the natives with a dread of his power, he did not neglect the arts of gaining their love and confidence. He adhered scrupulously to the principles of integrity and justice in all his transactions with them, and treated them, on every occasion, not only with humanity but with indulgence. The district of Cibao answered the description given of it by the natives. It was mountainous and uncultivated, but in every river and brook gold was gathered either in dust or in grains, some of which were of considerable size. The Indians had never opened any mines in search of gold. To penetrate into the bowels of the earth, and to refine the rude ore, were operations too complicated and laborious for their talents and industry, and they had no such high value for gold as to put their ingenuity and invention upon the stretch in order to obtain it. The small quantity of that precious metal which they possessed, was either picked up in the beds of the rivers, or washed from the mountains by the heavy rains that fall within the tropics. But from those indications, the Spaniards could no longer doubt that the country contained rich treasures in its bowels, of which they hoped soon to be masters. In order to secure the command of this valuable province, Columbus erected a small fort, to which he gave the name of St. Thomas, by way of ridicule upon some of his incredulous followers, who would not believe that the country produced gold, until they saw it with their own eyes, and touched it with their hands.

The account of those promising appearances of wealth in the country of Cibao came very seasonably to comfort the desponding colony, which was affected with distresses of various kinds. The stock of provisions which had been brought from Europe was mostly consumed; what remained was so much corrupted by the heat and moisture of the climate as to be almost unfit for use; the natives cultivated so small a portion of ground, and with so little skill, that it hardly yielded what was sufficient for their own subsistence: the Spaniards of Isabella had hitherto neither time nor leisure to clear the soil, so as to reap any considerable fruits of their own industry. On all these accounts, they became afraid of perishing with hunger, and were reduced already to a scanty allowance. At the same time, the diseases predominant in the torrid zone, and which rage chiefly in those uncultivated countries where the hand of industry had not opened the woods, drained the marshes, and confined the rivers within a certain channel, began to spread among them. Alarmed at the violence and unusual symptoms of those maladies, they exclaimed against Columbus and his companions in the former voyage, who, by their splendid but deceitful descriptions of Hispaniola, had allured them to quit Spain for a barbarous uncultivated land, where they must either be cut off by famine, or die of unknown distempers. Several of the officers and persons of note, instead of checking, joined in those seditious complaints. Father Boyl, the apostolical vicar, was one of the most turbulent and outrageous. It required all the authority and address of Columbus to re-establish subordination and tranquillity in the colony. Threats and promises were alternately employed for this purpose; but nothing contributed more to soothe the malecontents than the prospect of finding, in the mines of Cibao, such a rich store of treasure as would be a recompense for all their sufferings, and efface the memory of former disappointments.

When, by his unwearied endeavors, concord and order were so far restored that he could venture to leave the island, Columbus resolved to pursue his discoveries, that he might be able to ascertain whether those new countries with which he had opened a communication were connected with any region of the earth already known, or whether they were to be considered as a separate portion of the globe hitherto unvisited. He appointed his brother Don Diego, with the assistance of a council of officers, to govern the island in his absence; and gave the command of a body of soldiers to Don Pedro Margarita, with which he was to visit the different parts of the island, and endeavor to establish the authority of the Spaniards among the inhabitants. Having left them very particular instructions with respect to their conduct, he weighed anchor on the 24th of April, with one ship and two small barks under his command. During a tedious voyage of full five months, he had a trial of almost all the numerous hardships to which persons of his profession are exposed, without making any discovery of importance, except the island of Jamaica. As he ranged along the southern coast of Cuba, [19] he was entangled in a labyrinth formed by an incredible number of small islands, to which he gave the name of the Queen's Garden. In this unknown course, among rocks and shelves, he was retarded by contrary winds, assailed with furious storms, and alarmed with the terrible thunder and lightning which is often almost incessant between the tropics. At length his provisions fell short; his crew, exhausted with fatigue as well as hunger, murmured and threatened, and were ready to proceed to the most desperate extremities against him. Boset with danger in such various forms, he was obliged to keep continual watch, to observe every occurrence with his own eyes, to issue every order, and to superintend the execution of it. On no occasion was the extent of his skill and experience as a navigator so much tried. To these the squadron owed its safety. But this unremitting fatigue of body, and intense application of mind, overpowering his constitution, though naturally vigorous and robust, brought on a feverish disorder, which terminated in a lethargy, that deprived him of sense and memory, and had almost proved fatal to his life.

But, on his return to Hispaniola [Sept. 27], the sudden emotion of joy which he felt upon meeting with his brother Bartholomew at Isabella, occasioned such a flow of spirits as contributed greatly to his recovery. It was now thirteen years since the two brothers, whose similarity of talents united in close friendship, had separated from each other, and during that long period there had been no intercourse between them. Bartholomew after finishing his negotiation in the court of England, had set out for Spain by the way of France.

At Paris he received an account of the extraordinary discoveries which his brother had made in his first voyage, and that he was then preparing to embark on a second expedition. Though this naturally induced him to pursue his journey with the utmost despatch, the admiral had sailed for Hispaniola before he reached Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella received him with the respect due to the nearest kinsman of a person whose merit and services rendered him so conspicuous; and as they knew what consolation his presence would afford to his brother, they persuaded him to take the command of three ships, which they had appointed to carry provisions to the colony at Isabella.

He could not have arrived at any juncture when Columbus stood more in need of a friend capable of assisting him with his counsels, or of dividing with him the cares and burdens of government. For although the provisions now brought from Europe afforded a temporary relief to the Spaniards from the calamities of famine, the supply was not in such quantity as to support them long, and the island did not hitherto yield what was sufficient for sustenance. They were threatened with another danger, still more formidable than the return of scarcity, and which demanded more immediate attention. No sooner did Columbus leave the island on his voyage of discovery, than the soldiers under Margarita, as if they had been set free from discipline and subordination, scorned all restraint. Instead of conforming to the prudent instructions of Columbus, they dispersed in straggling parties over the island, lived at discretion upon the natives, wasted their provisions, seized their women, and treated that inoffensive race with all the insolence of military oppression.

As long as the Indians had any prospect that their sufferings might come to a period by the voluntary departure of the invaders, they submitted in silence, and dissembled their sorrow; but they now perceived that the yoke would be as permanent as it was intolerable. The Spaniards had built a town, and surrounded it with ramparts. They had erected forts in different places. They had enclosed and sown several fields. It was apparent that they came not to visit the country, but to settle in it. Though the number of those strangers was inconsiderable, the state of cultivation among these rude people was so imperfect, and in such exact proportion to their own consumption, that it was with difficulty they could afford subsistence to their new guests. Their own mode of life was so indolent and inactive, the warmth of the climate so enervating, the constitution of their bodies naturally so feeble, and so unaccustomed to the laborious exertions of industry, that they were satisfied with a proportion of food amazingly small. A handful of maize, or a little of the insipid bread made of the cassaduro, was sufficient to support men whose strength and spirits were not exhausted by any vigorous efforts either of body or mind. The Spaniards, though the most abstemious of all the European nations, appeared to them excessively voracious. One Spaniard consumed as much as several Indians. This keenness of appetite surprised them so much, and seemed to be so insatiable, that they supposed the Spaniards had left their own country because it did not produce as much as was requisite to gratify their immoderate desire of food, and had come among them in quest of nourishment. Self-preservation prompted them to wish for the departure of guests who wasted so fast their slender stock of provisions. The injuries which they suffered added to their impatience for this event. They had long expected that the Spaniards would retire of their own accord. They now perceived that, in order to avert the destruction with which they were threatened, either by the slow consumption of famine, or by the violence of their oppressors, it was necessary to assume courage, to attack those formidable invaders with united force, and drive them from the settlements of which they had violently taken possession.

Such were the sentiments which universally prevailed among the Indians, when Columbus returned to Isabella. Inflamed, by the unprovoked outrages of the Spaniards, with a degree of rage of which their gentle natures, formed to suffer and submit, seemed hardly susceptible, they waited only for a signal from their leaders to fall upon the colony. Some of the caziques had already surprised and cut off several stragglers. The dread of this impending danger united the Spaniards, and re-established the authority of Columbus, as they saw no prospect of safety but in committing themselves to his prudent guidance. It was now necessary to have recourse to arms, the employing of which against the Indians Columbus had

hitherto avoided with the greatest solicitude. Unequal as the conflict may seem, between the naked inhabitants of the New World armed with clubs, sticks, hardened in the fire, wooden swords, and arrows pointed with bones or flints, and troops accustomed to the discipline, and provided with the instruments of destruction known in the European art of war, the situation of the Spaniards was far from being exempt from danger. The vast superiority of the natives in number compensated many defects. A handful of men was about to encounter a whole nation. One adverse event, or even any unforced delay in determining the fate of the war, might prove fatal to the Spaniards. Conscious that success depended on the vigor and rapidity of his operations, Columbus instantly assembled his forces. They were reduced to a very small number. Diseases, engendered by the warmth and humidity of the country, or occasioned by their own licentiousness, had raged among them with much violence; experience had not yet taught them the art either of curing these, or the precautions requisite for guarding against them; two-thirds of the original adventurers were dead, and many of those who survived were incapable of service. The body which took the field [March 24, 1495] consisted only of two hundred foot, twenty horse, and twenty large dogs; and how strange soever it may seem to mention the last as composing part of a military force, they were not perhaps the least formidable and destructive of the whole, when employed against naked and timid Indians. All the caziques on the island, Guacanahari excepted, who retained an inviolable attachment to the Spaniards, were in arms to oppose Columbus, with forces amounting, if we may believe the Spanish historians, to a hundred thousand men. Instead of attempting to draw the Spaniards into the fastnesses of the woods and mountains, they were so imprudent as to take their station in the Vega Real, the most open plain in the country. Columbus did not allow them time to perceive their error, or to alter their position. He attacked them during the night, when undisciplined troops are least capable of acting with union and concert, and obtained an easy and bloodless victory. The consternation with which the Indians were filled by the noise and havoc made by the firearms, by the impetuous force of the cavalry, and the fierce onset of the dogs was so great, that they threw down their weapons, and fled without attempting resistance. Many were slain; more were taken prisoners, and reduced to servitude; [20] and so thoroughly were the rest intimidated, that from that moment they abandoned themselves to despair, relinquishing all thoughts of contending with aggressors whom they deemed invincible.

Columbus employed several months in marching through the island, and in subjecting it to the Spanish government, without meeting with any opposition. He imposed a tribute upon all the inhabitants above the age of fourteen. Each person who lived in those districts where gold was found, was obliged to pay quarterly as much gold dust as filled a hawk's bell; from those in other parts of the country, twenty-five pounds of cotton were demanded. This was the first regular taxation of the Indians, and served as a precedent for exactions still more intolerable. Such an imposition was extremely contrary to those maxims which Columbus had hitherto inculcated with respect to the mode of treating them. But intrigues were carrying on in the court of Spain at this juncture, in order to undermine his power, and discredit his operations, which constrained him to depart from his own system of administration. Several unfavorable accounts of his conduct, as well as of the countries discovered by him, had been transmitted to Spain. Margarita and Father Boyl were now at court, and in order to justify their own conduct, or to gratify their resentment, watched with malevolent attention for every opportunity of spreading insinuations to his detriment. Many of the courtiers viewed his growing reputation and power with envious eyes. Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, who was intrusted with the chief direction of Indian affairs, had conceived such an unfavorable opinion of Columbus, for some reason which the contemporary writers have not mentioned, that he listened with partiality to every invective against him. It was not easy for an unfriended stranger, unpractised in courtly arts, to counteract the machinations of so many enemies. Columbus saw that there was but one method of supporting his own credit, and of silencing all his adversaries. He must produce such a quantity of gold as would not only justify what he had reported with respect to the rich-

ness of the country, but encourage Ferdinand and Isabella to persevere in prosecuting his plans. The necessity of obtaining it forced him not only to impose this heavy tax upon the Indians, but to exact payment of it with extreme rigor; and may be pleaded in excuse for his deviating on this occasion from the mildness and humanity with which he uniformly treated that unhappy people.

The labor, attention, and foresight which the Indians were obliged to employ in procuring the tribute demanded of them, appeared the most intolerable of all evils, to men accustomed to pass their days in a careless improvident indolence. They were incapable of such a regular and persevering exertion of industry, and felt it such a grievous restraint upon their liberty, that they had recourse to an expedient for obtaining deliverance from this yoke, which demonstrates the excess of their impatience and despair. They formed a scheme of starving those oppressors whom they durst not attempt to expel; and from the opinion which they entertained with respect to the voracious appetite of the Spaniards, they concluded the execution of it to be very practicable. With this view they suspended all the operations of agriculture; they sowed no maize, they pulled up the roots of the manioc or cassava which were planted, and retiring to the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, left the uncultivated plains to their enemies. This desperate resolution produced in some degree the effects which they expected. The Spaniards were reduced to extreme want; but they received such seasonable supplies of provisions from Europe, and found so many resources in their own ingenuity and industry, that they suffered no great loss of men. The wretched Indians were the victims of their own ill-concerted policy. A great multitude of people, shut up in the mountainous or wooded part of the country, without any food but the spontaneous productions of the earth, soon felt the utmost distresses of famine. This brought on contagious diseases; and in the course of a few months more than a third part of the inhabitants of the island perished, after experiencing misery in all its various forms.

But while Columbus was establishing the foundations of the Spanish grandeur in the New World, his enemies labored with unwearied assiduity to deprive him of the glory and rewards which, by his services and sufferings, he was entitled to enjoy. The hardships unavoidable in a new settlement, the calamities occasioned by an unhealthy climate, the disasters attending a voyage in unknown seas, were all represented as the effects of his restless and inconsiderate ambition. His prudent attention to preserve discipline and subordination was denominated excess of rigor; the punishments which he inflicted upon the mutinous and disorderly were imputed to cruelty. These accusations gained such credit in a jealous court, that a commissioner was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, and to inspect into the conduct of Columbus. By the recommendation of his enemies, Aguado, a groom of the bedchamber, was the person to whom this important trust was committed. But in this choice they seem to have been more influenced by the obsequious attachment of the man to their interest, than by his capacity for the station. Puffed up with such sudden elevation, Aguado displayed, in the exercise of this office, all the frivolous self-importance, and acted with all the disgusting insolence which are natural to little minds, when raised to unexpected dignity, or employed in functions to which they are not equal. By listening with eagerness to every accusation against Columbus, and encouraging not only the malecontent Spaniards, but even the Indians, to produce their grievances, real or imaginary, he fomented the spirit of dissension in the island, without establishing any regulations of public utility, or that tended to redress the many wrongs, with the odium of which he wished to load the admiral's administration. As Columbus felt sensibly how humiliating his situation must be, if he should remain in the country while such a partial inspector observed his motions and controlled his jurisdiction, he took the resolution of returning to Spain, in order to lay a full account of all his transactions, particularly with respect to the points in dispute between him and his adversaries, before Ferdinand and Isabella, from whose justice and discernment he expected an equal and a favorable decision. [1496] He committed the administration of affairs, during his absence, to Don Bartholomew, his brother, with the title of Adelantado, or Lieutenant-Governor. By a choice less fortunate, and which proved the source of many calamities to the colony, he appointed Francis Roldan chief justice, with very extensive powers.

In returning to Europe, Columbus held a course different from that which he had taken in his former voyage. He steered almost due east from Hispaniola, in the parallel of twenty-two degrees of latitude; as experience had not yet discovered the more certain and expeditious method of stretching to the north, in order to fall in with the south-west winds. By this ill advised choice, which, in the infancy of navigation between the New and Old World, can hardly be imputed to the admiral as a defect in naval skill, he was exposed to infinite fatigue and danger, in a perpetual struggle with the trade winds, which blow without variation from the east between the tropics. Notwithstanding the almost insuperable difficulties of such a navigation, he persisted in his course with his usual patience and firmness, but made so little way that he was three months without seeing land. At length his provisions began to fail, the crew was reduced to the scanty allowance of six ounces of bread a day for each person. The admiral fared no better than the meanest sailor. But, even in this extreme distress, he retained the humanity which distinguishes his character, and refused to comply with the earnest solicitations of his crew, some of whom proposed to feed upon the Indian prisoners whom they were carrying over, and others insisted to throw them overboard, in order to lessen the consumption of their small stock. He represented that they were human beings, reduced by a common calamity to the same condition with themselves, and entitled to share an equal fate. His authority and remonstrances dissipated those wild ideas suggested by despair. Nor had they time to recur; as he came soon within sight of the coast of Spain, when all their fears and sufferings ended.

Columbus appeared at court with the modest but determined confidence of a man conscious not only of integrity but of having performed great services. Ferdinand and Isabella, ashamed of their own facility in lending too favorable an ear to frivolous or unfounded accusations, received him with such distinguished marks of respect as covered his enemies with shame. The censures and calumnies were no more heard of at that juncture. The gold, the pearls, the cotton, and other commodities of value which Columbus produced, seemed fully to refute what the malecontents had propagated with respect to the poverty of the country. By reducing the Indians to obedience, and imposing a regular tax upon them, he had secured to Spain a large accession of new subjects, and the establishment of a revenue that promised to be considerable. By the mines which he had found out and examined, a source of wealth still more copious was opened. Great and unexpected as those advantages were, Columbus represented them only as preludes to future acquisitions, and as the earnest of more important discoveries, which he still meditated, and to which those he had already made would conduct him with ease and certainty.

The attentive consideration of all these circumstances made such an impression, not only upon Isabella, who flattered with the idea of being the patroness of all Columbus's enterprises, but even upon Ferdinand, who having originally expressed his disapprobation of his schemes, was still apt to doubt of their success, that they resolved to supply the colony of Hispaniola with every thing which could render it a permanent establishment, and to furnish Columbus with such a fleet, that he might proceed to search for those new countries of whose existence he seemed to be confident. The measures most proper for accomplishing both these designs were concerted with Columbus. Discovery had been the sole object of the first voyage to the New World; and though, in the second, settlement had been proposed, the precautions taken for that purpose had either been insufficient, or were rendered ineffectual by the mutinous spirit of the Spaniards, and the unforeseen calamities arising from various causes. Now a plan was to be formed of a regular colony, that might serve as a model in all future establishments. Every particular was considered with attention, and the whole arranged with a scrupulous accuracy. The precise number of adventurers, who should be permitted to embark was fixed. They were to be of different ranks and professions, and the proportion of each was established according to their usefulness and the wants of the colony. A suitable number of women were to be chosen to accompany these new settlers. As it was the first object to raise provisions in a country where scarcity of food had been the occasion of so much distress, a considerable body of husbandmen was to be carried over. As the Spaniards had then no con-

ception of deriving any benefit from those productions of the New World which have since yielded such large returns of wealth to Europe, but had formed magnificent ideas, and entertained sanguine hopes with respect to the riches contained in the mines which had been discovered, a band of workmen, skilled in the various arts employed in digging and refining the precious metals, was provided. All these emigrants were to receive pay and subsistence for some years, at the public expense.

Thus far the regulations were prudent, and well adapted to the end in view. But as it was foreseen that few would engage voluntarily to settle in a country whose noxious climate had been fatal to so many of their countrymen, Columbus proposed to transport to Hispaniola such malefactors as had been convicted of crimes which, though capital, were of a less atrocious nature; and that for the future a certain proportion of the offenders usually sent to the galleys, should be condemned to labor in the mines which were to be opened. This advice, given without due reflection, was as inconsiderately adopted. The prisons of Spain were drained, in order to collect members for the intended colony; and the judges empowered to try criminals were instructed to recruit it by their future sentences. It was not, however, with such materials that the foundations of a society, destined to be permanent, should be laid. Industry, sobriety, patience, and mutual confidence, are indispensably requisite in an infant settlement, where purity of morals must contribute more towards establishing order than the operation or authority of laws. But when such a mixture of what is corrupt is admitted into the original constitution of the political body, the vices of those unsound and incurable members will probably infect the whole, and must certainly be productive of violent and unhappy effects. This the Spaniards fatally experienced; and the other European nations having successively imitated the practice of Spain in this particular, pernicious consequences have followed in their settlement, which can be imputed to no other cause.

Though Columbus obtained, with great facility and despatch, the royal approbation of every measure and regulation that he proposed, his endeavors to carry them into execution were so long retarded, as must have tired out the patience of any man less accustomed to encounter and surmount difficulties. Those delays were occasioned partly by that tedious formality and spirit of procrastination, with which the Spaniards conduct business, and partly by the exhausted state of the treasury, which was drained by the expense of celebrating the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella's only son with Margaret of Austria, and that of Joanna, their second daughter, with Philip Archduke of Austria; but must be chiefly imputed to the malicious arts of Columbus's enemies. Astonished at the reception which he met with upon his return, and overawed by his presence, they gave way, for some time, to a tide of favor too strong for them to oppose. Their enmity, however, was too inveterate to remain long inactive. They resumed their operations; and by the assistance of Fonseca, the minister for Indian affairs, who was now promoted to the Bishopric of Badajoz, they threw in so many obstacles to protract the preparations for Columbus's expedition, that a year elapsed before he could procure two ships to carry over a part of the supplies destined for the colony, and almost two years were spent before the small squadron was equipped, of which he himself was to take the command.

[1498.] This squadron consisted of six ships only, of no great burden, and but indifferently provided for a long or dangerous navigation. The voyage which he now meditated was in a course different from any he had undertaken. As he was fully persuaded that the fertile regions of India lay to the south-west of those countries which he had discovered, he proposed, as the most certain method of finding out these, to stand directly south from the Canary or Cape de Verd islands, until he came under the equinoctial line, and then to stretch to the west before the favorable wind for such a course, which blows invariably between the tropics. With this idea he set sail [May 30], and touched first at the Canary, and then at the Cape de Verd islands [July 4]. From the former he despatched three of his ships with a supply of provisions for the colony in Hispaniola; with the other three, he continued his voyage towards the south. No remarkable occurrence happened until they arrived within five degrees of the line [July 19]. There they were becalmed, and at the same time the heat became so excessive that many of their wine casks burst, the liquors in others soured,

and their provisions corrupted. The Spaniards, who had never ventured so far to the south, were afraid that the ships would take fire, and began to apprehend the reality of what the ancients had taught concerning the destructive qualities of that torrid region of the globe. They were relieved, in some measure, from their fears by a seasonable fall of rain. This, however, though so heavy and unintermitting that the men could hardly keep the deck, did not greatly mitigate the intenseness of the heat. The admiral, who with his usual vigilance had in person directed every operation from the beginning of the voyage, was so much exhausted by fatigue and want of sleep, that it brought on a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with a fever. All these circumstances constrained him to yield to the importunities of his crew, and to alter his course to the north-west, in order to reach some of the Caribbee islands, where he might refit, and be supplied with provisions.

On the first of August, the man stationed in the round top surprised them with the joyful cry of *Land!* They stood toward it, and discovered a considerable island, which the admiral called Trinidad, a name it still retains. It lies on the coast of Guiana, near the mouth of the Orinoco. This, though a river only of the third or fourth magnitude in the New World, far surpasses any of the streams in our hemisphere. It rolls towards the ocean such a vast body of water, and rushes into it with such impetuous force, that when it meets the tide, which on that coast rises to an uncommon height, their collision occasions a swell and agitation of the waves no less surprising than formidable. In this conflict, the irresistible torrent of the river so far prevails, that it freshens the ocean many leagues with its flood. Columbus, before he could conceive the danger, was entangled among these adverse currents and tempestuous waves, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he escaped through a narrow strait, which appeared so tremendous that he called it *La Boca del Drago*. As soon as the consternation which this occasioned permitted him to reflect upon the nature of an appearance so extraordinary, he discerned in it a source of comfort and hope. He justly concluded that such a vast body of water as this river contained, could not be supplied by any island, but must flow through a country of immense extent, and of consequence that he was now arrived at that continent which it had long been the object of his wishes to discover. Full of this idea, he stood to the west along the coast of those provinces which are now known by the names of Para and Cumana. He landed in several places, and had some intercourse with the people, who resembled those of Hispaniola in their appearance and manner of life. They wore, as ornaments, small plates of gold, and pearls of considerable value, which they willingly exchanged for European toys. They seemed to possess a better understanding and greater courage than the inhabitants of the islands. The country produced four-footed animals of several kinds, as well as a great variety of fowls and fruits. The admiral was so much delighted with its beauty and fertility, that, with the warm enthusiasm of a discoverer, he imagined it to be the Paradise described in Scripture, which the Almighty chose for the residence of man while he retained innocence that rendered him worthy of such a habitation. [21] Thus Columbus had the glory not only of discovering to mankind the existence of a new World, but made considerable progress towards a perfect knowledge of it; and was the first man who conducted the Spaniards to that vast continent which has been the chief seat of their empire, and the source of their treasures in this quarter of the globe. The shattered condition of his ships, scarcity of provisions, his own infirmities, together with the impatience of his crew, prevented him from pursuing his discoveries any further, and made it necessary to bear away for Hispaniola. In his way thither he discovered the islands of Cubagua and Margarita, which afterwards became remarkable for their pearl-fishery. When he arrived at Hispaniola [Aug. 30], he was wasted to an extreme degree, with fatigue and sickness; but found the affairs of the colony in such a situation as afforded him no prospect of enjoying that repose of which he stood so much in need.

Many revolutions had happened in that country during his absence. His brother, the adelantado, in consequence of an advice which the admiral gave before his departure, had removed the colony from Isabella to a more commodious station, on the opposite side of the island, and laid the foundation of St. Domingo, which was long the most considerable European town in the New World, and the seat of the supreme courts in the Spanish dominions there. As soon as the Spaniards were established in his new settlement, the adelantado,

that they might neither languish in inactivity, nor have leisure to form new cabals, marched into those parts of the island which his brother had not yet visited or reduced to obedience. As the people were unable to resist, they submitted every where to the tribute which he imposed. But they soon found the burden to be so intolerable that, overawed as they were by the superior power of their oppressors, they took arms against them. Those insurrections, however, were not formidable. A conflict with timid and naked Indians was neither dangerous nor of doubtful issue.

But while the adelantado was employed against them in the field, a mutiny of an aspect far more alarming broke out among the Spaniards. The ringleader of it was Francis Roldan, whom Columbus had placed in a station which required him to be the guardian of order and tranquillity in the colony. A turbulent and inconsiderate ambition precipitated him into this desperate measure, so unbecoming his rank. The arguments which he employed to seduce his countrymen were frivolous and ill founded. He accused Columbus and his two brothers of arrogance and severity: he pretended that they aimed at establishing an independent dominion in the country; he taxed them with an intention of cutting off part of the Spaniards by hunger and fatigue, that they might more easily reduce the remainder to subjection; he represented it as unworthy of Castilians, to remain the tame and passive slaves of these Genoese adventurers. As men have always a propensity to impute the hardships of which they feel the pressure to the misconduct of their rulers; as every nation views with a jealous eye the power and exaltation of foreigners, Roldan's insinuations made a deep impression on his countrymen. His character and rank added weight to them. A considerable number of the Spaniards made choice of him as their leader; and, taking arms against the adelantado and his brother, seized the king's magazine of provisions, and endeavored to surprise the fort at St. Domingo. This was preserved by the vigilance and courage of Don Diego Columbus. The mutineers were obliged to retire to the province of Xaragua, where they continued not only to disclaim the adelantado's authority themselves, but excited the Indians to throw off the yoke.

Such was the distracted state of the colony when Columbus landed at St. Domingo. He was astonished to find that the three ships which he had despatched from the Canaries were not yet arrived. By the unskillfulness of the pilots, and the violence of currents, they had been carried a hundred and sixty miles to the west of St. Domingo, and forced to take shelter in a harbor of the province of Xaragua, where Roldan and his seditious followers were cantoned. Roldan carefully concealed from the commanders of the ships his insurrection against the adelantado, and, employing his utmost address to gain their confidence, persuaded them to set on shore a considerable part of the new settlers whom they brought over, that they might proceed by land to St. Domingo. It required but few arguments to prevail with those men to espouse his cause. They were the refuse of the jails of Spain, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence were familiar; and they returned eagerly to a course of life nearly resembling that to which they had been accustomed. The commanders of the ships perceiving, when it was too late, their imprudence in disembarking so many of their men, stood away for St. Domingo, and got safe into the port a few days after the admiral; but their stock of provisions was so wasted during a voyage of such long continuance that they brought little relief to the colony.

By this junction with a band of such bold and desperate associates, Roldan became extremely formidable, and no less extravagant in his demands. Columbus, though filled with resentment at his ingratitude, and highly exasperated by the insolence of his followers, made no haste to take the field. He trembled at the thoughts of kindling the flames of a civil war, in which whatever party prevailed, the power and strength of both must be so much wasted as might encourage the common enemy to unite and complete their destruction. At the same time, he observed, that the prejudices and passions which incited the rebels to take arms, had so far infected those who still adhered to him, that many of them were adverse, and all cold to the service. From such sentiments, with respect to the public interest, as well as from this view of his own situation, he chose to negotiate rather than to fight. By a seasonable proclamation, offering free pardon to such as should merit it by returning to their duty, he made impression upon some of the malecontents. By

engaging to grant such as should desire it the liberty of returning to Spain, he allured all those unfortunate adventurers, who, from sickness and disappointment, were disgusted with the country. By promising to re-establish Roldan in his former office, he soothed his pride; and, by complying with most of his demands in behalf of his followers, he satisfied their avarice. Thus, gradually and without bloodshed, but after many tedious negotiations, he dissolved this dangerous combination, which threatened the colony with ruin; and restored the appearance of order, regular government and tranquillity.

In consequence of this agreement with the mutineers, lands were allotted them in different parts of the island, and the Indians settled in each district were appointed to cultivate a certain portion of ground for the use of those new masters [1499]. The performance of this work was substituted in place of the tribute formerly imposed; and how necessary soever such a regulation might be in a sickly and feeble colony, it introduced among the Spaniards the *Repatriamientos*, or distributions of Indians established by them in all their settlements, which brought numberless calamities upon that unhappy people, and subjected them to the most grievous oppression. This was not the only bad effect of the insurrection in Hispaniola; it prevented Columbus from prosecuting his discoveries on the continent, as self preservation obliged him to keep near his person his brother the adelantado, and the sailors whom he intended to have employed in that service. As soon as his affairs would permit, he sent some of his ships to Spain with a journal of the voyage which he had made, a description of the new countries which he had discovered, a chart of the coast along which he had sailed, and specimens of the gold, the pearls, and other curious or valuable productions which he had acquired by trafficking with the natives. At the same time he transmitted an account of the insurrection in Hispaniola; he accused the mutineers not only of having thrown the colony into such violent convulsions as threatened its dissolution, but of having obstructed every attempt towards discovery and improvement, by their unprovoked rebellion against their superiors, and proposed several regulations for the better government of the island, as well as the extinction of that mutinous spirit, which, though suppressed at present, might soon burst out with additional rage. Roldan and his associates did not neglect to convey to Spain, by the same ships, an apology for their own conduct, together with their recriminations upon the admiral and his brothers. Unfortunately for the honor of Spain and the happiness of Columbus, the latter gained most credit in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and produced unexpected effects.

But, previous to the relating of these, it is proper to take a view of some events, which merit attention, both on account of their own importance, and their connection with the history of the New World. While Columbus was engaged in his successive voyages to the west, the spirit of discovery did not languish in Portugal, the kingdom where it first acquired vigor, and became enterprising. Self-condemnation and neglect were not the only sentiments to which the success of Columbus, and reflection upon their own imprudence in rejecting his proposals, gave rise among the Portuguese. They excited a general emulation to surpass his performances, and an ardent desire to make some reparation to their country for their own error. With this view, Emanuel, who inherited the enterprising genius of his predecessors, persisted in their grand scheme of opening a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, and soon after his accession to the throne equipped a squadron for that important voyage. He gave the command of it to Vasco da Gama, a man of noble birth, possessed of virtue, prudence, and courage, equal to the station. The squadron, like all those fitted out for discovery in the infancy of navigation, was extremely feeble, consisting only of three vessels, of neither burden nor force adequate to the service. As the Europeans were at that time little acquainted with the course of the trade-winds and periodical monsoons, which render navigation in the Atlantic ocean as well as in the sea that separates Africa from India, at some seasons easy, and at others not only dangerous but almost impracticable, the time chosen for Gama's departure was the most improper during the whole year. He set sail from Lisbon on the ninth of July, [1497], and standing towards the south, had to struggle for four months with contrary winds before he could reach the Cape of Good Hope. Here their violence began to abate [Nov. 20]; and during an interval of calm weather, Gama doubled that formidable

promontory, which had so long been the boundary of navigation, and directed his course towards the north-east, along the African coast. He touched at several ports; and after various adventures, which the Portuguese historians relate with high but just encomiums upon his conduct and intrepidity, he came to anchor before the city of Melinda. Throughout all the vast countries which extend along the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the confines of Zanguebar, the Portuguese had found a race of men rude and uncultivated, strangers to letters, to arts and commerce, and differing from the inhabitants of Europe no less in their features and complexion than in their manners and institutions. As they advanced from this, they observed, to their inexpressible joy, that the human form gradually altered and improved; the Asiatic features began to predominate, marks of civilization appeared, letters were known, the Mahometan religion was established, and a commerce far from being inconsiderable was carried on. At that time several vessels from India were in the port of Melinda. Gama now pursued his voyage with almost absolute certainty of success, and under the conduct of a Mahometan pilot, arrived at Calecut, upon the coast of Malabar, on the twenty-second of May, one thousand four hundred and ninety-eight. What he beheld of the wealth, the populousness, the cultivation, the industry, and arts of this highly civilized country, far surpassed any idea that he had formed, from the imperfect accounts which the Europeans had hitherto received of it. But as he possessed neither sufficient force to attempt a settlement, nor proper commodities with which he could carry on commerce of any consequence, he hastened back to Portugal, with an account of his success in performing a voyage, the longest, as well as most difficult, that had ever been made since the first invention of navigation. He landed at Lisbon on the fourteenth of September, one thousand four hundred and ninety-nine, two years two months and five days from the time he left that port.

Thus, during the course of the fifteenth century, mankind made greater progress in exploring the state of the habitable globe, than in all the ages which had elapsed previous to that period. The spirit of discovery, feeble at first and cautious, moved within a very narrow sphere, and made its efforts with hesitation and timidity. Encouraged by success, it became adventurous, and boldly extended its operations. In the course of its progression, it continued to acquire vigor, and advanced at length with a rapidity and force which burst through all the limit within which ignorance and fear had hitherto circumscribed the activity of the human race. Almost fifty years were employed by the Portuguese in creeping along the coast of Africa from Cape Non to Cape de Verd, the latter of which lies only twelve degrees to the south of the former. In less than thirty years they ventured beyond the equinoctial line into another hemisphere, and penetrated to the southern extremity of Africa, at the distance of forty-nine degrees from Cape de Verd. During the last seven years of the century, a New World was discovered in the west, not inferior in extent to all the parts of the earth with which mankind were at that time acquainted. In the East, unknown seas and countries were found out, and a communication, long desired, but hitherto concealed was opened between Europe and the opulent regions of India. In comparison with events so wonderful and unexpected, all that had hitherto been deemed great or splendid faded away and disappeared. Vast objects now presented themselves. The human mind, roused and interested by the prospect, engaged with ardor in pursuit of them, and exerted its active powers in a new direction.

This spirit of enterprise, though but newly awakened in Spain, began soon to operate extensively. All the attempts towards discovery made in that kingdom had hitherto been carried on by Columbus alone, and at the expense of the Sovereign. But now private adventurers, allured by the magnificent descriptions he gave of the regions which he had visited, as well as by the specimens of their wealth which he produced, offered to fit out squadrons at their own risk, and to go in quest of new countries. The Spanish court, whose scanty revenues were exhausted by the charge of its expeditions to the New World, which, though they opened alluring prospects of future benefit, yielded a very sparing return of present profit, was extremely willing to devolve the burden of discovery upon its subjects. It seized with joy an opportunity of rendering the avarice, the ingenuity, and efforts of projectors instrumental in promoting designs of certain advantage to the public, though of doubtful success with respect

to themselves. One of the first propositions of this kind was made by Alonso de Ojeda, a gallant and active officer, who had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage. His rank and character procured him such credit with the merchants of Seville, that they undertook to equip four ships, provided he could obtain the royal license, authorising the voyage. The powerful patronage of the Bishop of Badajoz easily secured success in a suit so agreeable to the court. Without consulting Columbus or regarding the rights and jurisdiction which he had acquired by the capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, Ojeda was permitted to set out for the New World. In order to direct his course, the bishop communicated to him the admiral's journal of his last voyage, and his charts of the countries which he had discovered. Ojeda struck out into no new path of navigation, but adhering servilely to the route which Columbus had taken, arrived on the coast of Paria [May]. He traded with the natives, and, standing to the west, proceeded as far as Cape de Vela, and ranged along a considerable extent of coast beyond that on which Columbus had touched. Having thus ascertained the opinion of Columbus, that this country was a part of the continent, Ojeda returned by way of Hispaniola to Spain [October], with some reputation as a discoverer, but with little benefit to those who had raised the funds for the expedition.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, accompanied Ojeda in this voyage. In what station he served is uncertain, but as he was an experienced sailor, and eminently skilled in all the sciences subservient to navigation, he seems to have acquired such authority among his companions, that they willingly allowed him to have a chief share in directing their operations during the voyage. Soon after his return, he transmitted an account of his adventures and discoveries to one of his countrymen; and laboring with the vanity of a traveller to magnify his own exploits, he had the address and confidence to frame his narrative so as to make it appear that he had the glory of having first discovered the continent in the New World. Amerigo's account was drawn up not only with art, but with some elegance. It contained an amusing history of his voyage, and judicious observations upon the natural productions, the inhabitants, and the customs of the countries which he had visited. As it was the first description of any part of the New World that was published, a performance so well calculated to gratify the passion of mankind for what is new and marvellous, circulated rapidly, and was read with admiration. The country of which Amerigo was supposed to be the discoverer, came gradually to be called by his name. The caprice of mankind, often as unaccountable as unjust, has perpetuated this error. By the universal consent of nations, America is the name bestowed on this new quarter of the globe. The bold pretensions of a fortunate impostor, have robbed the discoverer of the New World of a distinction which belonged to him. The name of Amerigo has supplanted that of Columbus; and mankind may regret an act of injustice, which, having received the sanction of time, it is now too late to redress. [22]

During the same year, another voyage of discovery was undertaken. Columbus not only introduced the spirit of naval enterprise into Spain, but all the first adventurers who distinguished themselves in this new career were formed by his instructions, and acquired in his voyages the skill and information which qualified them to imitate his example. Alonso Nigro, who had served under the admiral in his last expedition, fitted out a single ship, in conjunction with Christopher Guerra, a merchant of Seville, and sailed to the coast of Paria. This voyage seems to have been conducted with greater attention to private emolument than to any general or national object. Nigro and Guerra, made no discoveries of any importance; but they brought home such a return of gold and pearls as inflamed their countrymen with the desire of engaging in similar adventures.

Soon after [Jan. 13, 1500], Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of the admiral's companions in his first voyage, sailed from Palos with four ships. He stood boldly towards the south, and was the first Spaniard who ventured across the equinoctial line; but he seems to have landed on no part of the coast beyond the mouth of the Maragnon, or river of the Amazons. All these navigators adopted the erroneous theory of Columbus, and believed that the countries which they had discovered were part of the vast continent of India.

During the last year of the fifteenth century, that fertile district of America, on the confines of which Pinzon had stopped short, was more fully discovered.

The successful voyage of Gama to the East Indies having encouraged the King of Portugal to fit out a fleet so powerful as not only to carry on trade but to attempt conquest, he gave the command of it to Pedro Alvarez Cabral. In order to avoid the coast of Africa, where he was certain of meeting with variable breezes or frequent calms, which might retard his voyage, Cabral stood out to sea, and kept so far to the west, that, to his surprise, he found himself upon the shore of an unknown country, in the tenth degree beyond the line. He imagined at first that it was some island in the Atlantic ocean, hitherto unobserved; but, proceeding along its coast for several days, he was led gradually to believe, that a country so extensive formed a part of some great continent. This latter opinion was well founded. The country with which he fell in belongs to that province in South America now known by the name of Brasil. He landed; and having formed a very high idea of the fertility of the soil, and agreeableness of the climate, he took possession of it for the crown of Portugal, and despatched a ship to Lisbon with an account of this event, which appeared to be no less important than it was unexpected. Columbus's discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them, a few years later, to the knowledge of that extensive continent.

While the Spaniards and Portuguese, by those successive voyages, were daily acquiring more enlarged ideas of the extent and opulence of that quarter of the globe which Columbus had made known to them, he himself, far from enjoying the tranquillity and honor with which his services should have been recompensed, was struggling with every distress in which the envy and malevolence of the people under his command, or the ingratitude of the court which he served, could involve him. Though the pacification with Roldan broke the union and weakened the force of the mutineers, it did not extirpate the seeds of discord out of the island. Several of the malecontents continued in arms, refusing to submit to the admiral. He and his brothers were obliged to take the field alternately, in order to check their incursions, or to punish their crimes. The perpetual occupation and disquiet which this created, prevented him from giving due attention to the dangerous machinations of his enemies in the court of Spain. A good number of such as were most dissatisfied with his administration had embraced the opportunity of returning to Europe with the ships which he despatched from St. Domingo. The final disappointment of all their hopes inflamed the rage of these unfortunate adventurers against Columbus to the utmost pitch. Their poverty and distress, by exciting compassion, rendered their accusations credible, and their complaints interesting. They teased Ferdinand and Isabella incessantly with memorials, containing the detail of their own grievances, and the articles of their charge against Columbus. Whenever either the king or queen appeared in public, they surrounded them in a tumultuary manner, misisting with importunate clamours for the payment of the arrears due to them, and demanding vengeance upon the author of their sufferings. They insulted the admiral's sons wherever they met them, reproaching them as the offspring of the projector, whose fatal curiosity had discovered those pernicious regions which drained Spain of its wealth, and would prove the grave of its people. These avowed endeavors of the malecontents from America to ruin Columbus, were seconded by the secret but more dangerous insinuations of that party among the courtiers, which had always thwarted his schemes, and envied his success and credit.

Ferdinand was disposed to listen, not only with a willing but with a partial ear, to these accusations. Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which Columbus had given of the riches of America, the remittances from it had hitherto been so scanty that they fell far short of defraying the expense of the armaments fitted out. The glory of the discovery, together with the prospect of remote commercial advantages, was all that Spain had yet received in return for the efforts which she had made. But time had already diminished the first sensations of joy which the discovery of a New World occasioned, and fame alone was not an object to satisfy the cold interested mind of Ferdinand. The

nature of commerce was then so little understood that, where immediate gain was not acquired, the hope of distant benefit, or of slow and moderate returns, was totally disregarded. Ferdinand considered Spain, on this account, as having lost by the enterprise of Columbus, and imputed it to his misconduct and incapacity for government, that a country abounding in gold had yielded nothing of value to its conquerors. Even Isabella, who from the favorable opinion which she entertained of Columbus had uniformly protected him, was shaken at length by the number and boldness of his accusers, and began to suspect that a disaffection so general must have been occasioned by real grievances which called for redress. The Bishop of Badajoz, with his usual animosity against Columbus, encouraged these suspicions, and confirmed them.

As soon as the queen began to give way to the torrent of calumny, a resolution fatal to Columbus was taken. Francis de Bovadilla, a knight of Calatrava, was appointed to repair to Hispaniola, with full powers to inquire into the conduct of Columbus, and if he should find the charge of maladministration proved, to supersede him, and assume the government of the island. It was impossible to escape condemnation, when this preposterous commission made it the interest of the judge to pronounce the person whom he was sent to try, guilty. Though Columbus had now composed all the dissensions in the island; though he had brought both Spaniards and Indians to submit peaceably to his government; though he had made such effectual provision for working the mines, and cultivating the country, as would have secured a considerable revenue to the king, as well as large profits to individuals; Bovadilla, without designing to attend to the nature or merit of those services, discovered from the moment that he landed in Hispaniola, a determined purpose of treating him as a criminal. He took possession of the admiral's house in St. Domingo, from which its master happened at that time to be absent, and seized his effects, as if his guilt had been already fully proved; he rendered himself master of the fort and of the King's stores by violence; he required all persons to acknowledge him as supreme governor; he set at liberty the prisoners confined by the admiral, and summoned him to appear before his tribunal, in order to answer for his conduct; transmitting to him, together with the summons, a copy of the royal mandate, by which Columbus was enjoined to yield implicit obedience to his commands.

Columbus, though deeply affected with the ingratitude and injustice of Ferdinand and Isabella, did not hesitate a moment about his own conduct. He submitted to the will of his sovereigns with a respectful silence, and repaired directly [October] to the court of that violent and partial judge whom they had authorized to try him. Bovadilla, without admitting him into his presence, ordered him instantly to be arrested, to be loaded with chains, and hurried on board a ship. Even under this humiliating reverse of fortune, the firmness of mind which distinguishes the character of Columbus did not forsake him. Conscious of his own integrity, and solacing himself with reflecting upon the great things which he had achieved, he endured this insult offered to his character, not only with composure but with dignity. Nor had he the consolation of sympathy to mitigate his sufferings. Bovadilla had already rendered himself so extremely popular, by granting various immunities to the colony, by liberal donations of Indians to all who applied for them, and by relaxing the reins of discipline and government, that the Spaniards, who were mostly adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes had compelled to abandon their native country, expressed the most indecent satisfaction with the disgrace and imprisonment of Columbus. They flattered themselves that now they should enjoy an uncontrolled liberty more suitable to their disposition and former habits of life. Among persons thus prepared to censure the proceedings, and to asperse the character of Columbus, Bovadilla collected materials for a charge against him. All accusations the most improbable as well as inconsistent, were received. No informer, however, infamous, was rejected. The result of this inquest, no less indecent than partial, he transmitted to Spain. At the same time he ordered Columbus, with his two brothers, to be carried thither in fetters; and, adding cruelty to insult, he confined them in different ships, and excluded them from the comfort of that friendly intercourse which might have soothed their common distress. But while the Spaniards in Hispaniola viewed the arbitrary and insolent proceedings of Bovadilla with a general approbation, which reflects dishonor upon their

name and country, one man still retained a proper sense of the great actions which Columbus had performed, and was touched with the sentiments of veneration and pity due to his rank, his age, and his merit. Alonzo de Valejo, the captain of the vessel on board which the admiral was confined, as soon as he was clear of the island, approached his prisoner with great respect, and offered to release him from the fetters with which he was unjustly loaded. "No," replied Columbus with a generous indignation, "I wear these irons in consequence of an order from my sovereigns. They shall find me as obedient to this as to their other injunctions. By their command I have been confined, and their command alone shall set me at liberty."

Nov. 23.] Fortunately the voyage to Spain was extremely short. As soon as Ferdinand and Isabella were informed that Columbus was brought home a prisoner and in chains, they perceived at once what universal astonishment this event must occasion, and what an impression to their disadvantage it must make. All Europe, they foresaw, would be filled with indignation at this ungenerous requital of a man who had performed actions worthy of the highest recompense, and would exclaim against the injustice of the nation, to which he had been such an eminent benefactor, as well as against the ingratitude of the princes whose reign he had rendered illustrious. Ashamed of their own conduct, and eager not only to make some reparation for this injury, but to efface the stain which it might fix upon their character, they instantly issued orders to set Columbus at liberty [Dec. 17.] invited him to court, and remitted money to enable him to appear there in a manner suitable to his rank. When he entered the royal presence, Columbus threw himself at the feet of his sovereigns. He remained for some time silent; the various passions which agitated his mind suppressing his power of utterance. At length he recovered himself, and vindicated his conduct in a long discourse, producing the most satisfying proofs of his own integrity as well as good intention, and evidence, no less clear, of the malevolence of his enemies, who, not satisfied with having ruined his fortune, labored to deprive him of what alone was now left, his honor and his fame. Ferdinand received him with decent civility, and Isabella with tenderness and respect. They both expressed their sorrow for what had happened, disavowed their knowledge of it, and joined in promising him protection and future favor. But though they instantly degraded Bovadilla, in order to remove from themselves any suspicion of having authorized his violent proceedings, they did not restore to Columbus his jurisdiction and privileges as viceroy of those countries which he had discovered. Though willing to appear the avengers of Columbus's wrongs, that illiberal jealousy which prompted them to invest Bovadilla with such authority, as put it in his power to treat the admiral with indignity, still subsisted. They were afraid to trust a man to whom they had been so highly indebted; and retaining him at court under various pretexts, they appointed Nicholas de Ovando, a knight of the military order of Alcantara, governor of Hispaniola.

Columbus was deeply affected with this new injury, which came from hands that seemed to be employed in making reparation for his past sufferings. The sensibility with which great minds feel every thing that implies any suspicion of their integrity, or that wears the aspect of an affront, is exquisite. Columbus had experienced both from the Spaniards, and their ungenerous conduct exasperated him to such a degree that he could no longer conceal the sentiments which it excited. Wherever he went he carried about with him, as a memorial of their ingratitude, those fetters with which he had been loaded. They were constantly hung up in his chamber, and he gave orders, that when he died they should be buried in his grave.

1501.] Meanwhile the spirit of discovery, notwithstanding the severe check which it had received by the ungenerous treatment of the man who first excited it in Spain, continued active and vigorous. [January] Rodrigo de Bastidas, a person of distinction, fitted out two ships in copartnership with John de la Cosa, who having served under the admiral in two of his voyages was deemed the most skillful pilot in Spain. They steered directly towards the continent, arrived on the coast of Paria, and, proceeding to the west, discovered all the coast of the province now known by the name of Tierra Firme, from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien. Not long after Ojeda, with his former associate Amerigo Vespucci, set out upon a second voyage, and, being unacquainted with the destination of Bastidas, held the same course and touched at the same

places. The voyage of Bastidas was prosperous and lucrative, that of Ojeda unfortunate. But both tended to increase the ardor of discovery; for in proportion as the Spaniards acquired a more extensive knowledge of the American continent, their idea of its opulence and fertility increased.

Before these adventurers returned from their voyages, a fleet was equipped, at the public expense, for carrying over Ovando, the new governor, to Hispaniola. His presence there was extremely requisite, in order to stop the inconsiderate career of Bovadilla, whose imprudent administration threatened the settlement with ruin. Conscious of the violence and iniquity of his proceedings against Columbus, he continued to make it his sole object to gain the favor and support of his countrymen, by accommodating himself to their passions and prejudices. With this view, he established regulations in every point the reverse of those which Columbus deemed essential to the prosperity of the colony. Instead of the severe discipline necessary in order to habituate the dissolute and corrupted members of which the society was composed, to the restraints of law and subordination, he suffered them to enjoy such uncontrolled license as encouraged the wildest excesses. Instead of protecting the Indians, he gave a legal sanction to the oppression of that unhappy people. He took the exact number of such as survived their past calamities, divided them into distinct classes, distributed them in property among his adherents, and reduced all the people of the island to a state of complete servitude. As the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines, by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life, wasted that feeble race of men with such rapid consumption, as must have soon terminated in the utter extinction of the ancient inhabitants of the country.

The necessity of applying a speedy remedy to those disorders hastened Ovando's departure. He had the command of the most respectable armament hitherto fitted out for the New World. It consisted of thirty-two ships, on board of which two thousand five hundred persons embarked with an intention of settling in the country. [1502.] Upon the arrival of the new governor with this powerful reinforcement to the colony, Bovadilla resigned his charge, and was commanded to return instantly to Spain, in order to answer for his conduct. Roldan and the other ringleaders of the mutineers, who had been most active in opposing Columbus, were required to leave the island at the same time. A proclamation was issued, declaring the natives to be free subjects of Spain, of whom no service was to be expected contrary to their own inclination, and without paying them an adequate price for their labor. With respect to the Spaniards themselves, various regulations were made, tending to suppress the licentious spirit which had been so fatal to the colony, and to establish that reverence for law and order on which society is founded, and to which it is indebted for its increase and stability. In order to limit the exorbitant gain which private persons were supposed to make by working the mines, an ordinance was published, directing all the gold to be brought to a public smelting-house, and declaring one-half of it to be the property of the crown.

While these steps were taking for securing the tranquillity and welfare of the colony which Columbus had planted, he himself was engaged in the unpleasant employment of soliciting the favor of an ungrateful court, and notwithstanding all his merit and services, he solicited in vain. He demanded, in terms of the original capitulation in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, to be reinstated in his office of viceroy over the countries which he had discovered. By a strange fatality, the circumstance which he urged in support of his claim, determined a jealous monarch to reject it. The greatness of his discoveries, and the prospect of their increasing value, made Ferdinand consider the concessions in the capitulation as extravagant and impolitic. He was afraid of intrusting a subject with the exercise of a jurisdiction that now appeared to be so extremely extensive, and might grow to be no less formidable. He inspired Isabella with the same suspicions; and under various pretexts, equally frivolous and unjust, they eluded all Columbus's requisitions to perform that which a solemn compact bound them to accomplish. After attending the court of Spain for

near two years, as an humble suitor, he found it impossible to remove Ferdinand's prejudices and apprehensions; and perceived at length that he labored in vain, when he urged a claim of justice or merit with an interested and unfeeling prince.

But even this ungenerous return did not discourage him from pursuing the great object which first called forth his inventive genius, and excited him to attempt discovery. To open a new passage to the East Indies was his original and favorite scheme. This still engrossed his thoughts; and either from his own observations in his voyage to Paria, or from some obscure hint of the natives, or from the accounts given by Bastidas and de la Cosa of their expedition, he conceived an opinion that beyond the continent of America there was a sea which extended to the East Indies, and hoped to find some strait or narrow neck of land, by which a communication might be opened with it and the part of the ocean already known. By a very fortunate conjecture, he supposed this strait or isthmus to be situated near the Gulf of Darien. Full of this idea, though he was now of an advanced age, worn out with fatigue, and broken with infirmities, he offered, with the alacrity of a youthful adventurer, to undertake a voyage which would ascertain this important point, and perfect the grand scheme which from the beginning he proposed to accomplish. Several circumstances concurred in disposing Ferdinand and Isabella to lend a favorable ear to this proposal. They were glad to have the pretext of any honorable employment for removing from court a man with whose demands they deemed it impolitic to comply, and whose services it was indecent to neglect. Though unwilling to reward Columbus, they were not insensible of his merit, and from their experience of his skill and conduct, had reason to give credit to his conjectures, and to confide in his success. To these considerations, a third must be added of still more powerful influence. About this time the Portuguese fleet, under Cabral, arrived from the Indies; and by the richness of its cargo, gave the people of Europe a more perfect idea than they had hitherto been able to form, of the opulence and fertility of the East. The Portuguese had been more fortunate in their discoveries than the Spaniards. They had opened a communication with countries where industry, arts, and elegance flourished; and where commerce had been longer established, and carried to greater extent than in any region of the earth. Their first voyages thither yielded immediate as well as vast returns of profit, in commodities extremely precious and in great request. Lisbon became immediately the seat of commerce and wealth; while Spain had only the expectation of remote benefit, and of future gain from the western world. Nothing, then, could be more acceptable to the Spaniards than Columbus's offer to conduct them to the East, by a route which he expected to be shorter, as well as less dangerous than that which the Portuguese had taken. Even Ferdinand was roused by such a prospect and warmly approved of the undertaking.

But interesting as the object of this voyage was to the nation, Columbus could procure only four small barks, the largest of which did not exceed seventy tons in burden, for performing it. Accustomed to brave danger, and to engage in arduous undertakings with inadequate force, he did not hesitate to accept the command of this pitiful squadron. His brother Bartholomew, and his second son Ferdinand, the historian of his actions, accompanied him. He sailed from Cadiz on the ninth of May, and touched, as usual, at the Canary islands; from thence he proposed to have stood directly for the continent; but his largest vessel was so clumsy and unfit for service, as constrained him to bear away for Hispaniola, in hopes of exchanging her for some ship of the fleet that had carried out Ovando. When he arrived at St. Domingo [June 29], he found eighteen of these ships ready loaded, and on the point of departing for Spain. Columbus immediately acquainted the governor with the destination of his voyage, and the accident which had obliged him to alter his route. He requested permission to enter the harbor, not only that he might negotiate the exchange of his ship, but that he might take shelter during a violent hurricane, of which he discerned the approach from various prognostics which his experience and sagacity had taught him to observe. On that account, he advised him likewise to put off for some days the departure of the fleet bound for Spain. But Ovando refused his request, and despised his counsel. Under circumstances in which humanity would have afforded refuge to a stranger, Columbus was denied admittance into a country of which he had discovered the existence and acquired the possession. His salary

warning, which merited the greatest attention, was regarded as the dream of a visionary prophet, who arrogantly pretended to predict an event beyond the reach of human foresight. The fleet set sail for Spain. Next night the hurricane came on with dreadful impetuosity. Columbus, aware of the danger, took precautions against it, and saved his little squadron. The fleet destined for Spain met with the fate which the rashness and obstinacy of its commanders deserved. Of eighteen ships two or three only escaped. In this general wreck perished Bovadilla, Roldan, and the greater part of those who had been the most active in persecuting Columbus, and oppressing the Indians. Together with themselves, all the wealth which they had acquired by their injustice and cruelty was swallowed up. It exceeded in value two hundred thousand pesos; an immense sum at that period, and sufficient not only to have screened them from any severe scrutiny into their conduct, but to have secured them a gracious reception in the Spanish court. Among the ships that escaped, one had on board all the effects of Columbus which had been recovered from the ruins of his fortune. Historians, struck with the exact discrimination of characters, as well as the just distribution of rewards and punishments, conspicuous in those events, universally attribute them to an immediate interposition of Divine Providence, in order to avenge the wrongs of an injured man, and to punish the oppressors of an innocent people. Upon the ignorant and superstitious race of men, who were witnesses of this occurrence, it made a different impression. From an opinion which vulgar admiration is apt to entertain with respect to persons who have distinguished themselves by their sagacity and inventions, they believed Columbus to be possessed of supernatural powers, and imagined that he had conjured up this dreadful storm by magical art and incantations in order to be avenged of his enemies.

Columbus soon left Hispaniola [July 14], where he met with such an inhospitable reception, and stood towards the continent. After a tedious and dangerous voyage, he discovered Guania, an island not far distant from the coast of Honduras. There he had an interview with some inhabitants of the continent, who arrived in a large canoe. They appeared to be a people more civilized, and who had made greater progress in the knowledge of useful arts than any whom he had hitherto discovered. In return to the inquiries which the Spaniards made, with their usual eagerness, concerning the places where the Indians got the gold which they wore by way of ornament, they directed them to countries situated to the west, in which gold was found in such profusion that it was applied to the most common uses. Instead of steering in quest of a country so inviting, which would have conducted him along the coast of Yucatan to the rich empire of Mexico, Columbus was so bent upon his favorite scheme of finding out the strait which he supposed to communicate with the Indian ocean, that he bore away to the east towards the gulf of Darien. In this navigation he discovered all the coast of the continent, from Cape Gracias a Dios to a harbor which, on account of its beauty and security, he called Porto Bello. He searched in vain for the imaginary strait, through which he expected to make his way into an unknown sea; and though he went on shore several times, and advanced into the country, he did not penetrate so far as to cross the narrow isthmus which separates the Gulf of Mexico from the great Southern ocean. He was so much delighted, however, with the fertility of the country, and conceived such an idea of its wealth from the specimens of gold produced by the natives, that he resolved to leave a small colony upon the river Belen, in the province of Veragua, under the command of his brother, and to return himself to Spain [1503], in order to procure what was requisite for rendering the establishment permanent. But the ungovernable spirit of the people under his command, deprived Columbus of the glory of planting the first colony on the continent of America. Their insolence and rapaciousness provoked the natives to take arms; and as these were a more hardy and warlike race of men than the inhabitants of the islands, they cut off part of the Spaniards, and obliged the rest to abandon a station which was found to be untenable.

This repulse, the first that the Spaniards met with from any of the American nations, was not the only misfortune that befell Columbus; it was followed by a succession of all the disasters to which navigation is exposed. Furious hurricanes with violent storms of thunder and lightning, threatened his leaky vessels with destruction; while his discontented crew, ex-

hausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions, was unwilling or unable to execute his commands. One of his ships perished; he was obliged to abandon another, as unfit for service; and with the two which remained, he quitted that part of the continent, which, in his anguish, he named the Coast of Vexation, and bore away for Hispaniola. New distresses awaited him in his voyage. He was driven back by a violent tempest from the coast of Cuba, his ships fell foul of one another, and were so much shattered by the shock that with the utmost difficulty they reached Jamaica [June 24], where he was obliged to run them aground, to prevent them from sinking. The measure of his calamities seemed now to be full. He was cast ashore upon an island at a considerable distance from the only settlement of the Spaniards in America. His ships were ruined beyond the possibility of being repaired. To convey an account of his situation to Hispaniola appeared impracticable; and without this it was in vain to expect relief. His genius, fertile in resources, and most vigorous in those perilous extremities when feeble minds abandon themselves to despair, discovered the only expedient which afforded any prospect of deliverance. He had recourse to the hospitable kindness of the natives, who, considering the Spaniards as beings of a superior nature, were eager, on every occasion, to minister to their wants. From them he obtained two of their canoes, each formed out of the trunk of a single tree hollowed with fire, and so misshapen and awkward as hardly to merit the name of boats. In these, which were fit only for creeping along the coast, or crossing from one side of a bay to another, Mendez, a Spaniard, and Fieschi, a Genoese, two gentlemen particularly attached to Columbus, gallantly offered to set out for Hispaniola, upon a voyage of above thirty leagues. This they accomplished in ten days, after surmounting incredible dangers, and enduring such fatigues, that several of the Indians who accompanied them sunk under it, and died. The attention paid to them by the governor of Hispaniola was neither such as their courage merited, nor the distress of the persons from whom they came required. Ovando, from a mean jealousy of Columbus, was afraid of allowing him to set foot in the island under his government. This ungenerous passion hardened his heart against every tender sentiment which reflection upon the services and misfortunes of that great man, or compassion for his own fellow-citizens, involved in the same calamities, must have excited. Mendez and Fieschi spent eight months in soliciting relief for their commander and associates, without any prospect of obtaining it.

During this period, various passions agitated the mind of Columbus and his companions in adversity. At first, the expectation of speedy deliverance, from the success of Mendez and Fieschi's voyage, cheered the spirits of the most desponding. After some time the most timorous began to suspect that they had miscarried in their daring attempt [1504]. At length, even the most sanguine concluded that they had perished. The ray of hope which had broke in upon them, made their condition appear now more dismal. Despair, heightened by disappointment, settled in every breast. Their last resource had failed, and nothing remained but the prospect of ending their miserable days among naked savages, far from their country and their friends. The seamen, in a transport of rage, rose in open mutiny, threatened the life of Columbus, whom they reproached as the author of all their calamities, seized ten canoes, which they had purchased from the Indians, and, despising his remonstrances and entreaties, made off with them to a distant part of the island. At the same time the natives murmured at the long residence of the Spaniards in their country. As their industry was not greater than that of their neighbors in Hispaniola, like them they found the burden of supporting so many strangers to be altogether intolerable. They began to bring in provisions with reluctance, they furnished them with a sparing hand, and threatened to withdraw those supplies altogether. Such a resolution must have been quickly fatal to the Spaniards. Their safety depended upon the good will of the Indians; and unless they could revive the admiration and reverence with which simple people had at first beheld them, destruction was unavoidable. Though the licentious proceedings of the mutineers had in a great measure effaced those impressions which had been so favorable to the Spaniards, the ingenuity of Columbus suggested a happy artifice, that not only restored but heightened the high opinion which the Indians had originally entertained of them. By his skill in astronomy, he knew that there was shortly to be a total eclipse of the moon. He assembled all the

principal persons of the district around him on the day before it happened, and, after reproaching them for their fickleness in withdrawing their affection and assistance from men whom they had lately revered, he told them, that the Spaniards were servants of the Great Spirit who dwells in heaven, who made and governs the world; that he, offended at their refusal to support men who were the objects of his peculiar favor, was preparing to punish this crime with exemplary severity, and that very night the moon should withhold her light, and appear of a bloody hue, as a sign of the divine wrath and an emblem of the vengeance ready to fall upon them. To this marvellous prediction some of them listened with the careless indifference peculiar to the people of America; others, with the credulous astonishment natural to barbarians. But when the moon began gradually to be darkened, and at length appeared of a red color, all were struck with terror. They ran with consternation to their houses, and returning instantly to Columbus loaded with provisions, threw them at his feet, conjuring him to intercede with the Great Spirit to avert the destruction with which they were threatened. Columbus, seeming to be moved by their entreaties, promised to comply with their desire. The eclipse went off, the moon recovered its splendour, and from that day the Spaniards were not only furnished profusely with provisions, but the natives, with superstitious attention, avoided every thing that could give them offence.

During those transactions, the mutineers had made repeated attempts to pass over to Hispaniola in the canoes which they had seized. But, from their own misconduct or the violence of the winds and currents, their efforts were all unsuccessful. Enraged at this disappointment, they marched towards that part of the island where Columbus remained, threatening him with new insults and dangers. While they were advancing, an event happened, more cruel and afflicting than any calamity which he dreaded from them. The governor of Hispaniola, whose mind was still filled with some dark suspicions of Columbus, sent a small bark to Jamaica, not to deliver his distressed countrymen, but to spy out their condition. Lest the sympathy of those whom he employed should afford them relief, contrary to his intention, he gave the command of this vessel to Escobar, an inveterate enemy of Columbus, who, adhering to his instructions with malignant accuracy, cast anchor at some distance from the island, approached the shore in a small boat, observed the wretched plight of the Spaniards, delivered a letter of empty compliments to the admiral, received his answer, and departed. When the Spaniards first descried the vessel standing towards the island, every heart exulted, as if the long expected hour of their deliverance had at length arrived; but when it disappeared so suddenly, they sunk into the deepest dejection, and all their hopes died away. Columbus alone, though he felt most acutely this wanton insult which Ovando added to his past neglect, retained such composure of mind as to be able to cheer his followers. He assured them that Mendez and Fieschi had reached Hispaniola in safety; that they would speedily procure ships to carry them off; but as Escobar's vessel could not take them all on board, that he had refused to go with her, because he was determined never to abandon the faithful companions of his distress. Soothed with the expectation of speedy deliverance, and delighted with his apparent generosity in attending more to their preservation than to his own safety, their spirits revived, and he regained their confidence.

Without this confidence he could not have resisted the mutineers, who were now at hand. All his endeavors to reclaim those desperate men had no effect but to increase their frenzy. Their demands became every day more extravagant, and their intentions more violent and bloody. The common safety rendered it necessary to oppose them with open force. Columbus, who had been long afflicted with the gout, could not take the field. His brother, the adelantado, marched against them [May 20]. They quickly met. The mutineers rejected with scorn terms of accommodation, which were once more offered them, and rushed on boldly to the attack. They fell not upon an enemy unprepared to receive them. In the first shock, several of their most daring leaders were slain. The adelantado, whose strength was equal to his courage, closed with their captain, wounded, disarmed, and took him prisoner. At sight of this, the rest fled with a dastardly fear suitable to their former insolence. Soon after, they submitted in a body to Columbus, and bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to obey all his commands. Hardly was tranquillity re-established

when the ships appeared, whose arrival Columbus had promised with great address, though he could foresee it with little certainty. With transports of joy the Spaniards quitted an island in which the unfeeling jealousy of Ovando had suffered them to languish above a year, exposed to misery in all its various forms.

When they arrived at St. Domingo [Aug. 13], the governor with the mean artifice of a vulgar mind, that labors to atone for insolence by servility, fawned on the man whom he envied, and had attempted to ruin. He received Columbus with the most studied respect, lodged him in his own house, and distinguished him with every mark of honor. But amidst those over-acted demonstrations of regard, he could not conceal the hatred and malignity latent in his heart. He set at liberty the captain of the mutineers, whom Columbus had brought over in chains to be tried for his crimes; and threatened such as had adhered to the admiral with proceeding with a judicial inquiry into their conduct. Columbus submitted in silence to what he could not redress; but discovered an extreme impatience to quit a country which was under the jurisdiction of a man who had treated him, on every occasion, with inhumanity and injustice. His preparations were soon finished, and he set sail for Spain with two ships [Sept. 12]. Disasters similar to those which had accompanied him through life continued to pursue him to the end of his career. One of his vessels being disabled, was soon forced back to St. Domingo; the other, shattered by violent storms, sailed several hundred leagues with jury-masts, and reached with difficulty the port of St. Lucar [December].

There he received the account of an event the most fatal that could have befallen him, and which completed his misfortunes. This was the death of his patroness Queen Isabella [Nov. 9], in whose justice, humanity, and favor he confided as his last resource. None now remained to redress his wrongs, or to reward him for his services and sufferings, but Ferdinand, who had so long opposed and so often injured him. To solicit a prince thus prejudiced against him was an occupation no less irksome than hopeless. In this, however, was Columbus doomed to employ the close of his days. As soon as his health was in some degree re-established, he repaired to court; and though he was received there with civility barely decent, he plied Ferdinand with petition after petition, demanding the punishment of his oppressors, and the restitution of all the privileges bestowed upon him by the capitulation of one thousand four hundred and ninety-two. Ferdinand amused him with fair words and unmeaning promises. Instead of granting his claims, he proposed expedients in order to elude them, and spun out the affair with such apparent art, as plainly discovered his intention that it should never be terminated. The declining health of Columbus flattered Ferdinand with the hopes of being soon delivered from an importunate suitor, and encouraged him to persevere in this illiberal plan. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Disgusted with ingratitude of a monarch whom he had served with such fidelity and success, exhausted with the fatigues and hardships which he had endured and broken with the infirmities which these had brought upon him, Columbus ended his life at Valladolid on the twentieth of May, one thousand five hundred and six, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He died with a composure of mind suitable to the magnanimity which distinguished his character, and with sentiments of piety becoming that supreme respect for religion which he manifested in every occurrence of his life.

BOOK III.

State of the colony in Hispaniola—New war with the Indians—Cruelty of the Spaniards—Fatal regulations concerning the condition of the Indians—Diminution of that people—Discoveries and settlements—First colony planted on the Continent—Conquest of Cuba—Discovery of Florida—of the South Sea—Great expectations raised by this—Causes of disappointment with respect to these for some time—Controversy concerning the treatment of the Indians—Contrary decisions—Zeal of the ecclesiastics, particularly of Las Casas—Singular proceedings of Ximenes—Negroes imported into America—Las Casas' idea of a new colony—permitted to attempt it—unsuccessful—Discoveries towards the West—Yucatan—Campeachy—New Spain—preparations for invading it.

WHILE Columbus was employed in his last voyage, several events worthy of notice happened in Hispaniola. The colony there, the parent and nurse of all the subsequent establishments of Spain in the New World, gradually acquired the form of a regular and prosperous society. The humane solicitude of Isabella to protect the Indians from oppression, and particularly the proclamation by which the Spaniards were pro-

hibited to compel them to work, retarded, it is true, for some time the progress of improvement. The natives, who considered exemption from toil as extreme felicity, scorned every allurements and reward by which they were invited to labor. The Spaniards had not a sufficient number of hands either to work the mines or to cultivate the soil. Several of the first colonists who had been accustomed to the service of the Indians, quitted the island, when deprived of those instruments, without which they knew not how to carry on any operation. Many of the new settlers who came over with Ovando, were seized with the distempers peculiar to the climate, and in a short space above a thousand of them died. At the same time, the exacting one-half of the product of the mines, as the royal share, was found to be a demand so exorbitant that no adventurers would engage to work them upon such terms. In order to save the colony from ruin, Ovando ventured to relax the rigor of the royal edicts [1505]. He made a new distribution of the Indians among the Spaniards, and compelled them to labor, for a stated time, in digging the mines, or in cultivating the ground; but in order to screen himself from the imputation of having subjected them again to servitude, he enjoined their masters to pay them a certain sum, as the price of their work. He reduced the royal share of the gold found in the mines from the half to the third part, and soon after lowered it to a fifth, at which it long remained. Notwithstanding Isabella's tender concern for the good treatment of the Indians, and Ferdinand's eagerness to improve the royal revenue, Ovando persuaded the court to approve of both these regulations.

But the Indians, after enjoying respite from oppression, though during a short interval, now felt the yoke of bondage to be so galling that they made several attempts to vindicate their own liberty. This the Spaniards considered as rebellion, and took arms in order to reduce them to subjection. When war is carried on between nations whose state of improvement is in any degree similar, the means of defence bear some proportion to those employed in the attack; and in this equal contest such efforts must be made, such talents are displayed, and such passions roused, as exhibit mankind to view in a situation no less striking than interesting. It is one of the noblest functions of history to observe and to delineate men at a juncture when their minds are most violently agitated, and all their powers and passions are called forth. Hence the operations of war, and the struggles between contending states, have been deemed by historians, ancient as well as modern, a capital and important article in the annals of human actions. But in a contest between naked savages, and one of the most warlike of the European nations, where science, courage, and discipline on one side, were opposed by ignorance, timidity, and disorder on the other, a particular detail of events would be as unpleasant as unstructive. If the simplicity and innocence of the Indians had inspired the Spaniards with humanity, had softened the pride of superiority into compassion, and had induced them to improve the inhabitants of the New World, instead of oppressing them, some sudden acts of violence, like the too rigorous chastisements of impatient instructors, might have been related without horror. But, unfortunately, this consciousness of superiority operated in a different manner. The Spaniards were advanced so far beyond the natives of America in improvement of every kind, that they viewed them with contempt. They conceived the Americans to be animals of an inferior nature, who were not entitled to the rights and privileges of men. In peace they subjected them to servitude. In war they paid no regard to those laws which, by a tacit convention between contending nations, regulate hostility, and set some bounds to its rage. They considered them not as men fighting in defence of their liberty, but as slaves who had revolted against their masters. Their caziques, when taken, were condemned, like the leaders of banditti, to the most cruel and ignominious punishments; and all their subjects, without regarding the distinction of ranks established among them, were reduced to the same state of abject slavery. With such a spirit and sentiments were hostilities carried on against the cazique of Higüey, a province at the eastern extremity of the island. This was occasioned by the perfidy of the Spaniards, in violating a treaty which they had made with the natives, and it was terminated by hanging up the cazique, who defended his people with bravery so far superior to that of his countrymen, as entitled him to a better fate.

The conduct of Ovando, in another part of the island,

was still more treacherous and cruel. The province anciently named Xaragua, which extends from the fertile plain where Leogane is now situated to the western extremity of the island, was subject to a female cacique, named Anacoana, highly respected by the natives. She, from that partial fondness with which the women of America were attached to the Europeans (the cause of which shall be afterwards explained), had always courted the friendship of the Spaniards, and loaded them with benefits. But some of the adherents of Roldan having settled in her country, were so much exasperated at her endeavoring to restrain their excesses, that they accused her of having formed a plan to throw off the yoke, and to exterminate the Spaniards. Ovando, though he knew well what little credit was due to such profligate men, marched, without further inquiry, towards Xaragua, with three hundred foot and seventy horsemen. To prevent the Indians from taking alarm at this hostile appearance, he gave out that his sole intention was to visit Anacoana, to whom his countrymen had been so much indebted, in the most respectful manner, and to regulate with her the mode of levying the tribute payable to the king of Spain. Anacoana, in order to receive this illustrious guest, with due honor, assembled the principal men in her dominions, to the number of three hundred; and advancing at the head of these, accompanied by a great crowd of persons of inferior rank, she welcomed Ovando with songs and dances, according to the mode of the country, and conducted him to the place of her residence. There he was feasted for some days, with all the kindness of simple hospitality, and amused with the games and spectacles usual among the Americans upon occasions of mirth and festivity. But amidst the security which this inspired, Ovando was meditating the destruction of his unsuspecting entertainer and her subjects; and the mean perfidy with which he executed this scheme, equalled his barbarity in forming it. Under color of exhibiting to the Indians the parade of a European tournament, he advanced with his troops, in battle array, towards the house in which Anacoana and the chiefs who attended her were assembled. The infantry took possession of all the avenues which led to the village. The horsemen encompassed the house. These movements were the object of admiration, without any mixture of fear, until, upon a signal which had been concerted, the Spaniards suddenly drew their swords, and rushed upon the Indians, defenceless, and astonished at an act of treachery which exceeded the conception of undesigning men. In a moment Anacoana was secured. All her attendants were seized and bound. Fire was set to the house; and without examination or conviction, all these unhappy persons, the most illustrious in their own country, were consumed in the flames. Anacoana was reserved for a more ignominious fate. She was carried in chains to St. Domingo, and, after the formality of a trial before Spanish judges, she was condemned, upon the evidence of those very men who had betrayed her, to be publicly hanged.

Overawed and humbled by this atrocious treatment of their princes and nobles, who were objects of their highest reverence, the people in all the provinces of Hispaniola submitted, without further resistance to the Spanish yoke. Upon the death of Isabella all the regulations tending to mitigate the rigor of their servitude were forgotten. The small gratuity paid to them as the price of their labor was withdrawn, and at the same time the tasks imposed upon them were increased [1506]. Ovando, without any restraint, distributed Indians among his friends in the island. Ferdinand, to whom the queen had left by will one-half of the revenue arising from the settlements in the New World, conferred grants of a similar nature upon his courtiers, as the least expensive mode of rewarding their services. They farmed out the Indians, of whom they were rendered proprietors, to their countrymen settled in Hispaniola; and that wretched people, being compelled to labor in order to satisfy the rapacity of both, the exactions of their oppressors no longer knew any bounds. But, barbarous as their policy was, and fatal to the inhabitants of Hispaniola, it produced, for some time, very considerable effects. By calling forth the force of a whole nation, and exerting itself in one direction, the working of the mines was carried on with amazing rapidity and success. During several years the gold brought into the royal smelting-houses in Hispaniola amounted annually to four hundred and sixty thousand pesos, above a hundred thousand pounds sterling: which, if we attend to the great change in the value of money since the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present times, must appear a consider-

able sum. Vast fortunes were created, of a sudden, by some. Others dissipated, in ostentatious profusion, what they acquired with facility. Dazzled by both, new adventurers crowded to America, with the most eager impatience, to share in those treasures which had enriched their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the mortality occasioned by the unhealthiness of the climate, the colony continued to increase.

Ovando governed the Spaniards with wisdom and justice not inferior to the rigor with which he treated the Indians. He established equal laws; and, by executing them with impartiality, accustomed the people of the colony to reverence them. He founded several new towns in different parts of the island, and allured inhabitants to them by the concession of various immunities. He endeavored to turn the attention of the Spaniards to some branch of industry more useful than that of searching for gold in the mines. Some slips of the sugarcane having been brought from the Canary islands by way of experiment, they were found to thrive with such increase in the rich soil and warm climate to which they were transplanted, that the cultivation of them soon became an object of commerce. Extensive plantations were begun; sugarworks, which the Spaniards called *ingenios*, from the various machinery employed in them, were erected, and in a few years the manufacture of this commodity was the great occupation of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, and the most considerable source of their wealth.

The prudent endeavors of Ovando, to promote the welfare of the colony, were powerfully seconded by Ferdinand. The large remittances which he received from the New World opened his eyes, at length, with respect to the importance of these discoveries, which he had hitherto affected to undervalue. Fortune, and his own address, having now extricated him out of those difficulties in which he had been involved by the death of his queen [1507], and by his disputes with his son-in-law about the government of her dominions, he had full leisure to turn his attention to the affairs of America. To his provident sagacity Spain is indebted for many of those regulations which gradually formed that system of profound but jealous policy, by which she governs her dominions in the New World. He erected a court distinguished by the title of *Casa de Contratacion*, or Board of Trade, composed of persons eminent for rank and abilities, to whom he committed the administration of American affairs. This board assembled regularly in Seville, and was invested with a distinct and extensive jurisdiction. He gave a regular form to ecclesiastical government in America, by nominating archbishops, bishops, deans, together with clergymen of subordinate ranks, to take charge of the Spaniards established there, as well as of the natives who should embrace the Christian faith, but notwithstanding the obsequious devotion of the Spanish court to the papal see, such was Ferdinand's solicitude to prevent any foreign power from claiming jurisdiction, or acquiring influence, in his new dominions, that he reserved to the crown of Spain the sole right of patronage to the benefices in America, and stipulated that no papal bull or mandate should be promulgated there until it was previously examined and approved of by his council. With the same spirit of jealousy, he prohibited any goods to be exported to America, or any person to settle there without a special license from that council.

But, notwithstanding this attention to the police and welfare of the colony, a calamity impended which threatened its dissolution. The original inhabitants, on whose labor the Spaniards in Hispaniola depended for their prosperity, and even their existence, wasted so fast that the extinction of the whole race seemed to be inevitable. When Columbus discovered Hispaniola, the number of its inhabitants was computed to be at least a million. They were now reduced to sixty thousand in the space of fifteen years. This consumption of the human species, no less amazing than rapid, was the effect of several concurring causes. The natives of the American islands were of a more feeble constitution than the inhabitants of the other hemisphere. They could neither perform the same work nor endure the same fatigue with men whose organs were of a more vigorous conformation. The listless indolence in which they delighted to pass their days, as it was the effect of their debility, contributed likewise to increase it, and rendered them from habit, as well as constitution, incapable of hard labor. The food on which they subsisted afforded little nourishment, and they were accustomed to take it in small quantities, not sufficient to invigorate a languid frame, and render it equal to the efforts of active industry. The Spaniards, without attending to those peculiarities in the constitution of the Americans

imposed tasks upon them which, though not greater than Europeans might have performed with ease, were so disproportioned to their strength, that many sunk under the fatigue, and ended their wretched days. Others, prompted by impatience and despair, cut short their own lives with a violent hand. Famine, brought on by compelling such numbers to abandon the culture of their lands, in order to labor in the mines, proved fatal to many. Diseases of various kinds, some occasioned by the hardships to which they were exposed, and others by their intercourse with the Europeans, who communicated to them some of their peculiar maladies, completed the desolation of the island. The Spaniards, being thus deprived of the instruments which they were accustomed to employ, found it impossible to extend their improvements, or even to carry on the works which they had already begun [1508]. In order to provide an immediate remedy for an evil so alarming, Ovando proposed to transport the inhabitants of the Lucayo islands to Hispaniola, under pretence that they might be civilized with more facility, and instructed to greater advantage in the Christian religion, if they were united to the Spanish colony, and placed under the immediate inspection of the missionaries settled there. Ferdinand, deceived by this artifice, or willing to connive at an act of violence which policy represented as necessary, gave his assent to the proposal. Several vessels were fitted out for the Lucayos, the commanders of which informed the natives, with whose language they were now well acquainted, that they came from a delicious country, in which the departed ancestors of the Indians resided, by whom they were sent to invite their descendants to resort thither, to partake of the bliss enjoyed there by happy spirits. That simple people listened with wonder and credulity; and, fond of visiting their relations and friends in that happy region, followed the Spaniards with eagerness. By this artifice above forty thousand were decoyed into Hispaniola, to share in the sufferings which were the lot of the inhabitants of that island, and to mingle their groans and tears with those of that wretched race of men.

The Spaniards had, for some time, carried on their operations in the mines of Hispaniola with such ardor as well as success, that these seemed to have engrossed their whole attention. The spirit of discovery languished; and, since the last voyage of Columbus, no enterprise of any moment had been undertaken. But as the decrease of the Indians rendered it impossible to acquire wealth in that island with the same rapidity as formerly, this urged some of the more adventurous Spaniards to search for new countries, where their avarice might be gratified with more facility. Juan Ponce de Leon, who commanded under Ovando in the eastern district of Hispaniola, passed over to the island of St. Juan de Puerto Rico, which Columbus had discovered in his second voyage, and penetrated into the interior part of the country. As he found the soil to be fertile, and expected, from some symptoms, as well as from the information of the inhabitants, to discover mines of gold in the mountains, Ovando permitted him to attempt making a settlement in the island. This was easily effected by an officer eminent for conduct no less than for courage. In a few years Puerto Rico was subjected to the Spanish government, the natives were reduced to servitude; and being treated with the same inconsiderate rigor as their neighbors in Hispaniola, the race of original inhabitants, worn out with fatigue and sufferings, was soon exterminated.

About the same time Juan Diaz de Solis, in conjunction with Vincent Yanez Pinzon, one of Columbus's original companions, made a voyage to the continent. They held the same course which Columbus had taken as far as the island of Guanais; but, standing from thence to the west, they discovered a new and extensive province, afterwards known by the name of Yucatan, and proceeded a considerable way along the coast of that country. Though nothing memorable occurred in this voyage, it deserves notice, because it led to discoveries of greater importance. For the same reason the voyage of Sebastian de Ocampo must be mentioned. By the command of Ovando he sailed round Cuba, and first discovered with certainty, that this country, which Columbus once supposed to be a part of the continent, was a large island.

This voyage round Cuba was one of the last occurrences under the administration of Ovando. Ever since the death of Columbus, his son, Don Diego, had been employed in soliciting Ferdinand to grant him the offices of viceroy and admiral in the New World, together with all the other immunities and profits which descended to him by inheritance, in consequence of the

original capitulation with his father. But if these dignities and revenues appeared so considerable to Ferdinand, that, at the expense of being deemed unjust as well as ungrateful, he had wrested them from Columbus, it was not surprising that he should be unwilling to confer them on his son. Accordingly Don Diego wasted two years in incessant but fruitless importunity. Weary of this, he endeavored at length to obtain by a legal sentence what he could not procure from the favor of an interested monarch. He commenced a suit against Ferdinand before the council which managed Indian affairs; and that court, with integrity which reflects honor upon its proceedings, decided against the king, and sustained Don Diego's claim of the viceroyalty, together with all the other privileges stipulated in the capitulation. Even after this decree Ferdinand's repugnance to put a subject in possession of such extensive rights might have thrown in new obstacles, if Don Diego had not taken a step which interested very powerful persons in the success of his claims. The sentence of the council of the Indies gave him a title to a rank so elevated, and a fortune so opulent, that he found no difficulty in concluding a marriage with Donna Maria, daughter of Don Ferdinand de Toledo, great commander of Leon, and brother of the duke of Alva, a nobleman of the first rank, and nearly related to the king. The duke and his family espoused so warmly the cause of their new ally, that Ferdinand could not resist their solicitations [1509]. He recalled Ovando, and appointed Don Diego his successor, though even in conferring this favor he could not conceal his jealousy; for he allowed him to assume only the title of governor, not that of viceroy, which had been adjudged to belong to him.

Don Diego quickly repaired to Hispaniola, attended by his brother, his uncles, his wife, whom the courtesy of the Spaniards honored with the title of vice-queen, and a numerous retinue of persons of both sexes born of good families. He lived with a splendor and magnificence hitherto unknown in the New World; and the family of Columbus seemed now to enjoy the honors and rewards due to his inventive genius, of which he himself had been cruelly defrauded. The colony itself acquired new lustre by the accession of so many inhabitants, of a different rank and character from most of those who had hitherto migrated to America, and many of the most illustrious families in the Spanish settlements are descended from the persons who at that time accompanied Don Diego Columbus.

No benefits accrued to the unhappy natives from this change of governors. Don Diego was not only authorized by a royal edict to continue the *repartimientos*, or distribution of Indians, but the particular number which he might grant to every person, according to his rank in the colony, was specified. He availed himself of that permission; and soon after he landed at St. Domingo, he divided such Indians as were still unappropriated, among his relations and attendants.

The next care of the new governor was to comply with an instruction which he received from the king, about settling a colony in Cubagua, a small island which Columbus had discovered in his third voyage. Though this barren spot hardly yielded subsistence to its wretched inhabitants, such quantities of those oysters which produce pearls were found on its coast, that it did not long escape the inquisitive avarice of the Spaniards, and became a place of considerable resort. Large fortunes were acquired by the fishery of pearls, which was carried on with extraordinary ardor. The Indians, especially those from the Lucayo islands, were compelled to dive for them; and this dangerous and unhealthy employment was an additional calamity which contributed not a little to the extinction of that devoted race.

About this period, Juan Diaz de Solis and Pinzon set out, in conjunction, upon a second voyage. They stood directly south, towards the equinoctial line, which Pinzon had formerly crossed, and advanced as far as the fortieth degree of southern latitude. They were astonished to find that the continent of America stretched on their right hand through all this vast extent of ocean. They landed in different places, to take possession in name of their sovereign; but though the country appeared to be extremely fertile and inviting, their force was so small, having been fitted out rather for discovery than making settlements, that they left no colony behind them. Their voyage served, however, to give the Spaniards more exalted and adequate ideas with respect to the dimensions of this new quarter of the globe.

Though it was about ten years since Columbus had discovered the main land of America, the Spaniards had hitherto made no settlement in any part of it. What had been so long neglected was now seriously attempted, and with considerable vigor; though the plan for this purpose was neither formed by the crown, nor executed at the expense of the nation, but carried on by the enterprising spirit of private adventurers. The scheme took its rise from Alonso de Ojeda, who had already made two voyages as a discoverer, by which he acquired considerable reputation, but no wealth. But his character for intrepidity and conduct easily procured him associates, who advanced the money requisite to defray the charges of the expedition. About the same time, Diego de Nicuesa, who had acquired a large fortune in Hispaniola, formed a similar design. Ferdinand encouraged both; and though he refused to advance the smallest sum, he was extremely liberal of titles and patents. He erected two governments on the continent, one extending from Cape de Vela to the Gulf of Darien, and the other from that to Cape Gracias a Dios. The former was given to Ojeda, the latter to Nicuesa. Ojeda fitted out a ship and two brigantines, with three hundred men; Nicuesa six vessels with seven hundred and eighty men. They sailed about the same time from St. Domingo for their respective governments. In order to give their title to those countries some appearance of validity, several of the most eminent divines and lawyers in Spain were employed to prescribe the mode in which they should take possession of them. There is not in the history of mankind any thing more singular or extravagant than the form which they devised for this purpose. They instructed those invaders, as soon as they landed on the continent, to declare to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith; to acquaint them in particular, with the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope over all the kingdoms of the earth; to inform them of the grant which this holy pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain; to require them to embrace the doctrines of that religion which the Spaniards made known to them; and to submit to the sovereign whose authority they proclaimed. If the natives refused to comply with this requisition, the terms of which must have been utterly incomprehensible to uninstructed Indians, then Ojeda and Nicuesa were authorized to attack them with fire and sword; to reduce them, their wives and children, to a state of servitude; and to compel them by force to recognise the jurisdiction of the church, and the authority of the monarch, to which they would not voluntarily subject themselves. [23]

As the inhabitants of the country could not at once yield assent to doctrines too refined for their uncultivated understandings, and explained to them by interpreters imperfectly acquainted with their language; as they did not conceive how a foreign priest, of whom they had never heard, could have any right to dispose of their country, or how an unknown prince should claim jurisdiction over them as his subjects; they fiercely opposed the new invaders of their territories. Ojeda and Nicuesa endeavoured to effect by force what they could not accomplish by persuasion. The contemporary writers enter into a very minute detail in relating their transactions; but as they made no discovery of importance, nor established any permanent settlement, their adventures are not entitled to any considerable place in the general history of a period where romantic valor, struggling with incredible hardships, distinguishes every effort of the Spanish arms. They found the natives in those countries of which they went to assume the government, to be of a character very different from that of their countrymen in the islands. They were free and warlike. Their arrows were dipped in a poison so noxious, that every wound was followed with certain death. In one encounter they slew above seventy of Ojeda's followers, and the Spaniards, for the first time, were taught to dread the inhabitants of the New World. Nicuesa was opposed by people equally resolute in defence of their possessions. Nothing could soften their ferocity. Though the Spaniards employed every art to soothe them, and to gain their confidence, they refused to hold any intercourse, or to exchange any friendly office, with men whose residence among them they considered as fatal to their liberty and independence [1510]. This implacable enmity of the natives, though it rendered an attempt to establish a settlement in their country extremely difficult as well as dangerous, might have been surmounted at length by the perseverance of the Spaniards, by the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war. But every disaster which can

be accumulated upon the unfortunate combined to complete their ruin. The loss of their ships by various accidents upon an unknown coast, the diseases peculiar to a climate the most noxious in all America, the want of provisions unavoidable in a country imperfectly cultivated, dissension among themselves, and the incessant hostilities of the natives, involved them in a succession of calamities, the bear recital of which strikes one with horror. Though they received two considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola, the greater part of those who had engaged in this unhappy expedition perished, in less than a year, in the most extreme misery. A few who survived settled as a feeble colony at Santa Maria el Antigua, on the Gulf of Darien, under the command of Vasco Nugnez de Balboa, who, in the most desperate exigencies, displayed such courage and conduct as first gained the confidence of his countrymen, and marked him out as their leader in more splendid and successful undertakings. Nor was he the only adventurer in this expedition who will appear with lustre in more important scenes. Francisco Pizarro was one of Ojeda's companions, and in this school of adversity acquired or improved the talents which fitted him for the extraordinary actions which he afterwards performed. Hernan Cortes, whose name became still more famous, had likewise engaged early in this enterprise, which roused all the active youth of Hispaniola to arms; but the good fortune that accompanied him in his subsequent adventures interposed to save him from the disasters to which his companions were exposed. He was taken ill at St. Domingo before the departure of the fleet, and detained there by a tedious indisposition.

Notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of this expedition, the Spaniards were not deterred from engaging in new schemes of a similar nature. When wealth is acquired gradually by the preserving hand of industry, or accumulated by the slow operations of regular commerce, the means employed are so proportioned to the end attained, that there is nothing to strike the imagination, and little to urge on the active powers of the mind to uncommon efforts. But when large fortunes were created almost instantaneously; when gold and pearls were procured in exchange for bangles; when the countries which produced these rich commodities, defended only by naked savages, might be seized by the first bold invader; objects so singular and alluring roused a wonderful spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards, who rushed with ardor into this new path that was opened to wealth and distinction. While this spirit continued warm and vigorous, every attempt either towards discovery or conquest was applauded, and adventurers engaged in it with emulation. The passion for new undertakings, which characterizes the age of discovery in the latter part of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, would alone have been sufficient to prevent the Spaniards from stopping short in their career. But circumstances peculiar in Hispaniola, at this juncture, concurred with it in extending their navigation and conquests. The rigorous treatment of the inhabitants of that island having almost extirpated the race, many of the Spanish planters, as I have already observed, finding it impossible to carry on their works with the same vigor and profit, were obliged to look out for settlements in some country where people were not yet wasted by oppression. Others, with the inconsiderate levity natural to men upon whom wealth pours in with a sudden flow, had squandered in thoughtless prodigality what they acquired with ease, and were driven by necessity to embark in the most desperate schemes, in order to retrieve their affairs. From all these causes, when Don Diego Columbus proposed [1511] to conquer the island of Cuba, and to establish a colony there, many persons of chief distinction in Hispaniola engaged with alacrity in the measure. He gave the command of the troops destined for that service to Diego Valasquez, one of his father's companions in his second voyage, and who, having been long settled in Hispaniola, had acquired an ample fortune, with such reputation for probity and prudence, that he seemed to be well qualified for conducting an expedition of importance. Three hundred men were deemed sufficient for the conquest of an island of above seven hundred miles in length, and filled with inhabitants. But they were of the same unwarlike character with the people of Hispaniola. They were not only intimidated by the appearance of their new enemies, but unprepared to resist them. For though, from the time that the Spaniards took possession of the adjacent island, there was reason to expect a descent on their territories, none of the small communities into which Cuba was di-

vided, had either made any provision for its own defence, or had formed any concert for their common safety. The only obstruction the Spaniards met with was from Hatuey, a cacique, who had fled from Hispaniola, and had taken possession of the eastern extremity of Cuba. He stood upon the defensive at their first landing, and endeavored to drive them back to their ships. His feeble troops, however, were soon broken and dispersed; and he himself being taken prisoner, Velasquez, according to the barbarous maxim of the Spaniards, considered him as a slave who had taken arms against his master, and condemned him to the flames. When Hatuey was fastened to the stake, a Franciscan friar, laboring to convert him, promised him immediate admittance into the joys of heaven, if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards," says he, after some pause, "in that region of bliss which you describe!—Yes," replied the monk, "but only such as are worthy and good." "The best of them," returned the indignant cacique, "have neither worth nor goodness; I will not go to a place where I may meet with one of that accursed race." This dreadful example of vengeance struck the people of Cuba with such terror that they scarcely gave any opposition to the progress of their invaders; and Velasquez, without the loss of a man, annexed this extensive and fertile island to the Spanish monarchy.

The facility with which this important conquest was completed served as an incitement to other undertakings. Juan Ponce de Leon, having acquired both fame and wealth by the reduction of Puerto Rico, was impatient to engage in some new enterprise. He fitted out three ships at his own expense, for a voyage of discovery [1512], and his reputation soon drew together a respectable body of followers. He directed his course towards the Lucayo islands; and after touching at several of them, as well as of the Bahama isles, he stood to the south-west, and discovered a country hitherto unknown to the Spaniards, which he called Florida, either because he fell in with it on Palm Sunday, or on account of its gay and beautiful appearance. He attempted to land in different places, but met with such vigorous opposition from the natives, who were fierce and warlike, as convinced him that an increase of force was requisite to effect a settlement. Satisfied with having opened a communication with a new country, of whose value and importance he conceived very sanguine hopes, he returned to Puerto Rico through the channel now known by the name of the Gulf of Florida.

It was not merely the passion of searching for new countries that prompted Ponce de Leon to undertake this voyage; he was influenced by one of those visionary ideas, which at that time often mingled with the spirit of discovery, and rendered it more active. A tradition prevailed among the natives of Puerto Rico, that in the isle of Bimini, one of the Lucayos, there was a fountain of such wonderful virtue as to renew the youth and recall the vigor of every person who bathed in its salutary waters. In hopes of finding this grand restorative, Ponce de Leon and his followers ranged through the islands, searching with fruitless solicitude and labor for the fountain which was the chief object of their expedition. That a tale so fabulous should gain credit among simple and unstructed Indians is not surprising. That it should make any impression upon an enlightened people appears in the present age altogether incredible. The fact, however, is certain; and the most authentic Spanish historians mention this extravagant sally of their credulous countrymen. The Spaniards at that period were engaged in a career of activity which gave a romantic turn to their imagination, and daily presented to them strange and marvellous objects. A New World was opened to their view. They visited islands and continents, of whose existence mankind in former ages had no conception. In those delightful countries nature seemed to assume another form: every tree and plant and animal was different from those of the ancient hemisphere. They seemed to be transported into enchanted ground; and after the wonders which they had seen, nothing, in the warmth and novelty of their admiration, appeared to them so extraordinary as to be beyond belief. If the rapid succession of new and striking scenes made such impression even upon the sound understanding of Columbus, that he boasted of having found the seat of Paradise, it will not appear strange that Ponce de Leon should dream of discovering the fountain of youth.

Soon after the expedition to Florida, a discovery of much greater importance was made in another part of America. Balboa having been raised to the government of the small colony at Santa Maria in Darien, by

the voluntary suffrage of his associates, was so extremely desirous to obtain from the crown a confirmation of their election, that he despatched one of his officers to Spain, in order to solicit a royal commission, which might invest him with a legal title to the supreme command. Conscious, however, that he could not expect success from the patronage of Ferdinand's ministers, with whom he was unconnected, or from negotiating in a court to the arts of which he was a stranger, he endeavored to merit the dignity to which he aspired, and aimed at performing some signal service that would secure him the preference to every competitor. Full of this idea, he made frequent inroads into the adjacent country, subdued several of the caciques, and collected a considerable quantity of gold, which abounded more in that part of the continent than in the islands. In one of those excursions, the Spaniards contended with such eagerness about the division of some gold, that they were at the point of proceeding to acts of violence against one another. A young cacique who was present, astonished at the high value which they set upon a thing of which he did not discern the use, turned the gold out of the balance with indignation; and turning to the Spaniards, "Why do you quarrel (says he) about such a trifle! If you are so passionately fond of gold, as to abandon your own country, and to disturb the tranquility of distant nations for its sake, I will conduct you to a region where the metal which seems to be the chief object of your admiration and desire is so common that the meanest utensils are formed of it." Transported with what they heard, Balboa and his companions inquired eagerly where this happy country lay, and how they might arrive at it. He informed them that at the distance of six suns, that is, of six days' journey, towards the south, they should discover another ocean, near to which this wealthy kingdom was situated; but if they intended to attack that powerful state, they must assemble forces far superior in number and strength to those with which they now appeared.

This was the first information which the Spaniards received concerning the great southern ocean, or the opulent and extensive country known afterwards by the name of Peru. Balboa had now before him objects suited to his boundless ambition, and the enterprising ardor of his genius. He immediately concluded the ocean which the cacique mentioned, to be that for which Columbus had searched without success in this part of America, in hopes of opening a more direct communication with the East Indies; and he conjectured that the rich territory which had been described to him must be part of that vast and opulent region of the earth. Elated with the idea of performing what so great a man had attempted in vain, and eager to accomplish a discovery which he knew would be no less acceptable to the king than beneficial to his country, he was impatient until he could set out upon this enterprise, in comparison of which all his former exploits appeared inconsiderable. But previous arrangement and preparation were requisite to ensure success. He began with courting and securing the friendship of the neighboring caciques. He sent some of his officers to Hispaniola with a large quantity of gold, as a proof of his past success, and an earnest of his future hopes. By a proper distribution of this, they secured the favor of the governor, and allured volunteers into the service. A considerable reinforcement from that island joined him, and he thought himself in a condition to attempt the discovery.

The isthmus of Darien is not above sixty miles in breadth; but this neck of land which binds together the continents of North and South America, is strengthened by a chain of lofty mountains stretching through its whole extent, which render it a barrier of solidity sufficient to resist the impulse of two opposite oceans. The mountains are covered with forests almost inaccessible. The valleys in that moist climate where it rains during two-thirds of the year, are marshy, and so frequently overflowed that the inhabitants find it necessary, in many places, to build their houses upon trees, in order to be elevated at some distance from the damp soil, and the odious reptiles engendered in the putrid waters. Large rivers run down with an impetuous current from the high grounds. In a region thinly inhabited by wandering savages, the hand of industry had done nothing to mitigate or correct those natural disadvantages. To march across this unexplored country with no other guides but Indians, whose fidelity could be little trusted, was, on all those accounts, the boldest enterprise on which the Spaniards had hitherto ventured in the New World. But the intrepidity of Balboa was such as distinguished him among his countrymen, at a period when every adventurer was conspi-

cuous for daring courage [1513]. Nor was bravery his only merit; he was prudent in conduct, generous, affable, and possessed of those popular talents which, in the most desperate undertakings, inspire confidence and secure attachment. Even after the junction of the volunteers from Hispaniola, he was able to muster only a hundred and ninety men for his expedition. But they were hardy veterans, inured to the climate of America, and ready to follow him through every danger. A thousand Indians attended them to carry their provisions; and, to complete their warlike array, they took with them several of those fierce dogs, which were no less formidable than destructive to their naked enemies.

Balboa set out upon this important expedition on the first of September, about the time that the periodical rains began to abate. He proceeded by sea, and without any difficulty, to the territories of a cacique whose friendship he had gained; but no sooner did he begin to advance into the interior part of the country, than he was retarded by every obstacle, which he had reason to apprehend, from the nature of the territory, or the disposition of its inhabitants. Some of the caciques, at his approach, fled to the mountains with all their people, and earned off or destroyed whatever could afford subsistence to his troops. Others collected their subjects, in order to oppose his progress; and he quickly perceived what an arduous undertaking it was to conduct such a body of men through hostile nations, across swamps, and rivers, and woods, which had never been passed but by straggling Indians. But by sharing in every hardship with the meanest soldier, by appearing the foremost to meet every danger, by promising confidently to his troops the enjoyment of honor and riches superior to what had been attained by the most successful of their countrymen, he inspired them with such enthusiastic resolution, that they followed him without murmuring. When they had penetrated a good way into the mountains, a powerful cacique appeared in a narrow pass, with a numerous body of his subjects, to obstruct their progress. But men who had surmounted so many obstacles, despised the opposition of such feeble enemies. They attacked them with impetuosity, and, having dispersed them with much ease and great slaughter, continued their march. Though their guides had represented the breadth of the isthmus to be only a journey of six days, they had already spent twenty-five in forcing their way through the woods and mountains. Many of them were ready to sink under such uninterrupted fatigue in that sultry climate, several were taken ill of the dysentery and other diseases frequent in that country, and all became impatient to reach the period of their labors and sufferings. At length the Indians assured them, that from the top of the next mountain they should discover the ocean which was the object of their wishes. When, with infinite toil, they had climbed up the greater part of that steep ascent, Balboa commanded his men to halt, and advanced alone to the summit, that he might be the first who should enjoy a spectacle which he had so long desired. As soon as he beheld the South Sea stretching in endless prospect below him, he fell on his knees, and, lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to God, who had conducted him to a discovery so beneficial to his country, and so honorable to himself. His followers, observing his transports of joy, rushed forward to join in his wonder, exultation, and gratitude. They held on their course to the shore with great alacrity, when Balboa, advancing up to the middle in the waves with his buckler and sword, took possession of that ocean in the name of the king his master, and vowed to defend it with these arms, against all his enemies.

That part of the great Pacific or Southern ocean which Balboa first discovered, still retains the name of the Gulf of St. Michael, which he gave to it, and is situated to the east of Panama. From several of the petty princes, who governed in the districts adjacent to that gulf, he extorted provisions and gold by force of arms. Others sent them to him voluntarily. To these acceptable presents, some of the caciques added a considerable quantity of pearls; and he learned from them, with much satisfaction, that pearl oysters abounded in the sea which he had newly discovered.

Together with the acquisition of this wealth, which served to soothe and encourage his followers, he received accounts which confirmed his sanguine hopes of future and more extensive benefits from the expedition. All the people on the coast of the South Sea concurred in informing him that there was a mighty and opulent kingdom situated at a considerable distance towards the south-east, the inhabitants of which had tame animals to carry their burdens. In order to give the Sea-

niards an idea of these, they drew upon the sand the figure of the llamas or sheep, afterwards found in Peru, which the Peruvians had taught to perform such services as they described. As the llama in its form nearly resembles a camel, a beast of burden deemed peculiar to Asia, this circumstance in conjunction with the discovery of the pearls, another noted production of that country; tended to confirm the Spaniards in their mistaken theory with respect to the vicinity of the New World to the East Indies.

But though the information which Balboa received from the people on the coast, as well as his own conjectures and hopes, rendered him extremely impatient to visit this unknown country, his prudence restrained him from attempting to invade it with a handful of men exhausted by fatigue and weakened by diseases. [24] He determined to lead back his followers, at present, to their settlement of Santa Maria in Darien, and to return next season with a force more adequate to such an arduous enterprise. In order to acquire a more extensive knowledge of the isthmus, he marched back by a different route, which he found to be no less dangerous and difficult than that which he had formerly taken. But to men elated with success, and animated with hope, nothing is insurmountable. Balboa returned to Santa Maria [1514], from which he had been absent four months, with greater glory and more treasure than the Spaniards had acquired in any expedition in the New World. None of Balboa's officers distinguished themselves more in this service than Francisco Pizarro, or assisted with greater courage and ardor in opening a communication with those countries in which he was destined to act soon a more illustrious part.

Balboa's first care was to send information to Spain of the important discovery which he had made; and to demand a reinforcement of a thousand men, in order to attempt the conquest of that opulent country concerning which he had received such inviting intelligence. The first account of the discovery of the New World hardly occasioned greater joy than the unexpected tidings that a passage was at last found to the great southern ocean. The communication with the East Indies, by a course to the westward of the line of demarcation drawn by the Pope, seemed now to be certain. The vast wealth which flowed into Portugal, from its settlements and conquests in that country, excited the envy and called forth the emulation of other states. Ferdinand hoped now to come in for a share in this lucrative commerce, and, in his eagerness to obtain it, was willing to make an effort beyond what Balboa required. But even in this exertion, his jealous policy, as well as the fatal antipathy of Fonseca, now Bishop of Burgos, to every man of merit who distinguished himself in the New World, was conspicuous. Notwithstanding Balboa's recent services, which marked him out as the most proper person to finish that great undertaking which he had begun, Ferdinand was so ungenerous as to overlook these, and to appoint Pedrarias Davila governor of Darien. He gave him the command of fifteen stout vessels and twelve hundred soldiers. These were fitted out at the public expense, with a liberality which Ferdinand had never displayed in any former armament destined for the New World; and such was the ardor of the Spanish gentlemen to follow a leader who was about to conduct them to a country where, as fame reported, they had only to throw their nets into the sea and draw out gold, that fifteen hundred embarked on board the fleet, and, if they had not been restrained, a much greater number would have engaged in the service.

Pedrarias reached the Gulf of Darien without any remarkable accident, and immediately sent some of his principal officers ashore to inform Balboa of his arrival, with the king's commission to be governor of the colony. To their astonishment, they found Balboa, of whose great exploits they had heard so much, and of whose opulence they had formed such high ideas, clad in a canvass jacket, and wearing coarse hempen sandals used only by the meanest peasants, employed, together with some Indians, in thatching his own hut with reeds. Even in this simple garb, which corresponded so ill with the expectations and wishes of his new guests, Balboa received them with dignity. The fame of his discoveries had drawn so many adventurers from the islands, that he could now muster four hundred and fifty men. At the head of those daring veterans, he was more than a match for the forces which Pedrarias brought with him. But, though his troops murmured loudly at the injustice of the king in superseding their commander, and complained that strangers would now reap the fruits of their toil and success, Balboa submitted with implicit obedience to

the will of his sovereign, and received Pedrarias with all the deference due to his character.

Notwithstanding this moderation, to which Pedrarias owed the peaceable possession of his government, he appointed a judicial inquiry to be made into Balboa's conduct, while under the command of Nicuesa, and imposed a considerable fine upon him, on account of the irregularities of which he had then been guilty. Balboa felt sensibly the mortification of being subjected to trial and to punishment in a place where he had so lately occupied the first station. Pedrarias could not conceal his jealousy of his superior merit; so that the resentment of the one and the envy of the other gave rise to dissensions extremely detrimental to the colony. It was threatened with a calamity still more fatal. Pedrarias had landed in Darien at a most unlucky time of the year [July], about the middle of the rainy season, in that part of the torrid zone where the clouds pour down such torrents as are unknown in more temperate climates. The village of Santa Maria was seated in a rich plain, environed with marshes and woods. The constitution of Europeans was unable to withstand the pestilential influence of such a situation, in a climate naturally so noxious, and at a season so peculiarly unhealthy. A violent and destructive malady carried off many of the soldiers who accompanied Pedrarias. An extreme scarcity of provision augmented this distress, as it rendered it impossible to find proper refreshment for the sick, or the necessary sustenance for the healthy. In the space of a month, above six hundred persons perished in the utmost misery. Dejection and despair spread through the colony. Many principal persons solicited their dismissal, and were glad to relinquish all their hopes of wealth, in order to escape from that pernicious region. Pedrarias endeavored to divert those who remained from brooding over their misfortunes, by finding them employment. With this view, he sent several detachments into the interior parts of the country, to levy gold among the natives, and to search for the mines in which it was produced. Those rapacious adventurers, more attentive to present gain than to the means of facilitating their future progress, plundered without distinction wherever they marched. Regardless of the alliances which Balboa had made with several of the caziques, they stripped them of every thing valuable, and treated them, as well as their subjects, with the utmost insolence and cruelty. By their tyranny and exactions, which Pedrarias, either from want of authority or inclination, did not restrain, all the country from the Gulf of Darien to the lake of Nicaragua was desolated, and the Spaniards were inconsiderately deprived of the advantages which they might have derived from the friendship of the natives, in extending their conquests to the South Sea. Balboa, who saw with concern that such ill-judged proceedings retarded the execution of his favorite scheme, sent violent remonstrances to Spain against the imprudent government of Pedrarias, who had ruined a happy and flourishing colony. Pedrarias, on the other hand, accused him of having deceived the king, by magnifying his own exploits, as well as by a false representation of the opulence and value of the country.

Ferdinand became sensible at length of his imprudence in superseding the most active and experienced officer he had in the New World, and, by way of compensation to Balboa, appointed him *Adelantado*, or Lieutenant-Governor of the countries upon the South Sea, with very extensive privileges and authority. At the same time he enjoined Pedrarias to support Balboa in all his operations, and to consult with him concerning every measure which he himself pursued. [1515] But to effect such a sudden transition from inveterate enmity to perfect confidence, exceeded Ferdinand's power. Pedrarias continued to treat his rival with neglect; and Balboa's fortune being exhausted by the payment of his fine, and other exactions of Pedrarias, he could not make suitable preparations for taking possession of his new government. At length, by the interposition and exhortations of the Bishop of Darien, they were brought to a reconciliation; and, in order to cement this union more firmly, Pedrarias agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Balboa. [1516.] The first effect of their concord was, that Balboa was permitted to make several small incursions into the country. These he conducted with such prudence, as added to the reputation which he had already acquired. Many adventurers resorted to him, and, with the countenance and aid of Pedrarias, he began to prepare for his expedition to the South Sea. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to build vessels capable of conveying his

troops to those provinces which he purposed to invade [1517.] After surmounting many obstacles, and enduring a variety of those hardships, which were the portion of the conquerors of America, he at length finished four small brigantines. In these, with three hundred chosen men, a force superior to that with which Pizarro afterwards undertook the same expedition, he was ready to sail towards Peru, when he received an unexpected message from Pedrarias. As his reconciliation with Balboa had never been cordial, the progress which his son-in-law was making revived his ancient enmity, and added to its rancour. He dreaded the prosperity and elevation of a man whom he had injured so deeply. He suspected that success would encourage him to aim at independence upon his jurisdiction; and so violently did the passions of hatred, fear, and jealousy operate upon his mind, that, in order to gratify his vengeance, he scrupled not to defeat an enterprise of the greatest moment to his country. Under pretexts which were false, but plausible, he desired Balboa to postpone his voyage for a short time, and to repair to Acla, in order that he might have an interview with him. Balboa, with the unsuspicious confidence of a man conscious of no crime, instantly obeyed the summons; but as soon as he entered the place, he was arrested by order of Pedrarias, whose impatience to satiate his revenge did not suffer him to languish long in confinement. Judges were immediately appointed to proceed to his trial. An accusation of disloyalty to the king, and of an intention to revolt against the governor was preferred against him. Sentence of death was pronounced; and though the judges who passed it, seconded by the whole colony, interceded warmly for his pardon, Pedrarias continued inexorable; and the Spaniards beheld, with astonishment and sorrow, the public execution of a man whom they universally deemed more capable than any one who had borne command in America, of forming and accomplishing great designs. Upon his death, the expedition which he had planned was relinquished. Pedrarias, notwithstanding the violence and injustice of his proceedings, was not only screened from punishment by the powerful patronage of the Bishop of Burgos and other courtiers, but continued in power. Soon after he obtained permission to remove the colony from its unwholesome station of Santa Maria to Panama, on the opposite side of the isthmus; and though it did not gain much in point of healthfulness by the change, the commodious situation of this new settlement contributed greatly to facilitate the subsequent conquests of the Spaniards in the extensive countries situated upon the Southern Ocean.

During these transactions in Darien [1515], the history of which it was proper to carry on in an uninterrupted tenor, several important events occurred with respect to the discovery, the conquest, and government of other provinces in the New World. Ferdinand was so intent upon opening a communication with the Molucca or Spice Islands by the west, that in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen he fitted out two ships at his own expence, in order to attempt such a voyage, and gave the command of them to Juan Diaz de Solis, who was deemed one of the most skillful navigators in Spain. He stood along the coast of South America, and on the first of January, one thousand five hundred and sixteen, entered a river which he called Janeiro, where an extensive commerce is now carried on. From thence he proceeded to a spacious bay, which he supposed to be the entrance into a strait that communicated with the Indian Ocean; but, upon advancing further, he found it to be the mouth of Rio de la Plata, one of the vast rivers by which the southern continent of America is watered. In endeavoring to make a descent in this country, De Solis and several of his crew were slain by the natives, who, in sight of the ships, cut their bodies in pieces, roasted and devoured them. Discouraged with the loss of their commander, and terrified at this shocking spectacle, the surviving Spaniards set sail for Europe, without aiming at any further discovery. Though this attempt proved abortive, it was not without benefit. It turned the attention of ingenious men to this course of navigation, and prepared the way for a more fortunate voyage, by which, a few years posterior to this period, the great design that Ferdinand had in view was accomplished.

Though the Spaniards were thus actively employed in extending their discoveries and settlements in America, they still considered Hispaniola as their principal colony, and the seat of government. Don Diego Columbus wanted neither inclination nor abilities to have rendered the members of this colony, who were most immediately under his jurisdiction, prosperous and happy. But he was circumscribed in all his operations

by the suspicious policy of Ferdinand, who on every occasion, and under pretexts the most frivolous, retrenched his privileges, and encouraged the treasurer, the judges, and other subordinate officers to counteract his measures, and to dispute his authority. The most valuable prerogative which the governor possessed was that of distributing Indians among the Spaniards settled in the island. The rigorous servitude of those unhappy men having been but little mitigated by all the regulations in their favor, the power of parceling out such necessary instruments of labor at pleasure, secured to the governor great influence in the colony. In order to strip him of this, Ferdinand created a new office, with the power of distributing the Indians, and bestowed it upon Rodrigo Albuquerque, a relation of Zapata, his confidential minister. Mortified with the injustice as well as indignity of this invasion upon his rights, in a point so essential, Don Diego could no longer remain in a place where his power and consequence were almost annihilated. He repaired to Spain with the vain hopes of obtaining redress. Albuquerque entered upon his office with all the rapacity of an indigent adventurer impatient to amass wealth. He began with taking the exact number of Indians in the island, and found that from sixty thousand, who in the year one thousand five hundred and eight survived after all their sufferings, they were now reduced to fourteen thousand. These he threw into separate divisions or lots, and bestowed them upon such as were willing to purchase them at the highest price. By this arbitrary distribution several of the natives were removed from their original habitations, many were taken from their ancient masters, and all of them subjected to heavier burdens, and to more intolerable labor, in order to reimburse their new proprietors. Those additional calamities completed the misery, and hastened on the extinction of this wretched and innocent race of men.

The violence of these proceedings, together with the fatal consequences which attended them, not only excited complaints among such as thought themselves aggrieved, but touched the hearts of all who retained any sentiments of humanity. From the time that ecclesiastics were sent as instructors into America, they perceived that the rigor with which their countrymen treated the natives, rendered their ministry altogether fruitless. The missionaries, in conformity to the mild spirit of that religion which they were employed to publish, early remonstrated against the maxims of the planters with respect to the Americans, and condemned the *repartimientos*, or distributions, by which they were given up as slaves to their conquerors as no less contrary to natural justice and the precepts of Christianity than to sound policy. The Dominicans, to whom the instruction of the Americans was originally committed, were most vehement in testifying against the *repartimientos*. In the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, Montesino, one of their most eminent preachers, inveighed against this practice, in the great church of St. Domingo, with all the impetuosity of popular eloquence. Don Diego Columbus, the principal officer of the colony, and all the laymen who had been his hearers, complained of the monk to his superiors; but they, instead of condemning, applauded his doctrine as equally pious and seasonable. The Franciscans, influenced by the spirit of opposition and rivalry which subsists between the two orders, discovered some inclination to take part with the lay, and to espouse the defence of the *repartimientos*. But as they could not with decency give their avowed approbation to a system of oppression so repugnant to the spirit of religion, they endeavored to palliate what they could not justify, and alleged, in excuse for the conduct of their countrymen, that it was impossible to carry on any improvement in the colony, unless the Spaniards possessed such dominion over the natives that they could compel them to labor.

The Dominicans, regardless of such political and interested considerations, would not relax in any degree the rigor of their sentiments, and even refused to absolve, or admit to the sacrament, such of their countrymen as continued to hold the natives in servitude. Both parties applied to the king for his decision in a matter of such importance. Ferdinand empowered a committee of his privy council, assisted by some of the most eminent civilians and divines in Spain, to hear the disputes sent from Hispaniola in support of their respective opinions. After a long discussion, the speculative point in controversy was determined in favor of the Dominicans, the Indians were declared to be a free people entitled to all the natural rights of men; but notwithstanding this decision, the *repartimientos* were continued upon their ancient footing. As this deter-

mination admitted the principles upon which the Dominicans founded their opinion, they renewed their efforts to obtain relief for the Indians with additional boldness and zeal. At length, in order to quiet the colony, which was alarmed at their remonstrances and censures, Ferdinand issued a decree of his privy council (1513), declaring, that after mature consideration of the Apostolical Bull, and other titles by which the crown of Castile claimed a right to its possessions in the New World, the servitude of the Indians was warranted both by the laws of God and of man; that unless they were subjected to the dominion of the Spaniards, and compelled to reside under their inspection, it would be impossible to reclaim them from idolatry, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith; that no farther scruple ought to be entertained concerning the lawfulness of the *repartimientos*, as the king and council were willing to take the charge of that upon their own consciences; and that therefore the Dominicans and monks of other religious orders should abstain for the future from those invectives which, from an excess of charitable but ill-informed zeal, they had uttered against that practice.

That his intention of adhering to this decree might be fully understood, Ferdinand conferred new grants of Indians upon several of his courtiers (25). But, in order that he might not seem altogether inattentive to the rights of humanity, he published an edict, in which he endeavored to provide for the mild treatment of the Indians under the yoke to which he subjected them; he regulated the nature of the work which they should be required to perform; he prescribed the mode in which they should be clothed and fed, and gave directions with respect to their instructions in the principles of Christianity.

But the Dominicans, who from their experience of what was past judged concerning the future, soon perceived the inefficacy of those provisions, and foretold, that as long as it was the interest of individuals to treat the Indians with rigor, no public regulations could render their servitude mild or tolerable. They considered it as vain, to waste their own time and strength in attempting to communicate the sublime truths of religion to men whose spirits were broken and their faculties impaired by oppression. Some of them in despair, requested the permission of their superiors to remove to the continent, and to pursue the object of their mission among such of the natives as were not hitherto corrupted by the example of the Spaniards, or alienated by their cruelty from the Christian faith. Such as remained in Hispaniola continued to remonstrate, with decent firmness, against the servitude of the Indians.

The violent operations of Albuquerque, the new distributor of Indians, revived the zeal of the Dominicans against the *repartimientos*, and called forth an advocate for that oppressed people, who possessed all the courage, the talents, and activity requisite in supporting such a desperate cause. This was Bartholemew de las Casas, a native of Seville, and one of the clergymen sent out with Columbus in his second voyage to Hispaniola, in order to settle in that island. He early adopted the opinion prevalent among ecclesiastics, with respect to the unlawfulness of reducing the natives to servitude; and that he might demonstrate the sincerity of his conviction, he relinquished all the Indians who had fallen to his own share in the division of the inhabitants among their conquerors, declaring that he should ever bewail his own misfortune and guilt, in having exercised for a moment this impious dominion over his fellow-creatures. From that time he became the avowed patron of the Indians; and by his bold interpositions in their behalf, as well as by the respect due to his abilities and character, he had often the merit of setting some bounds to the excesses of his countrymen. He did not fail to remonstrate warmly against the proceedings of Albuquerque; and though he soon found that attention to his own interest rendered this rapacious officer deaf to admonition, he did not abandon the wretched people whose cause he had espoused. He instantly set out for Spain, with the most sanguine hopes of opening the eyes and softening the heart of Ferdinand, by that striking picture of the oppression of his new subjects which he would exhibit to his view.

He easily obtained admittance to the king, whom he found in a declining state of health. With much freedom, and no less eloquence, he represented to him, all the fatal effects of the *repartimientos* in the New World, boldly charging him with the guilt of having authorized this impious measure, which had brought misery and destruction upon a numerous and innocent race of men, whom Providence had placed under his

protection. Ferdinand, whose mind as well as body was much enfeebled by his distemper, was greatly alarmed at this charge of impiety, which at another juncture he would have despised. He listened with deep compunction to the discourses of Las Casas, and promised to take into serious consideration the means of redressing the evil of which he complained. But death prevented him from executing his resolution. Charles of Austria, to whom all his crowns devolved, resided at that time in his paternal dominions in the Low Countries. Las Casas, with his usual ardor, prepared immediately to set out for Flanders, in order to occupy the ear of the young monarch, when Cardinal Ximenes, who, as Regent, assumed the reins of government in Castile, commanded him to desist from the journey, and engaged to hear his complaints in person.

He accordingly weighed the matter with attention equal to its importance; and as his impetuous mind delighted in schemes bold and uncommon, he soon fixed upon a plan which astonished the ministers trained up under the formal and cautious administration of Ferdinand. Without regarding either the rights of Don Diego Columbus, or the regulations established by the late king, he resolved to send three persons to America as superintendents of all the colonies there, with authority, after examining all circumstances on the spot, to decide finally with respect to the point in question. It was a matter of deliberation and delicacy to choose men qualified for such an important station. As all the laymen settled in America, or who had been consulted in the administration of that department, had given their opinion that the Spaniards could not keep possession of their new settlements, unless they were allowed to retain their dominion over the Indians, he saw that he could not rely on their impartiality, and determined to commit the trust to ecclesiastics. As the Dominicans and Franciscans had already espoused opposite sides in the controversy, he, from the same principle of impartiality, excluded both these fraternities from the commission. He confined his choice to the monks of St. Jerome, a small but respectable order in Spain. With the assistance of their general, and in concert with Las Casas, he soon pitched upon three persons whom he deemed equal to the charge. To them he joined Zuazo, a private lawyer of distinguished probity, with unbounded power to regulate all judicial proceedings in the colonies. Las Casas was appointed to accompany them with the title of protector of the Indians.

To vest such extraordinary powers, as might at once overturn the system of government established in the New World, in four persons, who, from their humble condition in life, were little entitled to possess this high authority, appeared to Zapata, and other ministers of the late king, a measure so wild and dangerous, that they refused to issue the despatches necessary for carrying it into execution. But Ximenes was not of a temper patiently to brook opposition to any of his schemes. He sent for the refractory ministers, and addressed them in such a tone that in the utmost consternation they obeyed his orders. The superintendents, with their associates Zuazo and Las Casas, sailed for St. Domingo. Upon their arrival, the first act of their authority was to set at liberty all the Indians who had been granted to the Spanish courtiers, or to any person not residing in America. This, together with the information which had been received from Spain concerning the object of the commission, spread a general alarm. The colonists concluded that they were to be deprived at once of the hands with which they carried on their labor, and that, of consequence, ruin was unavoidable. But the fathers of St. Jerome proceeded with such caution and prudence as soon dissipated all their fears. They discovered, in every step of their conduct, a knowledge of the world, and of affairs, which is seldom acquired in a cloister, and displayed a moderation as well as gentleness still more rare among persons trained up in the solitude and austerity of a monastic life. Their ears were open to information from every quarter; they compared the different accounts which they received; and, after a mature consideration of the whole, they were fully satisfied that the state of the colony rendered it impossible to adopt the plan proposed by Las Casas, and recommended by the Cardinal. They plainly perceived that the Spaniards settled in America were so few in number, that they could neither work the mines which had been opened, nor cultivate the country; that they depended for effecting both upon the labor of the natives, and, if deprived of it, they must instantly relinquish their conquests; or give up all the advantages which

they derived from them; that no allurements was so powerful as to surmount the natural aversion of the Indians to any laborious effort, and that nothing but the authority of a master could compel them to work; and if they were not kept constantly under the eye and discipline of a superior, so great was their natural listlessness and indifference, that they would neither attend to religious instruction, nor observe those rites of Christianity which they had been already taught. Upon all those accounts, the superintendents found it necessary to tolerate the *repartimientos*, and to suffer the Indians to remain under subjection to their Spanish masters. They used their utmost endeavors, however, to prevent the fatal effects of this establishment, and to secure to the Indians the consolation of the best treatment compatible with a state of servitude. For this purpose, they revived former regulations, they prescribed new ones, they neglected no circumstance that tended to mitigate the rigor of the yoke; and by their authority, their example, and their exhortations, they labored to inspire their countrymen with sentiments of equity and gentleness towards the unhappy people upon whose industry they depended. Zuazo, in his department, accorded the endeavors of the superintendents. He reformed the courts of justice in such a manner as to render their decisions equitable as well as expeditious, and introduced various regulations which greatly improved the interior policy of the colony. The satisfaction which his conduct and that of the superintendents gave was now universal among the Spaniards settled in the New World; and all admired the boldness of Ximenes in having departed from the ordinary path of business in forming his plan, as well as his sagacity in pitching upon persons whose wisdom, moderation, and disinterestedness rendered them worthy of this high trust.

Las Casas alone was dissatisfied. The prudential consideration which influenced the superintendents made no impression upon him. He regarded their idea of accommodating their conduct to the state of the colony, as the maxim of an unhallowed timid policy, which tolerated what was unjust because it was beneficial. He contended that the Indians were by nature free, and, as their protector, he required the superintendents not to bereave them of the common privilege of humanity. They received his most virulent remonstrances without emotion, but adhered firmly to their own system. The Spanish planters did not bear with him so patiently, and were ready to tear him in pieces for insisting in a requisition so odious to them. Las Casas, in order to screen himself from their rage, found it necessary to take shelter in a convent; and perceiving that all his efforts in America were fruitless, he soon set out for Europe, with a fixed resolution not to abandon the protection of a people whom he deemed to be cruelly oppressed.

Had Ximenes retained that vigor of mind with which he usually applied to business, Las Casas must have met with no very gracious reception upon his return to Spain. But he found the Cardinal languishing under a mortal distemper, and preparing to resign his authority to the young king, who was daily expected from the Low Countries. Charles arrived, took possession of the government, and, by the death of Ximenes, lost a minister whose abilities and integrity entitled him to direct his affairs. Many of the Flemish nobility had accompanied their sovereign to Spain. From that warm predilection to his countrymen, which was natural at his age, he consulted them with respect to all the transactions in his new kingdom; and they, with an indiscreet eagerness, intruded themselves into every business, and seized almost every department of administration. The direction of American affairs was an object too alluring to escape their attention. Las Casas observed their growing influence; and though projectors are usually too sanguine to conduct their schemes with much dexterity, he possessed a bustling, indefatigable activity, which sometimes accomplishes its purposes with greater success than the most exquisite discernment and address. He courted the Flemish ministers with assiduity. He represented to them the absurdity of all the maxims hitherto adopted with respect to the government of America, particularly during the administration of Ferdinand, and pointed out the defects of those arrangements which Ximenes had introduced. The memory of Ferdinand was odious to the Flemings. The superior virtues and abilities of Ximenes had long been the object of their envy. They fondly wished to have a plausible pretext for condemning the measures both of the monarch and of the minister, and of reflecting some discredit on their political wisdom. The friends of Don Diego Columbus,

as well as the Spanish courtiers who had been dissatisfied with the Cardinal's administration, joined Las Casas in censuring the scheme of sending superintendents to America. This union of so many interests and passions was irresistible; and in consequence of it the fathers of St. Jerome, together with their associate Zuazo, were recalled. Rodrigo de Figueroa, a lawyer of some eminence, was appointed chief judge of the island, and received instructions, in compliance with the request of Las Casas, to examine once more, with the utmost attention, the point in controversy between him and the people of the colony, with respect to the treatment of the natives: and in the mean time to do every thing in his power to alleviate their sufferings, and to prevent the extinction of the race.

This was all that the zeal of Las Casas could procure at that juncture in favor of the Indians. The impossibility of carrying on any improvements in America, unless the Spanish planters could command the labor of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects. In order to provide some remedy for this, without which he found it was in vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of negroes from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, and to transport them to America, in order that they might be employed as slaves in working the mines and cultivating the ground. One of the first advantages which the Portuguese had derived from their discoveries in Africa arose from the trade in slaves. Various circumstances concurred in reviving this odious commerce, which had been long abolished in Europe, and which is no less repugnant to the feelings of humanity than to the principles of religion. As early as the year one thousand five hundred and three, a few negro slaves had been sent into the New World. In the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, Ferdinand permitted the importation of them in greater numbers. They were found to be a more robust and hardy race than the natives of America. They were more capable of enduring fatigue, more patient under servitude, and the labor of one negro was computed to be equal to that of four Indians. Cardinal Ximenes, however, when solicited to encourage this commerce, peremptorily rejected the proposition, because he perceived the iniquity of reducing one race of men to slavery, while he was consulting about the means of restoring liberty to another. But Las Casas, from the inconsistency natural to men who hurry with headlong impetuosity towards a favorite point, was incapable of making this distinction. While he contended earnestly for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he labored to enslave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to save the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to be lawful and expedient to impose one still heavier upon the Africans. Unfortunately for the latter, Las Casas's plan was adopted. Charles granted a patent to one of his Flemish favorites, containing an exclusive right of importing four thousand negroes into America. The favorite sold his patent to some Genoese merchants for twenty-five thousand ducats, and they were the first who brought into a regular form that commerce for slaves between Africa and America, which has since been carried on to such an amazing extent.

But the Genoese merchants [1518], conducting their operations, at first, with the rapacity of monopolists, demanded such a high price for negroes, that the number imported into Hispaniola made no great change upon the state of the colony. Las Casas, whose zeal was no less inventive than indefatigable, had recourse to another expedient for the relief of the Indians. He observed, that most of the persons who had settled hitherto in America, were sailors and soldiers employed in the discovery or conquest of the country; the younger sons of noble families, allured by the prospect of acquiring sudden wealth; or desperate adventurers, whom their indigence or crimes forced to abandon their native land. Instead of such men, who were dissolute, rapacious, and incapable of that sober persevering industry which is requisite in forming new colonies, he proposed to supply the settlements in Hispaniola and other parts of the New World with a sufficient number of laborers and husbandmen, who should be allured by suitable premiums to remove thither. These, as they were accustomed to fatigue, would be able to perform the work to which the Indians, from the feebleness of their constitution, were unequal, and might soon become useful and opulent citizens. But though Hispaniola stood much in need of a recruit of inhabitants, having been visited at this time with the small-pox, which swept off almost all the natives who had survived their

long continued oppression; and though Las Casas had the countenance of the Flemish ministers, this scheme was defeated by the bishop of Burgos, who thwarted all his projects.

Las Casas now despaired of procuring any relief for the Indians in those places where the Spaniards were already settled. The evil was become so inveterate there as not to admit of a cure. But such discoveries were daily making in the continent as gave a high idea both of its extent and populousness. In all those vast regions there was but one feeble colony planted; and except a small spot on the isthmus of Darien, the natives still occupied the whole country. This opened a new and more ample field for the humanity and zeal of Las Casas, who flattered himself that he might prevent a pernicious system from being introduced there, though he had failed of success in his attempts to overturn it where it was already established. Full of this idea, he applied for a grant of the unoccupied country stretching along the seacoast from the Gulf of Paria to the western frontier of that province now known by the name of Santa Martha. He proposed to settle there with a colony composed of husbandmen, laborers, and ecclesiastics. He engaged in the space of two years to civilize ten thousand of the natives, and to instruct them so thoroughly in the arts of social life, that from the fruits of their industry an annual revenue of fifteen thousand ducats should arise to the king. In ten years he expected that his improvements would be so far advanced as to yield annually sixty thousand ducats. He stipulated, that no soldier or sailor should ever be permitted to settle in this district; and that no Spaniard whatever should enter it without his permission. He even projected to clothe the people whom he took along with him in some distinguishing garb, which did not resemble the Spanish dress, that they might appear to the natives to be a different race of men from those who had brought so many calamities upon their country. From this scheme, of which I have traced only the great lines, it is manifest that Las Casas had formed ideas concerning the method of treating the Indians, similar to those by which the Jesuits afterwards carried on their great operations in another part of the same continent. He supposed that the Europeans, by availing themselves of that ascendancy which they possessed in consequence of their superior progress in science and improvement, might gradually form the minds of Americans to relish those comforts of which they were destitute, might train them to the arts of civil life, and render them capable of its functions.

But to the bishop of Burgos, and the council of the Indies, this project appeared not only chimerical, but dangerous in a high degree. They deemed the faculties of the Americans to be naturally so limited, and their indolence so excessive, that every attempt to instruct or to improve them would be fruitless. They contended, that it would be extremely imprudent to give the command of a country extending above a thousand miles along the coast to a fanciful presumptuous enthusiast, a stranger to the affairs of the world, and unacquainted with the arts of government. Las Casas, far from being discouraged with a repulse, which he had reason to expect, had recourse once more to the Flemish favorites, who zealously patronised his scheme merely because it had been rejected by the Spanish ministers. They prevailed with their master, who had lately been raised to the Imperial dignity, to refer the consideration of this measure to a select number of his privy counsellors; and Las Casas having excepted against the members of the council of the Indies, as partial and interested they were all excluded. The decision of men chosen by recommendation of the Flemings was perfectly conformable to their sentiments. They warmly approved of Las Casas's plan, and gave orders for carrying it into execution, but restricted the territory allotted him to three hundred miles along the coast of Cumana; allowing him, however, to extend it as far as he pleased towards the interior part of the country.

This determination did not pass uncensured. Almost every person who had been in the West Indies exclaimed against it, and supported their opinion so confidently, and with such plausible reasons, as made it advisable to pause and to review the subject more deliberately. Charles himself, though accustomed, at this early period of his life, to adopt the sentiments of his ministers with such submissive deference as did not promise that decisive vigor of mind which distinguished his riper years, could not help suspecting that the eagerness with which the Flemings took part in every affair flowed from some improper motive, and began to discover an inclination to examine in person into the state

of the question concerning the character of the Americans, and the proper manner of treating them. An opportunity of making this inquiry with great advantage soon occurred [June 20]. Quevedo, the bishop of Darien, who had accompanied Pedrarias to the continent in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen, happened to land at Barcelona, where the court then resided. It was quickly known that his sentiments concerning the talents and disposition of the Indians differed from those of Las Casas: and Charles naturally concluded that by confronting two respectable persons who, during their residence in America, had full leisure to observe the manners of the people whom they pretended to describe, he might be able to discover which of them had formed his opinion with the greatest discernment and accuracy.

A day for this solemn audience was appointed. The emperor appeared with extraordinary pomp, and took his seat on a throne in the great hall of the palace. His principal courtiers attended. Don Diego Columbus, admiral of the Indies, was summoned to be present. The bishop of Darien was called upon first to deliver his opinion. He, in a short discourse, lamented the fatal desolation of America by the extinction of so many of its inhabitants; he acknowledged that this must be imputed, in some degree, to the extensive rigor and inconsiderate proceedings of the Spaniards; but declared that all the people of the New World whom he had seen either in the continent or in the islands, appeared to him to be a race of men marked out, by the inferiority of their talents, for servitude, and whom it would be impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were kept under the continual inspection of a master. Las Casas, at greater length and with more fervor, defended his own system. He rejected with indignation the idea that any race of men was born to servitude as irreligious and inhuman. He asserted that the faculties of the Americans were not naturally despicable, but unimproved; that they were capable of receiving instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of acquiring the industry and arts which would qualify them for the various offices of social life, that the mildness and timidity of their nature rendered them so submissive and docile, that they might be led and formed with a gentle hand. He professed that his intentions in proposing the scheme now under consideration were pure and disinterested; and though from the accomplishment of his designs inestimable benefits would result to the crown of Castile, he never had claimed, nor ever would receive, any recompense on that account.

Charles, after hearing both, and consulting with his ministers, did not think himself sufficiently informed to establish any general arrangement with respect to the state of the Indians; but as he had perfect confidence in the integrity of Las Casas, and as even the bishop of Darien admitted his scheme to be of such importance that a trial should be made of its effects, he issued a patent [1522], granting him the district of Cumana formerly mentioned, with full power to establish a colony there according to his own plan.

Las Casas pushed on the preparations for his voyage with his usual ardor. But, either from his own inexperience in the conduct of affairs, or from the secret opposition of the Spanish nobility, who universally dreaded the success of an institution that might rob them of the industrious and useful hands which cultivated their estates, his progress in engaging husbandmen and laborers was extremely slow, and he could not prevail on more than two hundred to accompany him to Cumana.

Nothing, however, could damp his zeal. With this slender train, hardly sufficient to take possession of such a large territory, and altogether unequal to any effectual attempt towards civilizing its inhabitants, he set sail. The first place at which he touched was the island of Puerto Rico. There he received an account of a new obstacle to the execution of his scheme, more insuperable than any he had hitherto encountered. When he left America, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixteen, the Spaniards had little intercourse with any part of the continent except the countries adjacent to the Gulf of Darien. But as every species of internal industry began to stagnate in Hispaniola, when, by the rapid decrease of the natives, the Spaniards were deprived of those hands with which they had hitherto carried on their operations, this prompted them to try various expedients for supplying that loss. Considerable numbers of negroes were imported; but, on account of their exorbitant price, many of the planters could not afford to purchase them. In order to procure slaves at an easier rate,

some of the Spaniards in Hispaniola fitted out vessels to cruise along the coast of the continent. In places where they found themselves inferior in strength, they traded with the natives, and gave European toys in exchange for the plates of gold worn by them as ornaments; but, whenever they could surprise or overpower the Indians, they carried them off by force, and sold them as slaves. In those predatory excursions such atrocious acts of violence and cruelty had been committed, that the Spanish name was held in detestation all over the continent. Whenever any ships appeared, the inhabitants either fled to the woods, or rushed down to the shore in arms to repel those hated disturbers of their tranquillity. They forced some parties of the Spaniards to retreat with precipitation; they cut off others; and in the violence of their resentment against the whole nation, they murdered two Dominican missionaries, whose zeal had prompted them to settle in the province of Cumana. This outrage against persons revered for their sanctity excited such indignation among the people of Hispaniola, who, notwithstanding all their licentious and cruel proceedings, were possessed with a wonderful zeal for religion, and a superstitious respect for its ministers, that they determined to inflict exemplary punishment, not only upon the perpetrators of that crime, but upon the whole race. With this view, they gave the command of five ships and three hundred men to Diego Ocampo, with orders to lay waste the country of Cumana with fire and sword, and to transport all the inhabitants as slaves to Hispaniola. This armament Las Casas found at Puerto Rico, on its way to the continent; and as Ocampo refused to defer his voyage, he immediately perceived that it would be impossible to attempt the execution of his pacific plan in a country destined to be the seat of war and desolation.

In order to provide against the effects of this unfortunate incident, he set sail directly for St. Domingo [April 11], leaving his followers cantoned out among the planters in Puerto Rico. From many concurring causes, the reception which Las Casas met with in Hispaniola was very unfavorable. In his negotiations for the relief of the Indians, he had censured the conduct of his countrymen, settled there with such honest severity as rendered him universally odious to them. They considered their own ruin as the inevitable consequence of his success. They were now elated with hope of receiving a large recruit of slaves from Cumana, which must be relinquished if Las Casas were assisted in settling his projected colony there. Figueroa, in consequence of the instructions which he had received in Spain, had made an experiment concerning the capacity of the Indians, that was represented as decisive against the system of Las Casas. He collected in Hispaniola a good number of the natives, and settled them in two villages, leaving them at perfect liberty, and with the uncontrolled direction of their own actions. But that people, accustomed to a mode of life extremely different from that which takes place wherever civilization has made any considerable progress, were incapable of assuming new habits at once. Dejected with their own misfortunes as well as those of their country they exerted so little industry in cultivating the ground, appeared so devoid of solicitude or foresight in providing for their own wants, and were such strangers to arrangement in conducting their affairs, that the Spaniards pronounced them incapable of being formed to live like men in social life, and considered them as children, who should be kept under the perpetual tutelage of persons superior to themselves in wisdom and sagacity.

Notwithstanding all those circumstances, which alienated the persons in Hispaniola to whom Las Casas applied from himself and from his measures, he, by his activity and perseverance, by some concessions and many threats, obtained at length a small body of troops to protect him and his colony at their first landing. But upon his return to Puerto Rico, he found that the diseases of the climate had been fatal to several of his people; and that others having got employment in that island, refused to follow him. With the handful that remained, he set sail and landed in Cumana. Ocampo had executed his commission in that province with such barbarous rage, having massacred many of the inhabitants, sent others in chains to Hispaniola, and forced the rest to fly for shelter to the woods, that the people of a small colony, which he had planted at a place which he named *Toledo*, were ready to perish for want in a desolated country. There, however, Las Casas was obliged to fix his residence, though deserted both by the troops appointed to protect him, and by those under the command of Ocampo, who foresaw and dreaded the calamity

to which he must be exposed in that wretched station. He made the best provision in his power for the safety and subsistence of his followers, but as his utmost efforts availed little towards securing either the one or the other, he returned to Hispaniola, in order to solicit more effectual aid for the preservation of men who, from confidence in him, had ventured into a post of so much danger. Soon after his departure, the natives, having discovered the feeble and defenceless state of the Spaniards, assembled secretly, attacked them with the fury natural to men exasperated by many injuries, cut off a good number, and compelled the rest to fly in the utmost consternation to the island of Cubagua. The small colony settled there on account of the pearl fishery, catching the panic with which their countrymen had been seized, abandoned the island, and not a Spaniard remained in any part of the continent, or adjacent islands, from the Gulf of Paria to the borders of Darien. Astonished at such a succession of disasters, Las Casas was ashamed to show his face after this fatal termination of all his splendid schemes. He shut himself up in the convent of the Dominicans at St. Domingo, and soon after assumed the habit of that order.

Though the expulsion of the colony from Cumana happened in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-one, I have chosen to trace the progress of Las Casas's negotiations from their first rise to their final issue without interruption. His system was the object of long and attentive discussion; and though his efforts in behalf of the oppressed Americans, partly from his own rashness and imprudence, and partly from the malevolent opposition of his adversaries, were not attended with that success which he promised with too sanguine confidence, great praise is due to his humane activity, which gave rise to various regulations that were of some benefit to that unhappy people. I return now to the history of the Spanish discoveries as they occur in the order of time.

Diego Velasquez, who conquered Cuba in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, still retained the government of that island, as the deputy of Don Diego Columbus, though he seldom acknowledged his superior, and aimed at rendering his own authority altogether independent. Under his prudent administration, Cuba became one of the most flourishing of the Spanish settlements. The fame of this allured thither many persons from the other colonies, in hopes of finding either some permanent establishment or some employment for their activity. As Cuba lay to the west of all the islands occupied by the Spaniards, and as the ocean which stretches beyond it towards that quarter had not hitherto been explored, these circumstances naturally invited the inhabitants to attempt new discoveries. An expedition for this purpose, in which activity and resolution might conduct to sudden wealth, was more suited to the genius of the age than the patient industry requisite in clearing ground and manufacturing sugar. Instigated by this spirit, several officers, who had served under Pedrarias in Darien, entered into an association to undertake a voyage of discovery. They persuaded Francisco Hernandez Cordova, an opulent planter in Cuba, and a man of distinguished courage, to join with them in the adventure, and chose him to be their commander. Velasquez not only approved of the design, but assisted in carrying it on. As the veterans from Darien were extremely indigent, he and Cordova advanced money for purchasing three small vessels, and furnished them with every thing requisite either for traffic or for war. A hundred and ten men embarked on board of them, and sailed from St. Jago de Cuba, on the eighth of February, one thousand five hundred and seventeen. By the advice of their chief pilot, Antonio Alaninos, who had served under the first admiral Columbus, they stood directly west, relying on the opinion of that great navigator, who uniformly maintained that a westerly course would lead to the most important discoveries.

On the twenty-first day after their departure from St. Jago, they saw land, which proved to be *Cape Catoche*, the eastern point of that large peninsula projecting from the continent of America, which still retains its original name of *Yucatan*. As they approached the shore, five canoes came off full of people decently clad in cotton garments; an astonishing spectacle to the Spaniards, who had found every other part of America possessed by naked savages. Cordova endeavored by small presents to gain the good will of these people. They, though amazed at the strange objects now presented for the first time to their view, invited the Spaniards to visit their habitations, with an appearance of cordiality. They landed accordingly, and as they advanced into the country, they observed with new won-

der some large houses built with stone. But they soon found that, if the people of Yucatan had made progress in improvement beyond their countrymen, they were likewise more artful and warlike. For though the cazique had received Cordova with many tokens of friendship, he had posted a considerable body of his subjects in ambush behind a thicket, who, upon a signal given by him, rushed out and attacked the Spaniards with great boldness, and some degree of martial order. At the first flight of their arrows, fifteen of the Spaniards were wounded; but the Indians were struck with such terror by the sudden explosion of the fire arms, and so surprised at the execution done by them, by the cross bows, and by the other weapons of their new enemies, that they fled precipitately. Cordova quitted a country where he had met with such a fierce reception, carrying off two prisoners, together with the ornaments of a small temple which he plundered in his retreat.

He continued his course towards the west, without losing sight of the coast, and on the sixteenth day arrived at Campeachy. There the natives received them more hospitably; but the Spaniards were much surprised, that on all the extensive coast along which they had sailed, and which they imagined to be a large island, they had not observed any river. [26.] As their water had begun to fail, they advanced, in hopes of finding a supply; and at length they discovered the mouth of a river at Potonchan, some leagues beyond Campeachy.

Cordova landed all his troops, in order to protect the sailors while employed in filling the casks; but notwithstanding this precaution, the natives rushed down upon them with such fury and in such numbers, that forty-seven of the Spaniards were killed upon the spot, and one man only of the whole body escaped unhurt. Their commander, though wounded in twelve different places, directed the retreat with presence of mind equal to the courage with which he had led them on in the engagement, and with much difficulty they regained their ships. After this fatal repulse, nothing remained but to hasten back to Cuba with their shattered forces. In their passage thither they suffered the most exquisite distress for want of water, that men, wounded and sickly, shut up in small vessels, and exposed to the heat of the torrid zone, can be supposed to endure. Some of them, sinking under these calamities, died by the way: Cordova, their commander, expired soon after they landed in Cuba.

Notwithstanding the disastrous conclusion of this expedition, it contributed rather to animate than to damp a spirit of enterprise among the Spaniards. They had discovered an extensive country, situated at no great distance from Cuba, fertile in appearance, and possessed by a people far superior in improvement to any hitherto known in America. Though they had carried on little commercial intercourse with the natives, they had brought off some ornaments of gold, not considerable in value, but of singular fabric. These circumstances, related with the exaggeration natural to men desirous of heightening the merit of their own exploits, were more than sufficient to excite romantic hopes and expectations. Great numbers offered to engage in a new expedition. Velasquez, solicitous to distinguish himself by some service so meritorious as might entitle him to claim the government of Cuba independent of the admiral, not only encouraged their ardor, but at his own expense fitted out four ships for the voyage. Two hundred and forty volunteers, among whom were several persons of rank and fortune, embarked in this enterprise. The command of it was given to Juan de Grijalva, a young man of known merit and courage, with instructions to observe attentively the nature of the countries which he should discover, to barter for gold, and, if circumstances were inviting, to settle a colony in some proper station. He sailed from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighth of April, one thousand five hundred and eighteen. The pilot, Alaminos, held the same course as in the former voyage: but the violence of the currents carrying the ships to the south, the first land which they made was the island of *Cuzamel*, to the east of Yucatan. As all the inhabitants fled to the woods and mountains at the approach of the Spaniards, they made no long stay there, and without any remarkable occurrence they reached Potonchan on the opposite side of the peninsula. The desire of avenging their countrymen, who had been slain there, concurred with their ideas of good policy, in prompting them to land, that they might chastise the Indians of that district with such exemplary rigor as would strike terror into all the people round them. But though they disembarked all their troops, and carried ashore some field pieces, the Indians fought with such courage, that the Spaniards

gained the victory with difficulty, and were confirmed in their opinion that the inhabitants of this country would prove more formidable enemies than any they had met with in other parts of America. From Potonchan they continued their voyage towards the west, keeping as near as possible to the shore, and casting anchor every evening, from dread of the dangerous accidents to which they might be exposed in an unknown sea. During the day their eyes were turned continually towards land, with a mixture of surprise and wonder at the beauty of the country, as well as the novelty of the objects which they beheld. Many villages were scattered along the coast, in which they could distinguish houses of stone that appeared white and lofty at a distance. In the warmth of their admiration, they fancied these to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles; and one of the soldiers happening to remark that this country resembled Spain in appearance, Grijalva, with universal applause, called it *New Spain*, the name which still distinguishes this extensive and opulent province of the Spanish empire in America [27.] They landed in a river which the natives called *Tabasco* [June 9]; and the fame of their victory at Potonchan having reached this place, the cazique not only received them amicably, but bestowed presents upon them of such value, as confirmed the high ideas which the Spaniards had formed with respect to the wealth and fertility of the country. These ideas were raised still higher by what occurred at the place where they next touched. This was considerably to the west of Tabasco, in the province since known by the name of Guaxaca. There they were received with the respect paid to superior beings. The people perfumed them, as they landed, with incense of gum copal, and presented to them as offerings the choicest delicacies of their country. They were extremely fond of trading with their new visitants, and in six days the Spaniards obtained ornaments of gold of curious workmanship, to the value of fifteen thousand pesos, in exchange for European toys of small price. The two prisoners whom Cordova had brought from Yucatan, had hitherto served as interpreters; but as they did not understand the language of this country, the Spaniards learned from the natives by signs, that they were subjects of a great monarch called Montezuma, whose dominions extended over that and many other provinces. Leaving this place, with which he had so much reason to be pleased, Grijalva continued his course towards the west. He landed on a small island [June 19], which he named the Isle of Sacrifices, because there the Spaniards beheld, for the first time, the horrid spectacle of human victims, which the barbarous superstition of the natives offered to their gods. He touched at another small island, which he called St. Juan de Ulua. From this place he despatched Pedro de Alvarado, one of his officers, to Velasquez, with a full account of the important discoveries which he had made, and with all the treasure that he acquired by trafficking with the natives. After the departure of Alvarado, he himself, with the remaining vessels, proceeded along the coast as far as the river Panuco, the country still appearing to be well peopled, fertile, and opulent.

Several of Grijalva's officers contended that it was not enough to have discovered those delightful regions, or to have performed, at their different landing-places, the empty ceremony of taking possession of them for the crown of Castile, and that their glory was incomplete, unless they planted a colony in some proper station, which might not only secure the Spanish nation a footing in the country, but with the reinforcements which they were certain of receiving, might gradually subject the whole to the dominion of their sovereign. But the squadron had now been above five months at sea; the greatest part of their provisions was exhausted, and what remained of their stores so much corrupted by the heat of the climate, as to be almost unfit for use; they had lost some men by death; others were sickly; the country was crowded with people who seemed to be intelligent as well as brave; and they were under the government of one powerful monarch, who could bring them to act against their invaders with united force. To plant a new colony under so many circumstances of disadvantage, appeared a scheme too perilous to be attempted. Grijalva, though possessed of ambition and courage, was destitute of the superior talents capable of forming or executing such a great plan. He judged it more prudent to return to Cuba, having fulfilled the purpose of his voyage, and accomplished all that the armament which he commanded enabled him to perform. He returned to St. Jago de Cuba, on the twenty-sixth of October, from which he had taken his departure about six months before.

This was the longest as well as the most successful voyage which the Spaniards had hitherto made in the New World. They had discovered that Yucatan was not an island as they had supposed, but part of the great continent of America. From Potonchan they had pursued their course for many hundred miles along a coast formerly unexplored, stretching first towards the west, and then turning to the north; all the country which they had discovered appeared to be no less valuable than extensive. As soon as Alvarado reached Cuba, Velasquez, transported with success so far beyond his most sanguine expectations, immediately despatched a person of confidence to carry this important intelligence to Spain, to exhibit the rich productions of the countries which had been discovered by his means, and to solicit such an increase of authority as might enable and encourage him to attempt the conquest of them. Without waiting for the return of his messenger, or for the arrival of Grijalva, of whom he was become so jealous or distrustful that he was resolved no longer to employ him, he began to prepare with such a powerful armament as might prove equal to an enterprise of so much danger and importance.

But as the expedition upon which Velasquez was now intent terminated in conquests of greater moment than what the Spaniards had hitherto achieved, and led them to the knowledge of a people, who, if compared with those tribes of America with whom they were hitherto acquainted, may be considered as highly civilized; it is proper to pause before we proceed to the history of events extremely different from those which we have already related, in order to take a view of the state of the New World when first discovered, and to contemplate the policy and manners of the rude uncultivated tribes that occupied all the parts of it with which the Spaniards were at this time acquainted.

BOOK IV.

View of America when first discovered, and of the manners and policy of its most uncivilized inhabitants.—Vast extent of America—grandeur of the objects it presents to view—its mountains—rivers—lakes—its form favorable to commerce—temperature—predominance of cold—causes of this—uncultivated—unwholesome—its animals—soil—Inquiry how America was peopled—various theories—what appears most probable—Condition and character of the Americans—All, the Mexicans and Peruvians excepted, in the state of savages—Inquiry confined to the uncivilized tribes—Difficulty of obtaining information—various causes of this—Method observed in the inquiry—I. The bodily constitution of the Americans considered—II. The qualities of their minds—III. Their domestic state—IV. Their political state and institutions—V. Their system of war and public security—VI. The arts with which they were acquainted—VII. Their religious ideas and institutions—VIII. Such singular and detached customs as are not reducible to any of the former heads—IX. General review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

TWENTY-SIX years had elapsed since Columbus had conducted the people of Europe to the New World. During that period the Spaniards had made great progress in exploring its various regions. They had visited all the islands scattered in different clusters through that part of the ocean which flows in between North and South America. They had sailed along the eastern coast of the continent from the river De la Plata to the bottom of the Mexican Gulf, and had found that it stretched without interruption through this vast portion of the globe. They had discovered the great Southern Ocean, which opened new prospects in that quarter. They had acquired some knowledge of the coast of Florida, which led them to observe the continent as it extended in an opposite direction; and though they pushed their discoveries no further towards the North, other nations had visited those parts which they neglected. The English in a voyage the motives and success of which shall be related in another part of this History, had sailed along the coast of America from Labrador to the confines of Florida; and the Portuguese, in quest of a shorter passage to the East Indies, had ventured into the northern seas, and viewed the same regions. Thus, at the period where I have chosen to take a view of the state of the New World, its extent was known almost from its northern extremity to thirty-five degrees south of the equator. The countries which stretch from thence to the southern boundary of America, the great empire of Peru, and the interior state of the extensive dominions subject to the sovereigns of Mexico, were still undiscovered.

When we contemplate the New World, the first circumstance that strikes us is its immense extent. It was not a small portion of the earth, so inconsiderable that it might have escaped the observation or research of former ages, which Columbus discovered. He made known a new hemisphere, larger than either Europe,

or Asia, or Africa, the three noted divisions of the ancient continent, and not much inferior in dimensions to a third part of the habitable globe.

America is remarkable, not only for its magnitude, but for its position. It stretches from the northern polar circle to a high southern latitude, above fifteen hundred miles beyond the furthest extremity of the old continent on that side of the line. A country of such extent passes through all the climates capable of becoming the habitation of man, and fit for yielding the various productions peculiar either to the temperate or to the torrid regions of the earth.

Next to the extent of the New World, the grandeur of the objects which it presents to view is most apt to strike the eye of an observer. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale and with a bolder hand, and to have distinguished the features of this country by a peculiar magnificence. The mountains in America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. Even the plain of Quito, which may be considered as the base of the Andes, is elevated further above the sea than the top of the Pyrenees. This stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises in different places more than one-third above the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere. The Andes may literally be said to hide their heads in the clouds; the storms often roll, and the thunder bursts below their summits, which, though exposed to the rays of the sun in the centre of the torrid zone, are covered with everlasting snows. [28]

From these lofty mountains descend rivers, proportionably large, with which the streams in the ancient continent are not to be compared, either for length of course, or the vast body of water which they roll towards the ocean. The Maragnon, the Orinoco, the Plata in South America, the Mississippi and St. Lawrence in North America, flow in such spacious channels, that long before they feel the influence of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea rather than rivers of fresh water. [29]

The lakes of the New World are no less conspicuous for grandeur than its mountains and rivers. There is nothing in other parts of the globe which resembles the prodigious chain of lakes in North America. They may properly be termed inland seas of fresh water; and even those of the second or third class in magnitude are of larger circuit (the Caspian Sea excepted) than the greatest lake of the ancient continent.

The New World is of a form extremely favorable to commercial intercourse. When a continent is formed, like Africa, of one vast solid mass, unbroken by arms of the sea penetrating into its interior parts, with few large rivers, and those at a considerable distance from each other, the greater part of it seems destined to remain for ever uncivilized, and to be debarred from any active or enlarged communication with the rest of mankind. When, like Europe, a continent is opened by inlets of the ocean of great extent, such as the Mediterranean and Baltic; or when, like Asia, its coast is broken by deep bays advancing far into the country, such as the Black Sea, the Gulfs of Arabia, of Persia, of Bengal, of Siam, and of Leotang; when the surrounding seas are filled with large and fertile islands, and the continent itself watered with a variety of navigable rivers, those regions may be said to possess whatever can facilitate the progress of their inhabitants in commerce and improvement. In all these respects America may bear a comparison with the other quarters of the globe. The Gulf of Mexico, which flows in between North and South America, may be considered as a Mediterranean sea, which opens a maritime commerce with all the fertile countries by which it is encircled. The islands scattered in it are inferior only to those in the Indian Archipelago, in number, in magnitude, and in value. As we stretch along the northern division of the American hemisphere, the Bay of Chesapeake presents a spacious inlet, which conducts the navigator far into the interior parts of provinces no less fertile than extensive; and if ever the progress of culture and population shall mitigate the extreme rigor of the climate in the more northern districts of America, Hudson's Bay may become as subservient to commercial intercourse in that quarter of the globe, as the Baltic is in Europe. The other great portion of the New World is encompassed on every side by the sea, except one narrow neck which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean; and though it be not opened by spacious bays or arms of the sea, its interior parts are rendered accessible by a number of large rivers, fed by so many auxiliary streams, flowing in such various directions, that almost without any aid from the hand of industry

and art, an inland navigation may be carried on through all the provinces from the river De la Plata to the Gulf of Paria. Nor is this bounty of nature confined to the southern division of America; its northern continent abounds no less in rivers which are navigable almost to their sources, and by its immense chain of lakes provision is made for an inland communication, more extensive and commodious than in any quarter of the globe. The countries stretching from the Gulf of Darien on one side, to that of California on the other, which form the chain that binds the two parts of the American continent together, are not destitute of peculiar advantages. Their coast on one side is washed by the Atlantic Ocean, on the other by the Pacific. Some of their rivers flow into the former, some into the latter, and secure to them all the commercial benefits that may result from a communication with both.

But what most distinguishes America from other parts of the earth is the peculiar temperature of its climate, and the different laws to which it is subject with respect to the distribution of heat and cold. We cannot determine with precision the portion of heat felt in any part of the globe, merely by measuring its distance from the equator. The climate of a country is affected, in some degree, by its elevation above the sea, by the extent of continent, by the nature of the soil, the height of adjacent mountains, and many other circumstances. The influence of these, however, is from various causes less considerable in the greater part of the ancient continent; and from knowing the position of any country there, we can pronounce with greater certainty what will be the warmth of its climate, and the nature of its productions.

The maxims which are founded upon observation of our hemisphere will not apply to the other. In the New World, cold predominates. The rigor of the frigid zone extends over half of those regions which should be temperate by their position. Countries where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow one half of the year; and lands situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated provinces in Europe, are chilled with perpetual frosts, which almost destroy the power of vegetation. [30] As we advance to those parts of America which lie in the same parallel with provinces of Asia and Africa, blessed with a uniform enjoyment of such genial warmth as is most friendly to life and vegetation, the dominion of cold continues to be felt, and winter reigns, though during a short period, with extreme severity. If we proceed along the American continent into the torrid zone, we shall find the cold prevalent in the New World extending itself also to this region of the globe, and mitigating the excess of its fervor. While the negro on the coast of Africa is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitant of Peru breathes an air equally mild and temperate, and is perpetually shaded under a canopy of gray clouds, which intercepts the fierce beams of the sun, without obstructing his friendly influence. Along the eastern coast of America, the climate, though more similar to that of the torrid zone in other parts of the earth, is nevertheless considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitude. If from the southern tropic we continue our progress to the extremity of the American continent, we meet with frozen seas, and countries horrid, barren, and scarcely habitable for cold much sooner than in the north.

Various causes combine in rendering the climate of America so extremely different from that of the ancient continent. Though the utmost extent of America towards the north be not yet discovered, we know that it advances much nearer to the pole than either Europe or Asia. Both these have large seas to the north, which are open during part of the year; and even when covered with ice, the wind that blows over them is less intensely cold than that which blows over land in the same high latitudes. But in America the land stretches from the river St. Lawrence towards the pole, and spreads out immensely to the west. A chain of enormous mountains covered with snow and ice, runs through all this dreary region. The wind, in passing over such an extent of high and frozen land, becomes so impregnated with cold, that it acquires a piercing keenness, which it retains in its progress through warmer climates, and it is not entirely mitigated until it reach the Gulf of Mexico. Over all the continent of North America a north-westerly wind and excessive cold are synonymous terms. Even in the most sultry, the moment that the wind veers to that quarter, its penetrating influence is felt in a transition from heat to cold no less violent than sudden. To this powerful cause we may ascribe the extraordinary dominion of

cold, and its violent inroads into the southern provinces, in that part of the globe.

Other causes, no less remarkable, diminish the active power of heat in those parts of the American continent which lie between the tropics. In all that portion of the globe, the wind blows in an invariable direction from east to west. As this wind holds its course across the ancient continent, it arrives at the countries which stretch along the western shores of Africa, inflamed with all the fiery particles which it had collected from the sultry plains of Asia, and the burning sands in the African deserts. The coast of Africa is, accordingly the region of the earth which feels the most fervent heat, and is exposed to the unmitigated ardor of the torrid zone. But this same wind, which brings such an accession of warmth to the other countries lying between the river of Senegal and Cafraria, traverses the Atlantic Ocean before it reaches the American shore. It is cooled in its passage over this vast body of water, and is felt as a refreshing gale along the coast of Brazil, [31] and Guiana, rendering these countries, though among the warmest in America, temperate, when compared with those which lie opposite to them in Africa. [32] As this wind advances in its course across America, it meets with immense plains covered with impenetrable forests, or occupied by large rivers, marshes, and stagnating waters, where it can recover no considerable degree of heat. At length it arrives at the Andes, which run from north to south through the whole continent. In passing over their elevated and frozen summits, it is so thoroughly cooled, that the greater part of the countries beyond them hardly feel the ardor to which they seem exposed by their situation. In the other provinces of America, from *Tierre Ferme* westward to the Mexican empire, the heat of the climate is tempered, in some places, by the elevation of the land above the sea, in others, by their extraordinary humidity, and in all, by the enormous mountains scattered over this tract. The islands of America in the torrid zone are either small or mountainous, and are fanned alternately by refreshing sea and land breezes.

The causes of the extraordinary cold towards the southern limits of America, and in the seas beyond it, cannot be ascertained in a manner equally satisfying. It was long supposed that a vast continent, distinguished by the name of *Terra Australis Incognita*, lay between the southern extremity of America and the Antarctic pole. The same principles which account for the extraordinary degree of cold in the northern regions in America, were employed in order to explain that which is felt at Cape Horn and the adjacent countries. The immense extent of the southern continent, and the large rivers which it poured into the ocean, were mentioned and admitted by philosophers as causes sufficient to occasion the unusual sensation of cold, and the still more uncommon appearances of frozen seas in that region of the globe. But the imaginary continent to which such influence was ascribed, having been searched for in vain, and the space which it was supposed to occupy having been found to be an open sea, new conjectures must be formed with respect to the causes of a temperature of climate, so extremely different from that which we experience in countries removed at the same distance from the opposite pole. [33]

After contemplating those permanent and characteristic qualities of the American continent, which arise from the peculiarity of its situation, and the disposition of its parts, the next object that merits attention is its condition when first discovered, as far as that depended upon the industry and operations of man. The effects of human ingenuity and labor are more extensive and considerable than even our own vanity is apt at first to imagine. When we survey the face of the habitable globe, no small part of that fertility and beauty which we ascribe to the hand of nature, is the work of man. His efforts, when continued through a succession of ages, change the appearance and improve the qualities of the earth. As a great part of the ancient continent has long been occupied by nations far advanced in arts and industry, our eye is accustomed to view the earth in that form which it assumes when rendered fit to be the residence of a numerous race of men, and to supply them with nourishment.

But in the New World, the state of mankind was ruder, and the aspect of nature extremely different. Throughout all its vast regions, there were only two monarchies remarkable for extent of territory, or distinguished by any progress in improvement. The rest of this continent was possessed by small independent tribes,

destitute of arts and industry, and neither capable to correct the effects nor desirous to meliorate the condition of that part of the earth allotted to them for their habitation. Countries occupied by such people were almost in the same state as if they had been without inhabitants. Immense forests covered a great part of the uncultivated earth; and as the hand of industry had not taught the rivers to run in a proper channel, or drained off the stagnating water, many of the most fertile plains were overflowed with inundations, or converted into marshes. In the southern provinces, where the warmth of the sun, the moisture of the climate, and the fertility of the soil, combine in calling forth the most vigorous powers of vegetation, the woods are so choked with its rank luxuriance as to be almost impervious, and the surface of the ground is hid from the eye under a thick covering of shrubs and herbs and weeds. In this state of wild unassisted nature, a great part of the large provinces in South America, which extend from the bottom of the Andes to the sea, still remain. The European colonies have cleared and cultivated a few spots along the coast; but the original race of inhabitants, as rude and indolent as ever, have done nothing to open or improve a country possessing almost every advantage of situation and climate. As we advance towards the northern provinces of America, nature continues to wear the same uncultivated aspect, and, in proportion as the rigor of the climate increases, appears more desolate and horrid. There the forests, though not encumbered with the same exuberance of vegetation, are of immense extent; prodigious marshes overspread the plains, and few marks appear of human activity in any attempt to cultivate or embellish the earth. No wonder that the colonies sent from Europe were astonished at their first entrance into the New World. It appeared to them waste, solitary, and uninviting. When the English began to settle in America, they termed the countries of which they took possession, *The Wilderness*. Nothing but their eager expectation of finding mines of gold could have induced the Spaniards to penetrate through the woods and marshes of America, where at every step, they observed the extreme difference between the uncultivated face of nature, and that which it acquires under the forming hand of industry and art. [34]

The labor and operations of man not only improve and embellish the earth, but render it more wholesome and friendly to life. When any region lies neglected and destitute of cultivation, the air stagnates in the woods; putrid exhalations arise from the waters; the surface of the earth, loaded with rank vegetation, feels not the purifying influence of the sun or of the wind; the malignity of the distempers natural to the climate increases, and new maladies no less noxious are engendered. Accordingly, all the provinces of America, when first discovered, were found to be remarkably unhealthy. This the Spaniards experienced in every expedition into the New World, whether destined for conquest or settlement. Though by the natural constitution of their bodies, their habitual temperance, and the persevering vigor of their minds, they were as much formed as any people in Europe for active service in a sultry climate, they felt severely the fatal and pernicious qualities of those uncultivated regions through which they marched, or where they endeavored to plant colonies. Great numbers were cut off by the unknown and violent diseases with which they were infected. Such as survived the destructive rage of those maladies, were not exempted from the noxious influence of the climate. They returned to Europe, according to the description of the early Spanish historians, feeble, emaciated, with languid looks, and complexions of such a sickly yellow color as indicated the unwholesome temperature of the countries where they had resided.

The uncultivated state of the New World affected not only the temperature of the air, but the qualities of its productions. The principle of life seems to have been less active and vigorous there than in the ancient continent. Notwithstanding the vast extent of America, and the variety of its climates, the different species of animals peculiar to it are much fewer in proportion than those of the other hemisphere. In the islands there were only four kinds of quadrupeds known, the largest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. On the continent, the variety was greater; and though the individuals of each kind could not fail of multiplying exceedingly when almost unmolested by men, who were neither so numerous, nor so united in society, as to be formidable enemies to the animal creation, the number of distinct species must still be considered as extremely small. Of two hundred dif-

ferent kinds of animals spread over the face of the earth, only about one-third existed in America at the time of its discovery. Nature was not only less prolific in the New World, but she appears likewise to have been less vigorous in her productions. The animals originally belonging to this quarter of the globe appear to be of an inferior race, neither so robust nor so fierce as those of the other continent. America gives birth to no creature of such bulk as to be compared with the elephant or rhinoceros, or that equals the lion and tiger in strength and ferocity. [35] The *Tapir* of Brazil, the largest quadruped of the ravenous tribe in the New World, is not larger than a calf of six months old. The *Puma* and *Jaguar*, its fiercest beasts of prey, which Europeans have inaccurately denominated lions and tigers, possess neither the undaunted courage of the former, nor the ravenous cruelty of the latter. They are inactive and timid, hardly formidable to man, and often turn their backs upon the least appearance of resistance. The same qualities in the climate of America which stunted the growth, and enfeebled the spirit, of its native animals, have proved pernicious to such as have migrated into it voluntarily from the other continent, or have been transported thither by the Europeans. The bears, the wolves, the deer of America, are not equal in size to those of the Old World. Most of the domestic animals, with which the Europeans have stored the provinces wherein they settled, have degenerated with respect either to bulk or quality, in a country whose temperature and soil seem to be less favorable to the strength and perfection of the animal creation. [36]

The same causes which checked the growth and the vigor of the more noble animals, were friendly to the propagation and increase of reptiles and insects. Though this is not peculiar to the New World, and those odious tribes, nourished by heat, moisture, and corruption, infest every part of the torrid zone; they multiply faster, perhaps, in America, and grow to a more monstrous bulk. As this country is on the whole less cultivated and less peopled than the other quarters of the earth, the active principle of life wastes its force in productions of this inferior form. The air is often darkened with clouds of insects, and the ground covered with shocking and noxious reptiles. The country around Porto Bello swarms with toads in such multitudes as hide the surface of the earth. At Guayaquil, snakes and vipers are hardly less numerous. Carthagea is infested with numerous flocks of bats, which annoy not only the cattle but the inhabitants. In the islands, legions of ants have at different times consumed every vegetable production, [37] and left the earth entirely bare as if it had been burned with fire. The damp forests and rank soil of the countries on the banks of the Orinoco and Maragón teem with almost every offensive and poisonous creature which the power of a sultry sun can quicken into life.

The birds of the New World are not distinguished by qualities so conspicuous and characteristic as those which we have observed in its quadrupeds. Birds are more independent of man, and less affected by the changes which his industry and labor make upon the state of the earth. They have a greater propensity to migrate from one country to another, and can gratify this instinct of their nature without difficulty or danger. Hence the number of birds common to both continents is much greater than that of quadrupeds; and even such as are peculiar to America nearly resemble those with which mankind were acquainted in similar regions of the ancient hemisphere. The American birds of the torrid zone, like those of the same climate in Asia and Africa, are decked in plumage which dazzles the eye with the beauty of its colors; but nature, satisfied with clothing them in this gay dress, has denied most of them that melody of sound and variety of notes which catch and delight the ear. The birds of the temperate climates there, in the same manner as in our continent, are less splendid in their appearance; but, in compensation for that defect, they have voices of greater compass, and more melodious. In some districts of America, the unwholesome temperature of the air seems to be unfavorable even to this part of the creation. The number of birds is less than in other countries, and the traveller is struck with the amazing solitude and silence of its forests. It is remarkable, however, that America, where the quadrupeds are so dwarfish and dastardly, should produce the *Condor* which is entitled to pre-eminence over all the flying tribe, in bulk, in strength, and in courage.

The soil in a continent so extensive as America, must, of course, be extremely various. In each of its

provinces we find some distinguishing peculiarities, the description of which belongs to those who write their particular history. In general we may observe, that the moisture and cold, which predominate so remarkably in all parts of America, must have great influence upon the nature of its soil: countries lying in the same parallel with those regions which never feel the extreme rigor of winter in the ancient continent, are frozen over in America during a great part of the year. Chilled by this intense cold, the ground never acquires warmth sufficient to ripen the fruits which are found in the corresponding parts of the other continent. If we wish to rear in America the productions which abound in any particular district of the ancient world, we must advance several degrees nearer to the line than in the other hemisphere, as it requires such an increase of heat to counterbalance the natural frigidity of the soil and climate. [38] At the Cape of Good Hope, several of the plants and fruits peculiar to the countries within the tropics are cultivated with success; whereas, at St. Augustine in Florida, and Charles Town in South Carolina, though considerably nearer the line, they cannot be brought to thrive with equal certainty. [39] But, if allowance be made for this diversity in the degree of heat, the soil of America is naturally as rich and fertile as in any part of the earth. As the country was thinly inhabited, and by a people of little industry, who had none of the domestic animals which civilized nations rear in such vast numbers, the earth was not exhausted by their consumption. The vegetable productions, to which the fertility of the soil gave birth, often remained untouched, and, being suffered to corrupt on its surface, returned with increase into its bosom. As trees and plants derive a great part of their nourishment from air and water; if they were not destroyed by man and other animals, they would render to the earth more, perhaps, than they take from it, and feed rather than impoverish it. Thus the uncultivated soil of America, may have gone on enriching for many ages. The vast number as well as enormous size of the trees in America, indicate the extraordinary vigor of the soil in its native state. When the Europeans first began to cultivate the New World, they were astonished at the luxuriant power of vegetation in its virgin mould; and in several places the ingenuity of the planter is still employed in diminishing and wasting its superfluous fertility, in order to bring it down to a state fit for profitable culture. [40]

Having thus surveyed the state of the New World at the time of its discovery, and considered the peculiar features and qualities which distinguish and characterize it, the next inquiry that merits attention is, How was America peopled? By what course did mankind migrate from the one continent to the other? And in what quarter is it most probable that a communication was opened between them?

We know with infallible certainty that all the human race spring from the same source, and that the descendants of one man, under the protection, as well as in obedience to the command of Heaven, multiplied and replenished the earth. But neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries where they are now settled. We cannot trace the branches of this first family, or point out with certainty the time and manner in which they divided and spread over the face of the globe. Even among the most enlightened people, the period of authentic history is extremely short; and every thing prior to that is fabulous or obscure. It is not surprising, then, that the unlettered inhabitants of America, who have no solicitude about futurity, and little curiosity concerning what is passed, should be altogether unacquainted with their own original. The people on the two opposite coasts of America, who occupy those countries in America which approach nearest to the ancient continent are so remarkably rude, that it is altogether vain to search among them for such information as might discover the place from whence they came, or the ancestors of whom they are descended. Whatever light has been thrown on this subject is derived not from the natives of America, but from the inquisitive genius of their conquerors.

When the people of Europe unexpectedly discovered a New World, removed at a vast distance from every part of the ancient continent which was then known, and filled with inhabitants whose appearance and manners differed remarkably from the rest of the human species, the question concerning their original became naturally an object of curiosity and attention. The theories and speculations of ingenious men with respect to this subject, would fill many volumes; but are often so wild and chimerical, that I should offer an insult to the

understanding of my readers, if I attempted either minutely to enumerate or to refute them. Some have presumptuously imagined, that the people of America were not the offspring of the same common parent with the rest of mankind; but that they formed a separate race of men, distinguishable by peculiar features in the constitution of their bodies, as well as in the characteristic qualities of their minds. Others contend, that they are descended from some remnant of the antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, who survived the deluge which swept away the greatest part of the human species in the days of Noah; and preposterously suppose rude, uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated continent, to be the most ancient race of people on the earth. There is hardly any nation from the north to the south pole, to which some antiquary, in the extravagance of conjecture, has not ascribed the honor of peopling America. The Jews, the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Scythians, in ancient times, are supposed to have settled in this western World. The Chinese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welsh, the Spaniards, are said to have sent colonies thither in later ages, at different periods and on various occasions. Zealous advocates stand forth to support the respective claims of those people; and though they rest upon no better foundation than the casual resemblance of some customs, or the supposed affinity between a few words in their different languages, much erudition and more zeal have been employed, to little purpose, in defence of the opposite systems. Those regions of conjecture and controversy belong not to the historian. His is a more limited province, confined by what is established by certain or highly probable evidence. Beyond this I shall not venture, in offering a few observations which may contribute to throw some light upon this curious and much agitated question.

1. There are authors who have endeavored by mere conjecture to account for the peopling of America. Some have supposed that it was originally united to the ancient continent, and disjoined from it by the shock of an earthquake, or the irruption of a deluge. Others have imagined, that some vessel being forced from its course by the violence of a westerly wind, might be driven by accident towards the American coast, and have given a beginning to population in that desolate continent. But with respect to all those systems, it is in vain either to reason or inquire, because it is impossible to come to any decision. Such events as they suppose are barely possible, and may have happened. That they ever did happen, we have no evidence, either from the clear testimony of history, or from the obscure intimations of tradition.

2. Nothing can be more frivolous or uncertain than the attempts to discover the original of the Americans merely by tracing the resemblance between their manners and those of any particular people in the ancient continent. If we suppose two tribes, though placed in the most remote regions of the globe, to live in a climate nearly of the same temperature, to be in the same state of society, and to resemble each other in the degree of their improvement, they must feel the same wants, and exert the same endeavors to supply them. The same objects will allure, the same passions will animate them, and the same ideas and sentiments will arise in their minds. The character and occupations of the hunter in America must be little different from those of an Asiatic who depends for subsistence on the chase. A tribe of savages on the banks of the Danube must nearly resemble one upon the plains washed by the Mississippi. Instead then of presuming from this similarity, that there is any affinity between them, we should only conclude that the disposition and manners of men are formed by their situation, and arise from the state of society in which they live. The moment that begins to vary, the character of a people must change. In proportion as it advances in improvement, their manners refine, their powers and talents are called forth. In every part of the earth, the progress of man hath been nearly the same; and we can trace him in his career from the rude simplicity of savage life, until he attains the industry, the arts, and the elegance of polished society. There is nothing wonderful, then, in the similitude between the Americans and the barbarous nations of our continent. Had Lafitau, Garcia, and many other authors attended to this, they would not have perplexed a subject, which they pretend to illustrate, by their fruitless endeavors to establish an affinity between various races of people, in the old and new continents, upon no other evidence than such a resemblance in their manners as necessarily arises from the similarity of their condition. There are, it is true,

among every people, some customs which, as they do not flow from any natural want or desire peculiar to their situation, may be denominated usages of arbitrary institution. If between two nations settled in remote parts of the earth, a perfect agreement with respect to any of these should be discovered, one might be led to suspect that they were connected by some affinity. If, for example, a nation were found in America that consecrated the seventh day to religious worship and rest, we might justly suppose that it had derived its knowledge of this usage, which is of arbitrary institution, from the Jews. But, if it were discovered that another nation celebrated the first appearance of every new moon with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, we should not be entitled to conclude that the observation of this monthly festival was borrowed from the Jews, but ought to consider it merely as the expression of that joy which is natural to man on the return of the planet which guides and cheers him in the night. The instances of customs, merely arbitrary, common to the inhabitants of both hemispheres, are, indeed, so few and so equivocal, that no theory concerning the population of the New World ought to be founded upon them.

3. The theories which have been formed with respect to the original of the Americans, from observation of their religious rites and practices, are no less fanciful and destitute of solid foundation. When the religious opinions of any people are neither the result of rational inquiry, nor derived from the instructions of revelation, they must needs be wild and extravagant. Barbarous nations are incapable of the former, and have not been blessed with the advantages arising from the latter. Still, however, the human mind, even where its operations appear most wild and capricious, holds a course so regular, that in every age and country the dominion of particular passions will be attended with similar effects. The savage of Europe or America, when filled with superstitious dread of invisible beings, or with inquisitive solicitude to penetrate into the events of futurity, trembles alike with fear, or glows with impatience. He has recourse to rites and practices of the same kind, in order to avert the vengeance which he supposes to be impending over him, or to divine the secret which is the object of his curiosity. Accordingly, the ritual of superstition in one continent seems, in many particulars, to be a transcript of that established in the other, and both authorize similar institutions, sometimes so frivolous as to excite pity, sometimes so bloody and barbarous as to create horror. But without supposing any consanguinity between such distant nations, or imagining that their religious ceremonies were conveyed by tradition from the one to the other, we may ascribe this uniformity, which in many instances seems very amazing, to the natural operation of superstition and enthusiasm upon the weakness of the human mind.

4. We may lay it down as a certain principle in this inquiry, that America was not peopled by any nation of the ancient continent which had made considerable progress in civilization. The inhabitants of the New World were in a state of society so extremely rude as to be unacquainted with those arts which are the first essays of human ingenuity in its advance towards improvement. Even the most cultivated nations of America were strangers to many of those simple inventions which were almost coeval with society in other parts of the world, and were known in the earliest periods of civil life with which we have any acquaintance. From this it is manifest, that the tribes which originally migrated to America, came off from nations which must have been no less barbarous than their posterity, at the time when they were first discovered by the Europeans. For, although the elegant or refined arts may decline or perish, amidst the violent shocks of those revolutions and disasters to which nations are exposed, the necessary arts of life, when once they have been introduced among any people, are never lost. None of the vicissitudes in human affairs affect these, and they continue to be practised as long as the race of men exists. If ever the use of iron had been known to the savages of America, or to their progenitors; if ever they had employed a plough, a loom, or a forge, the utility of these inventions would have preserved them, and it is impossible that they should have been abandoned or forgotten. We may conclude, then, that the Americans sprung from some people, who were themselves in such an early and unimproved stage of society, as to be unacquainted with all those necessary arts, which continued to be unknown among their posterity when first visited by the Spaniards.

5. It appears no less evident that America was not

peopled by any colony from the more southern nations of the ancient continent. None of the rude tribes settled in that part of our hemisphere can be supposed to have visited a country so remote. They possessed neither enterprise, nor ingenuity, nor power that could prompt them to undertake, or enable them to perform such a distant voyage. That the more civilized nations in Asia or Africa are not the progenitors of the Americans, is manifest not only from the observations which I have already made concerning their ignorance of the most simple and necessary arts, but from an additional circumstance. Whenever any people have experienced the advantages which men enjoy by their dominion over the inferior animals, they can neither subsist without the nourishment which these afford, nor carry on any considerable operation independent of their ministry and labor. Accordingly, the first care of the Spaniards, when they settled in America, was to stock it with all the domestic animals of Europe; and if, prior to them, the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Chinese, or any other polished people, had taken possession of that continent, we should have found there the animals peculiar to those regions of the globe where they were originally seated. In all America, however, there is not one animal, tame or wild, which properly belongs to the warm or even the more temperate countries of the ancient continent. The camel, the dromedary, the horse, the cow, were as much unknown in America as the elephant or the lion. From which it is obvious, that the people who first settled in the western world did not issue from the countries where those animals abound, and where men, from having been long accustomed to their aid, would naturally consider it not only as beneficial, but as indispensably necessary to the improvement, and even the preservation of civil society.

6. From considering the animals with which America is stored, we may conclude that the nearest point of contact between the old and new continents is towards the northern extremity of both, and that there the communication was opened, and the intercourse carried on between them. All the extensive countries in America which lie within the tropics, or approach near to them, are filled with indigenous animals of various kinds, entirely different from those in the corresponding regions of the ancient continent. But the northern provinces of the New World abound with many of the wild animals which are common in such parts of our hemisphere as lie in a similar situation. The bear, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the deer, the roebuck, the elk, and several other species, frequent the forests of North America, no less than those in the north of Europe and Asia. It seems to be evident, then, that the two continents approach each other in this quarter, and are either united, or so nearly adjacent that these animals might pass from the one to the other.

7. The actual vicinity of the two continents is so clearly established by modern discoveries, that the chief difficulty with respect to the peopling of America is removed. While those immense regions which stretch eastward from the river Ob to the sea of Kamchatka were unknown or imperfectly explored, the north-east extremities of our hemisphere were supposed to be so far distant from any part of the New World, that it was not easy to conceive how any communication should have been carried on between them. But the Russians, having subjected the western part of Siberia to their empire, gradually extended their knowledge of that vast country, by advancing towards the east into unknown provinces. These were discovered by hunters in their excursions after game, or by soldiers employed in levying the taxes; and the court of Moscow estimated the importance of those countries, only by the small addition which they made to its revenue. At length Peter the Great ascended the Russian throne. His enlightened, comprehensive mind, intent upon every circumstance that could aggrandize his empire, or render his reign illustrious, discerned consequences of those discoveries which had escaped the observation of his ignorant predecessors. He perceived that in proportion as the regions of Asia extended towards the east, they must approach nearer to America; that the communication between the two continents, which had long been searched for in vain, would probably be found in this quarter; and that by opening it, some part of the wealth and commerce of the western world might be made to flow into his dominions by a new channel. Such an object suited a genius that delighted in grand schemes. Peter drew up instructions with his own hand for prosecuting this design, and gave orders for carrying it into execution.

His successors adopted his ideas and pursued his plan. The officers whom the Russian court employed in this service had to struggle with so many difficulties, that their progress was extremely slow. Encouraged by some faint traditions among the people of Siberia, concerning a successful voyage in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, round the north-east promontory of Asia, they attempted to follow the same course. Vessels were fitted out, with this view, at different times, from the rivers Lena and Kolyma; but in a frozen ocean, which nature seems not to have destined for navigation, they were exposed to many disasters, without being able to accomplish their purpose. No vessel fitted out by the Russian court ever doubled this formidable Cape; [41] we are indebted for what is known of those extreme regions of Asia, to the discoveries made in excursions by land. In all those provinces an opinion prevails, that there are countries of great extent and fertility which lie at no considerable distance from their own coasts. These the Russians imagined to be part of America; and several circumstances concurred not only in confirming them in this belief, but in persuading them that some portion of that continent could not be very remote. Trees of various kinds unknown in those naked regions of Asia, are driven upon the coast by an easterly wind. By the same wind, floating ice is brought thither in a few days; flights of birds arrive annually from the same quarter; and a tradition obtains among the inhabitants, of an intercourse formerly carried on with some countries situated to the east.

After weighing all these particulars, and comparing the position of the countries in Asia which had been discovered, with such parts in the northwest of America as were already known, the Russian court formed a plan, which would have hardly occurred to a nation less accustomed to engage in arduous undertakings, and to contend with great difficulties. Orders were issued to build two vessels at the small village of Ochotz, situated on the sea of Kamchatka, to sail on a voyage of discovery. Though that dreary uncultivated region furnished nothing that could be of use in constructing them, but some larch trees: though not only the iron, the cordage, the sails, and all the numerous articles requisite for their equipment, but the provisions for victualling them were to be carried through the immense deserts of Siberia, down rivers of difficult navigation, and along roads almost impassable, the mandate of the sovereign, and the perseverance of the people, at last surmounted every obstacle. Two vessels were finished, and, under the command of the Captains Behring and Tschirikow, sailed from Kamchatka, in quest of the New World in a quarter where it had never been approached. They shaped their course towards the east; and though a storm soon separated the vessels, which never rejoined, and many disasters befell them, the expectations from the voyage were not altogether frustrated. Each of the commanders discovered land, which to them appeared to be part of the American continent; and, according to their observation, it seems to be situated within a few degrees of the north-west coast of California. Each set some of his people ashore: but in one place the inhabitants fled as the Russians approached; in another, they carried off those who landed, and destroyed their boats. The violence of the weather, and the distress of their crews, obliged both captains to quit this inhospitable coast. In their return they touched at several islands which stretched in a chain from east to west between the country which they had discovered and the coast of Asia. They had some intercourse with the natives, who seemed to them to resemble the North Americans. They presented to the Russians the *calumet*, or pipe of peace, which is a symbol of friendship universal among the people of North America, and a usage of arbitrary institution peculiar to them.

Though the islands of this New Archipelago have been frequented since that time by the Russian hunters, the court of St. Petersburg, during a period of more than forty years, seems to have relinquished every thought of prosecuting discoveries in that quarter. But in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight it was unexpectedly resumed. The sovereign who had been lately seated on the throne of Peter the Great, possessed the genius and talents of her illustrious predecessor. During the operations of the most arduous and extensive war in which the Russian empire was ever engaged, she formed schemes and executed undertakings, to which more limited abilities would have been incapable of attending but amidst the leisure of pacific times. A new voyage of discovery

from the eastern extremity of Asia was planned, and captain Krentzin and Lieutenant Levashoff were appointed to command the two vessels fitted out for that purpose. In their voyage onward they held nearly the same course with the former navigators, they touched at the same islands, observed their situation and productions more carefully, and discovered several new islands with which Behring and Tschirikow had not fallen in. Though they did not proceed so far to the east as to revisit the country which Behring and Tschirikow supposed to be part of the American continent, yet, by returning in a course considerably to the north of theirs, they corrected some capital mistakes into which their predecessors had fallen, and have contributed to facilitate the progress of future navigators in those seas. [42]

Thus the possibility of a communication between the continents in this quarter rests no longer upon mere conjecture, but is established by undoubted evidence. Some tribe, or some families of wandering Tartars, from the restless spirit peculiar to their race, might migrate to the nearest islands, and, rude as their knowledge of navigation was, might, by passing from one to the other, reach at length the coast of America, and give a beginning to population in that continent. The distance between the Marian or Ladrone islands and the nearest land in Asia, is greater than that between the part of America which the Russians discovered, and the coast of Kamchatka; and yet the inhabitants of those islands are manifestly of Asiatic extract. If, notwithstanding their remote situation, we admit that the Marian islands were peopled from our continent, distance alone is no reason why we should hesitate about admitting that the Americans may derive their original from the same source. It is probable that future navigators in those seas, by steering further to the north, may find that the continent of America approaches still nearer to Asia. According to the information of the barbarous people who inhabit the country about the north-east promontory of Asia, there lies, off the coast, a small island, to which they sail in less than a day. From that they can descry a large continent which, according to their description, is covered with forests, and possessed by people whose language they do not understand. By them they are supplied with the skins of martens, an animal unknown in the northern parts of Siberia, and which is never found but in countries abounding with trees. If we could rely on this account, we might conclude that the American continent is separated from ours only by a narrow strait, and all the difficulties with respect to the communication between them would vanish. What could be offered only as a conjecture, when this history was first published, is now known to be certain. The near approach of the two continents to each other, has been discovered, and traced in a voyage undertaken upon principles so pure and so liberal, and conducted with so much professional skill, as reflect lustre upon the reign of the sovereign by whom it was planned, and do honor to the officers intrusted with the execution of it. [43]

It is likewise evident from recent discoveries, that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with no less facility, from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century, [A. D. 830,] the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there. The communication with that country after a long interruption was renewed in the last century. Some Lutheran and Moravian missionaries, prompted by zeal for propagating the Christian faith, have ventured to settle in this frozen and uncultivated region. To them we are indebted for much curious information with respect to its nature and inhabitants. We learn that the north-west coast of Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; that, at the bottom of the bay, into which this strait conducts, it is highly probable that they are united; that the inhabitants of the two countries have some intercourse with one another; that the Esquimaux of America perfectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; that some sailors who had acquired the knowledge of a few words in the Greenlandish language, reported that these were understood by the Esquimaux; that, at length [A. D. 1764,] a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders; that they were in every respect the same people, and he was accordingly received and entertained by them as a friend and a brother.

By these decisive facts, not only the consanguinity of the Esquimaux and Greenlanders is established, but

the possibility of peopling America from the north of Europe is demonstrated. If the Norwegians, in a barbarous age, when science had not begun to dawn in the north of Europe, possessed such naval skill as to open a communication with Greenland, their ancestors, as much addicted to roving by sea, as the Tartars are to wandering by land, might, at some more remote period, accomplish the same voyage, and settle a colony there, whose descendants might, in progress of time, migrate into America. But if, instead of venturing to sail directly from their own coast to Greenland, we suppose that the Norwegians held a more cautious course, and advanced from Sletland to the Feroe islands, and from them to Iceland, in all which they had planted colonies; their progress may have been so gradual, that this navigation cannot be considered as either longer or more hazardous than these voyages which that hardy and enterprising race of men is known to have performed in every age.

8. Though it be possible that America may have received its first inhabitants from our continent, either by the north-west of Europe, or the north-east of Asia, there seems to be good reason for supposing that the progenitors of all the American nations from Cape Horn to the southern confines of Labrador, migrated from the latter rather than the former. The Esquimaux are the only people in America, who in their aspect or character, bear any resemblance to the northern Europeans. They are manifestly a race of men distinct from all the nations of the American continent, in language, in disposition, and habits of life. Their original, then, may warrantably be traced up to that source which I have pointed out. But among all the other inhabitants of America, there is such a striking similitude in the form of their bodies and the qualities of their minds, that notwithstanding the diversities occasioned by the influences of climate, or unequal progress in improvement, we must pronounce them to be descended from one source. There may be a variety in the shades, but we can every where trace the same original colour. Each tribe has something peculiar which distinguishes it, but in all of them we discern certain features common to the whole race. It is remarkable, that in every peculiarity, whether in their persons or dispositions, which characterize the Americans, they have some resemblance to the rude tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern extremities of Europe. We may, therefore, refer them to the former origin, and conclude that their Asiatic progenitors, having settled in those parts of America where the Russians have discovered the proximity of the two continents, spread gradually over its various regions. This account of the progress of population in America coincides with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin, which, imperfect as they are, were preserved with more accuracy, and merit greater credit, than those of any people in the New World. According to them, their ancestors came from a remote country situated to the north-west of Mexico. The Mexicans point out their various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have held if they had been emigrants from Asia. The Mexicans, in describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners and habits of life at that period, exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars from whom I suppose them to have sprung.

Thus have I finished a Disquisition which has been deemed of so much importance that it would have been improper to omit it in writing the history of America. I have ventured to inquire, but without presuming to decide. Satisfied with offering conjectures, I pretend not to establish any system. When an investigation is, from its nature, so intricate and obscure, that it is impossible to arrive at conclusions which are certain, there may be some merit in pointing out such as are probable.

The condition and character of the American nations, at the time when they became known to the Europeans, deserve more attentive consideration than the inquiry concerning their original. The latter is merely an object of curiosity; the former is one of the most important as well as instructive researches which can occupy the philosopher or historian. In order to complete the history of the human mind, and attain to a perfect knowledge of its nature and operations, we must contemplate man in all those various situations wherein he has been placed. We must follow him in his progress through the different stages of society, as he gradually advances from the infant state of civil life towards its maturity and decline. We must observe at each period, how the faculties of his understanding unfold; we

must attend to the efforts of his active powers, watch the various movements of desire and affection, as they rise in his breast, and mark whether they tend, and with what ardor they are exerted. The philosophers and historians of ancient Greece and Rome, our guides in this as well as every other disquisition, had only a limited view of this subject, as they had hardly any opportunity of surveying man in his rudest and most early state. In all those regions of the earth with which they were well acquainted, civil society had made considerable advances, and nations had finished a good part of their career before they began to observe them. The Scythians and Germans, the rudest people of whom any ancient author has transmitted to us an authentic account, possessed flocks and herds, had acquired property of various kinds, and, when compared with mankind in their primitive state, may be reckoned to have attained to a great degree of civilization.

But the discovery of the New World enlarged the sphere of contemplation, and presented nations to our view, in stages of their progress much less advanced than those wherein they have been observed in our continent. In America, man appears under the rudest form in which we can conceive him to subsist. We behold communities just beginning to unite, and may examine the sentiments and actions of human beings in the infancy of social life, while they feel but imperfectly the force of its ties, and have scarcely relinquished their native liberty. That state of primeval simplicity, which was known in our continent only by the fanciful description of poets, really existed in the other. The greater part of its inhabitants were strangers to industry and labor, ignorant of arts, imperfectly acquainted with the nature of property, and enjoying almost without restriction or control the blessings which flowed spontaneously from the bounty of nature. There were only two nations in this vast continent which had emerged from this rude state, and had made any considerable progress in acquiring the ideas, and adopting the institutions, which belong to polished societies. Their government and manners will fall naturally under our review in relating the discovery and conquest of the Mexican and Peruvian empires; and we shall have there an opportunity of contemplating the Americans in the state of highest improvement to which they ever attained.

At present, our attention and researches shall be turned to the small independent tribes which occupied every other part of America. Among these, though with some diversity in their character, their manners, and institutions, the state of society was nearly similar, and so extremely rude, that the denomination of *savage* may be applied to them all. In a general history of America, it would be highly improper to describe the condition of each petty community, or to investigate every minute circumstance which contributes to form the character of its members. Such an inquiry would lead to details of immeasurable and tiresome extent. The qualities belonging to the people of all the different tribes have such a near resemblance, that they may be painted with the same features. Where any circumstances seem to constitute a diversity in their character and manners worthy of attention, it will be sufficient to point these out as they occur, and to inquire into the cause of such peculiarities.

It is extremely difficult to procure satisfying and authentic information concerning nations while they remain uncivilized. To discover their true character under this rude form, and to select the features by which they are distinguished, requires an observer possessed of no less impartiality than discernment. For, in every stage of society, the faculties, the sentiments, and desires of men are so accommodated to their own state, that they become standards of excellence to themselves, they affix the idea of perfection and happiness to those attainments which resemble their own, and, wherever the objects and enjoyments to which they have been accustomed are wanting, confidently pronounce a people to be barbarous and miserable. Hence the mutual contempt with which the members of communities, unequal in their degrees of improvement, regard each other. Polished nations, conscious of the advantages which they derive from their knowledge and arts, are apt to view rude nations with peculiar scorn, and, in the pride of superiority, will hardly allow either their occupations, their feelings, or their pleasures, to be worthy of men. It has seldom been the lot of communities, in their early and unpolished state, to fall under the observation of persons endowed with force of mind superior to vulgar prejudices, and capable of contemplating man, under whatever aspect he appears, with a candid and discerning eye.

The Spaniards, who first visited America, and who had opportunity of beholding its various tribes while entire and unsubdued, and before any change had been made in their ideas or manners by intercourse with a race of men much advanced beyond them in improvement, were far from possessing the qualities requisite for observing the striking spectacle presented to their view. Neither the age in which they lived, nor the nation to which they belonged, had made such progress in true science, as inspires enlarged and liberal sentiments. The conquerors of the New World were mostly illiterate adventurers, destitute of all the ideas which should have directed them in contemplating objects so extremely different from those with which they were acquainted. Surrounded continually with danger or struggling with hardships, they had little leisure, and less capacity, for any speculative inquiry. Eager to take possession of a country of such extent and opulence, and happy in finding it occupied by inhabitants so incapable to defend it, they hastily pronounced them to be a wretched order of men, formed merely for servitude; and were more employed in computing the profits of their labor, than in inquiring into the operations of their minds, or the reasons of their customs and institutions. The persons who penetrated at subsequent periods into the interior provinces, to which the knowledge and devastations of the first conquerors did not reach, were generally of a similar character; brave and enterprising in a high degree, but so uninformed as to be little qualified either for observing or describing what they beheld.

Not only the incapacity but the prejudices of the Spaniards rendered their accounts of the people of America extremely defective. Soon after they planted colonies in their new conquests, a difference in opinion arose with respect to the treatment of the natives. One party, solicitous to render their servitude perpetual, represented them as a brutish, obstinate race, incapable either of acquiring religious knowledge, or of being trained to the functions of social life. The other, full of pious concern for their conversion, contended that, though rude and ignorant, they were gentle, affectionate, docile, and by proper instructions and regulations might be formed gradually into good Christians and useful citizens. This controversy, as I have already related, was carried on with all the warmth which is natural, when attention to interest on the one hand, and religious zeal in the other, animate the disputants. Most of the laity espoused the former opinion; all the ecclesiastics were advocates for the latter; and we shall uniformly find that, accordingly as an author belonged to either of these parties, he is apt to magnify the virtues or aggravate the defects of the Americans far beyond truth. Those repugnant accounts increase the difficulty of attaining a perfect knowledge of their character, and render it necessary to peruse all the descriptions of them by Spanish writers with distrust, and to receive their information with some grains of allowance.

Almost two centuries elapsed after the discovery of America, before the manners of its inhabitants attracted, in any considerable degree, the attention of philosophers. At length they discovered that the contemplation of the condition and character of the Americans, in their original state, tended to complete our knowledge of the human species; might enable us to fill up a considerable chasm in the history of its progress; and lead to speculations no less curious than important. They entered upon this new field of study with great ardor; but, instead of throwing light upon the subject, they have contributed in some degree to involve it in additional obscurity. Too impatient to inquire, they hastened to decide; and began to erect systems, when they should have been searching for facts on which to establish their foundations. Struck with the appearance of degeneracy in the human species throughout the New World, and astonished at beholding a vast continent occupied by a naked, feeble, and ignorant race of men, some authors, of great name, have maintained that this part of the globe had but lately emerged from the sea, and become fit for the residence of man; that every thing in it bore marks of a recent original; and that its inhabitants, lately called into existence, and still at the beginning of their career, were unworthy to be compared with the people of a more ancient and improved continent. Others have imagined, that, under the influence of an unkindly climate, which checks and enervates the principle of life, man never attained in America the perfection which belongs to his nature, but remained an animal of an inferior order, defective in the vigor of his bodily frame, and destitute of sensibility, as well as of force, in the operations of his mind. In opposition to both these,

other philosophers have supposed that man arrives at his highest dignity and excellence long before he reaches a state of refinement; and, in the rude simplicity of savage life, displays an elevation of sentiment, an independence of mind, and a warmth of attachment, for which it is vain to search among the members of polished societies. They seem to consider that as the most perfect state of man which is the least civilized. They describe the manners of the rude Americans with such rapture, as if they proposed them for models to the rest of the species. These contradictory theories have been proposed with equal confidence, and uncommon powers of genius and eloquence have been exerted, in order to clothe them with an appearance of truth.

As all those circumstances concur in rendering an inquiry into the state of the rude nations in America intricate and obscure, it is necessary to carry it on with caution. When guided in our researches by the intelligent observations of the few philosophers who have visited this part of the globe, we may venture to decide. When obliged to have recourse to the superficial remarks of vulgar travellers, of sailors, traders, bucaners, and missionaries, we must often pause, and comparing detached facts, endeavor to discover what they wanted sagacity to observe. Without indulging conjecture, or betraying a propensity to either system, we must study with equal care to avoid the extremes of extravagant admiration, or of supercilious contempt for those manners which we describe.

In order to conduct this inquiry with greater accuracy, it should be rendered as simple as possible. Man existed as an individual before he became the member of a community; and the qualities which belong to him under his former capacity should be known, before we proceed to examine those which arise from the latter relation. This is peculiarly necessary in investigating the manners of rude nations. Their political union is so incomplete, their civil institutions and regulations so few, so simple, and of such slender authority, that men in this state ought to be viewed rather as independent agents, than as members of a regular society. The character of a savage results almost entirely from his sentiments or feelings as an individual, and is but little influenced by his imperfect subjection to government and order. I shall conduct my researches concerning the manners of the Americans in this natural order, proceeding gradually from what is simple to what is more complicated.

I shall consider, I. The bodily constitution of the Americans in those regions now under review. II. The qualities of their minds. III. Their domestic state. IV. Their political state and institutions. V. Their system of war, and public security. VI. The arts with which they were acquainted. VII. Their religious ideas and institutions. VIII. Such singular detached customs as are not reducible to any of the former heads. IX. I shall conclude with a general review and estimate of their virtues and defects.

I. The bodily constitution of the Americans.—The human body is less affected by climate than that of any other animal. Some animals are confined to a particular region of the globe, and cannot exist beyond it: others, though they may be brought to bear the injuries of a climate foreign to them, cease to multiply when carried out of that district which nature destined to be their mansion. Even such as seem capable of being naturalized in various climates feel the effect of every remove from their proper station, and gradually dwindle and degenerate from the vigor and perfection peculiar to their species. Man is the only living creature whose frame is at once so hardy and so flexible, that he can spread over the whole earth, become the inhabitant of every region, and thrive and multiply under every climate. Subject, however, to the general law of Nature, the human body is not entirely exempt from the operation of climate; and when exposed to the extremes either of heat or cold, its size or vigor diminishes.

The first appearance of the inhabitants of the New World filled the discoverers with such astonishment that they were apt to imagine them a race of men different from those of the other hemisphere. Their complexion is of a reddish brown, nearly resembling the color of copper. The hair of their heads is always black, long, coarse, and uncurled. They have no beard, and every part of their body is perfectly smooth. Their persons are of a full size, extremely straight, and well proportioned. [14] Their features are regular, though often distorted by absurd endeavors to improve the beauty of their natural form, or to render their aspect more dreadful to their enemies. In the islands, where four-footed animals were both few and small, and the

earth yielded her productions almost spontaneously, the constitution of the natives, neither braced by the active exercises of the chase, nor invigorated by the labor of cultivation, was extremely feeble and languid. On the continent, where the forests abound with game of various kinds, and the chief occupation of many tribes was to pursue it, the human frame acquired greater firmness. Still, however, the Americans were more remarkable for agility than strength. They resembled beasts of prey, rather than animals formed for labor. [45] They were not only averse to toil, but incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence, and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent would have performed with ease. This feebleness of constitution was universal among the inhabitants of those regions in America which we are surveying, and may be considered as characteristic of the species there.

The beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American seems to indicate a defect of vigor, occasioned by some vice in his frame. He is destitute of one sign of manhood and of strength. This peculiarity, by which the inhabitants of the New World are distinguished from the people of all other nations, cannot be attributed, as some travellers have supposed, to their mode of subsistence. For though the food of many Americans be extremely insipid, as they are altogether unacquainted with the use of salt, rude tribes in other parts of the earth have subsisted on aliments equally simple, without this mark of degradation, or any apparent symptom of a diminution in their vigor.

As the external forms of the Americans lead us to suspect that there is some natural debility in their frame, the smallness of their appetite for food has been mentioned by many authors as a confirmation of this suspicion. The quantity of food which men consume varies according to the temperature of the climate in which they live, the degree of activity which they exert, and the natural vigor of their constitutions. Under the scorching heat of the torrid zone, and when men pass their days in indolence and ease, they require less nourishment than the active inhabitants of temperate or cold countries. But neither the warmth of their climate, nor their extreme laziness, will account for the uncommon defect of appetite among the Americans. The Spaniards were astonished with observing this, not only in the islands, but in several parts of the continent. The constitutional temperance of the natives far exceeded, in their opinion, the abstinence of the most mortified hermits: while, on the other hand, the appetite of the Spaniards appeared to the Americans insatiably voracious; and they affirmed, that one Spaniard devoured more food in a day than was sufficient for ten Americans.

A proof of some feebleness in their frame, still more striking, is the insensibility of the Americans to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. That passion which was destined to perpetuate life, to be the bond of social union, and the source of tenderness and joy, is the most ardent in the human breast. Though the perils and hardships of the savage state, though excessive fatigue on some occasions, and the difficulty at all times of procuring subsistence, may seem to be adverse to this passion, and to have a tendency to abate its vigor, yet the rudest nations in every other part of the globe seem to feel its influence more powerfully than the inhabitants of the New World. The negro glows with all the warmth of desire natural to his climate; and the most uncultivated Asiatics discover that sensibility, which, from their situation on the globe, we should expect them to have felt. But the Americans are, in an amazing degree, strangers to the force of this first instinct of nature. In every part of the New World the natives treat their women with coldness and indifference. They are neither the objects of that tender attachment which takes place in civilized society, nor of that ardent desire conspicuous among rude nations. Even in climates where this passion usually acquires its greatest vigor, the savage of America views his female with disdain, as an animal of a less noble species. He is at no pains to win her favor by the assiduity of courtship, and still less solicitous to preserve it by indulgence and gentleness. Missionaries themselves, notwithstanding the austerity of monastic ideas, cannot refrain from expressing their astonishment at the dispassionate coldness of the American young men in their intercourse with the other sex. Nor is this reserve to be ascribed to any opinion which they entertain with respect to the merit of female chastity. That is an idea too refined for a savage, and sug-

gested by a delicacy of sentiment and affection to which he is a stranger.

But in inquiries concerning either the bodily or mental qualities of particular races of men, there is not a more common or more seducing error, than that of ascribing to a single cause, those characteristic peculiarities which are the effect of the combined operation of many causes. The climate and soil of America differ in so many respects from those of the other hemisphere, and this difference is so obvious and striking, that philosophers of great eminence have laid hold on this as sufficient to account for what is peculiar in the constitution of its inhabitants. They rest on physical causes alone, and consider the feeble frame and languid desire of the Americans, as consequences of the temperament of that portion of the globe which they occupy. But the influences of political and moral causes ought not to have been overlooked. These operate with no less effect than that on which many philosophers rest as a full explanation of the singular appearances which have been mentioned. Wherever the state of society is such as to create many wants and desires, which cannot be satisfied without regular exertions of industry, the body accustomed to labor becomes robust and patient of fatigue. In a more simple state, where the demands of men are so few and so moderate that they may be gratified, almost without any effort, by the spontaneous productions of nature, the powers of the body are not called forth, nor can they attain their proper strength. The natives of Chili and of North America, the two temperate regions in the New World, who live by hunting, may be deemed an active and vigorous race, when compared with the inhabitants of the isles, or of those parts of the continent where hardly any labor is requisite to procure subsistence. The exertions of a hunter are not, however, so regular, or so continued, as those of persons employed in the culture of the earth, or in the various arts of civilized life; and though his agility may be greater than theirs, his strength is on the whole inferior. If another direction were given to the active powers of man in the New World, and his force augmented by exercise, he might acquire a degree of vigor which he does not in his present state possess. The truth of this is confirmed by experience. Wherever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labor, their constitutions become robust, and they have been found capable of performing such tasks, as seemed not only to exceed the powers of such a feeble frame as has been deemed peculiar to their country, but to equal any effort of the natives either of Africa or of Europe. [46]

The same reasoning will apply to what has been observed concerning their slender demand for food. As a proof that this should be ascribed as much to their extreme indolence, and often total want of occupation, as to any thing peculiar in the physical structure of their bodies, it has been observed, that in those districts where the people of America are obliged to exert any unusual effort of activity, in order to procure subsistence, or wherever they are employed in severe labor, their appetite is not inferior to that of other men, and in some places, it has struck observers as remarkably voracious.

The operation of political and moral causes is still more conspicuous in modifying the degree of attachment between the sexes. In a state of high civilization, this passion, inflamed by restraint, refined by delicacy, and cherished by fashion, occupies and engrosses the heart. It is no longer a simple instinct of nature; sentiment heightens the ardor of desire, and the most tender emotions of which our frame is susceptible soothe and agitate the soul. This description, however, applies only to those, who, by their situation, are exempted from the cares and labors of life. Among persons of inferior order, who are doomed by their condition to incessant toil, the dominion of this passion is less violent; their solicitude to procure subsistence, and to provide for the first demand of nature, leaves little leisure for attending to its second call. But if the nature of the intercourse between the sexes varies so much in persons of different rank in polished societies, the condition of man while he remains uncivilized must occasion a variation still more apparent. We may well suppose, that amidst the hardships, the dangers, and the simplicity of domestic life, where subsistence is always precarious and often scanty, where men are almost continually engaged in the pursuit of their enemies, or in guarding against their attacks, and where neither dress nor reserve are employed as arts of female allurements, that the attention of the Americans to their women would be extremely feeble, without imputing

this solely to any physical defect or degradation in their frame.

It is accordingly observed, that in those countries of America where, from the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, or some further advances which the natives have made in improvement, the means of subsistence are more abundant, and the hardships of savage life are less severely felt, the animal passion of the sexes becomes more ardent. Striking examples of this occur among some tribes seated on the banks of great rivers well stored with food, among others who are masters of hunting grounds abounding so much with game, that they have a regular and plentiful supply of nourishment with little labor. The superior degree of security and affluence which these tribes enjoy is followed by their natural effects. The passions implanted in the human frame by the hand of nature acquire additional force; new tastes and desires are formed; the women, as they are more valued and admired, become more attentive to dress and ornament; the men beginning to feel how much of their own happiness depends upon them, no longer disdain the arts of winning their favor and affection. The intercourse of the sexes becomes very different from that which takes place among their ruder countrymen; and as hardly any restraint is imposed on the gratification of desire either by religion or laws or decency, the dissipation of their manners is excessive.

Notwithstanding the feeble make of the Americans, hardly any of them are deformed, or mutilated, or defective in any one of their senses. All travellers have been struck with this circumstance, and have celebrated the uniform symmetry and perfection of their external figure. Some authors search for the cause of this appearance in their physical condition. As the parents are not exhausted or over fatigued with hard labor, they suppose that their children are born vigorous and sound. They imagine that, in the liberty of savage life, the human body, naked and unconfined from its earliest age, preserves a natural form; and that all its limbs and members acquire a juster proportion than when fettered with artificial restraints, which stunt its growth and distort its shape. Something, without doubt, may be ascribed to the operation of these causes; but the true reasons of this apparent advantage, which is common to all savage nations, lie deeper, and are closely interwoven with the nature and genius of that state. The infancy of man is so long and so helpless, that it is extremely difficult to rear children among rude nations. Their means of subsistence are not only scanty, but precarious. Such as live by hunting must range over extensive countries, and shift often from place to place. The care of children, as well as every other laborious task, is devolved upon the women. The distresses and hardships of the savage life, which are often such as can hardly be supported by persons in full vigor, must be fatal to those of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a task so laborious, and of such long duration, as that of rearing their offspring, the women, in some parts of America, procure frequent abortions by the use of certain herbs, and extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish. Sensible that only stout and well formed children have force of constitution to struggle through such a hard infancy, other nations abandon and destroy such of their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of attention. Even when they endeavor to rear all their children without distinction, so great a proportion of the whole number perishes under the rigorous treatment which must be their lot in the savage state, that few of those who labored under any original frailty attain the age of manhood. Thus in polished societies, where the means of subsistence are secured with certainty, and acquired with ease; where the talents of the mind are often of more importance than the powers of the body; children are preserved notwithstanding their defects or deformity, and grow up to be useful citizens. In rude nations, such persons are either cut off as soon as they are born, or, becoming a burden to themselves and to the community, cannot long protract their lives. But in those provinces of the New World, where, by the establishment of the Europeans, more regular provision has been made for the subsistence of its inhabitants, and they are restrained from laying violent hands on their children, the Americans are so far from being eminent for any superior perfection in their form, that one should rather suspect some peculiar imbecility in the race, from the extraordinary number of individuals who are deformed, dwarfish, mutilated, blind, or deaf.

How feeble soever the constitution of the Americans may be, it is remarkable that there is less variety in the human form throughout the New World than in the

ancient continent. When Columbus and the other discoverers first visited the different countries of America which lie within the torrid zone, they naturally expected to find people of the same complexion with those in the corresponding regions of the other hemisphere. To their amazement, however, they discovered that America contained no negroes; and the cause of this singular appearance became as much the object of curiosity as the fact itself was of wonder. In what part or membrane of the body that humor resides which tinges the complexion of the negro with a deep black, it is the business of anatomists to inquire and describe. The powerful operation of heat appears manifestly to be the cause which produces this striking variety in the human species. All Europe, a great part of Asia, and the temperate countries of Africa, are inhabited by men of a white complexion. All the torrid zone in Africa, some of the warmer regions adjacent to it, and several countries in Asia, are filled with people of a deep black color. If we survey the nations of our continent, making our progress from cold and temperate countries towards those parts which are exposed to the influence of vehement and unremitting heat, we shall find that the extreme whiteness of their skin soon begins to diminish; that its color deepens gradually as we advance; and, after passing through all the successive gradations of shade, terminates in a uniform unvarying black. But in America, where the agency of heat is checked and abated by various causes, which I have already explained, the climate seems to be destitute of that force which produces such wonderful effects on the human frame. The color of the natives of the torrid zone in America is hardly of a deeper hue than that of the people in the more temperate parts of their continent. Accurate observers, who had an opportunity of viewing the Americans in very different climates, and in provinces far removed from each other, have been struck with the amazing similarity of their figure and aspect. [47]

But though the hand of nature has deviated so little from one standard in fashioning the human form in America, the creation of fancy hath been various and extravagant. The same fables that were current in the ancient continent, have been revived with respect to the New World, and America too has been peopled with human beings of monstrous and fantastic appearance. The inhabitants of certain provinces were described to be pygmies of three feet high; those of others to be giants of an enormous size. Some travellers published accounts of people with only one eye; others pretended to have discovered men without heads, whose eyes and mouths were planted in their breasts. The variety of Nature in her productions is indeed so great, that it is presumptuous to set bounds to her fertility, and to reject indiscriminately every relation that does not perfectly accord with our own limited observation and experience. But the other extreme, of yielding a hasty assent on the slightest evidence to whatever has the appearance of being strange and marvellous, is still more unbecoming a philosophical inquirer; as, in every period, men are more apt to be betrayed into error by their weakness in believing too much, than by their arrogance in believing too little. In proportion as science extends, and nature is examined with a discerning eye, the wonders which amused ages of ignorance disappear. The tales of credulous travellers concerning America, are forgotten; the monsters which they describe have been searched for in vain; and those provinces where they pretend to have found inhabitants of singular forms are now known to be possessed by a people nowise different from the other Americans.

Though those relations may, without discussion, be rejected as fabulous, there are other accounts of varieties in the human species in some parts of the New World, which rest upon better evidence, and merit more attentive examination. This variety has been particularly observed in three different districts. The first of these is situated in the isthmus of Darien, near the centre of America. Lionel Wafer, a traveller possessed of more curiosity and intelligence than we should have expected to find in an associate of Buccaneers, discovered there a race of men few in number, but of a singular make. They are of low stature, according to his description, of a feeble frame, incapable of enduring fatigue. Their color is a dead milk white; not resembling that of fair people among the Europeans, but without any tincture of a blush or sanguine complexion. Their skin is covered with a fine hairy down of a chalky white; the hair of their heads, their eyebrows, and eye-lashes, are of the same hue. Their eyes are of a singular form, and so weak that

they can hardly bear the light of the sun; but they see clearly by moonlight, and are most active and gay in the night. No race similar to this has been discovered in any other part of America. Cortes, indeed, found some persons exactly resembling the white people of Darien among the rare and monstrous animals which Montezuma had collected. But as the power of the Mexican empire extended to the provinces bordering on the isthmus of Darien, they were probably brought thence. Singular as the appearance of those people may be, they cannot be considered as constituting a distinct species. Among the negroes of Africa, as well as the natives of the Indian islands, nature sometimes produces a small number of individuals, with all the characteristic features and qualities of the white people of Darien. The former are called *Albinos* by the Portuguese, the latter *Kackerlakes* by the Dutch. In Darien the parents of those *Whites* are of the same color with the other natives of the country and this observation applies equally to the anomalous progeny of the Negroes and Indians. The same mother who produces some children of a color that does not belong to the race, brings forth the rest with a complexion peculiar to her country. One conclusion may then be formed with respect to the people described by Wafer, the *Albinos* and the *Kackerlakes*; they are a degenerated breed, not a separate class of men; and from some disease or defect of their parents, the peculiar color and debility which mark their degradation are transmitted to them. As a decisive proof of this, it has been observed, that neither the white people of Darien, nor the *Albinos* of Africa, propagate their race; their children are of the color and temperament peculiar to the natives of their respective countries. [48]

The second district that is occupied by inhabitants differing in appearance from the other people of America, is situated in a high northern latitude, extending from the coast of Labrador towards the pole, as far as the country is habitable. The people scattered over those dreary regions are known to the Europeans by the name of *Esquimaux*. They themselves, with that idea of their own superiority, which consoles the rudest and most wretched nations, assume the name of *Keralit*, or *Men*. They are of a middle size, and robust, with heads of a disproportioned bulk, and feet as remarkably small. Their complexion though swarthy, by being continually exposed to the rigor of a cold climate, inclines to the European white, rather than to the copper color of America, and the men have beards which are sometimes bushy and long. From these marks of distinction, as well as from one still less equal, the affinity of their language to that of the Greenlanders, which I have already mentioned, we may conclude, with some degree of confidence, that the *Esquimaux* are a race different from the rest of the Americans.

We cannot decide with equal certainty concerning the inhabitants of the third district, situated at the southern extremity of America. These are the famous *Patagonians*, who during two centuries and a half, have afforded a subject of controversy to the learned, and an object of wonder to the vulgar. They are supposed to be one of the wandering tribes which occupy the vast but least known region of America, which extends from the river de la Plata to the Straits of Magellan. Their proper station is in that part of the interior country which lies on the banks of the river Negro; but in the hunting season, they often roam as far as the straits which separate Tierra del Fuego from the main land. The first accounts of this people were brought to Europe by the companions of Magellan, who described them as a gigantic race, above eight feet high, and of strength in proportion to their enormous size. Among several tribes of animals, a disparity in bulk as considerable may be observed. Some large breeds of horses and dogs exceed the more diminutive races in stature and strength, as far as the Patagonian is supposed to rise above the usual standard of the human body. But animals attain the highest perfection of their species only in mild climates, or where they find the most nutritive food in greatest abundance. It is not then in the uncultivated waste of the Magellanic regions, and among a tribe of improvident savages, that we should expect to find man possessing the highest honors of his race, and distinguished by a superiority of size and vigor, far beyond what he has reached in any other part of the earth. The most explicit and unexceptionable evidence is requisite, in order to establish a fact repugnant to those general principles and laws, which seem to affect the human frame in every other instance, and to decide with respect to its nature and qualities. Such evidence has not hitherto been produced. Though several persons, to whose testimony great respect is due,

have visited this part of America since the time of Magellan, and have had interviews with the natives; though some have affirmed, that such as they saw were of gigantic stature, and others have formed the same conclusion from measuring their footsteps, or from viewing the skeletons of their dead; yet their accounts vary from each other in so many essential points, and are mingled with so many circumstances manifestly false or fabulous, as detract much from their credit. On the other hand, some navigators, and these among the most eminent of their order for discernment and accuracy, have asserted that the natives of Patagonia, with whom they had intercourse, though stout and well made, are not of such extraordinary size as to be distinguished from the rest of the human species. [49] The existence of this gigantic race of men seems, then, to be one of those points in natural history, with respect to which a cautious inquirer will hesitate, and will choose to suspend his assent until more complete evidence shall decide whether he ought to admit a fact, seemingly inconsistent with what reason and experience have discovered concerning the structure and condition of man, in all the various situations in which he has been observed.

In order to form a complete idea with respect to the constitution of the inhabitants of this and the other hemisphere, we should attend not only to the make and vigor of their bodies, but consider what degree of health they enjoy, and to what period of longevity they usually arrive. In the simplicity of the savage state, when man is not oppressed with labor, or enervated by luxury, or disquieted with care, we are apt to imagine that this life will flow on almost untroubled by disease or suffering, until his days be terminated in extreme old age by the gradual decays of nature. We find, accordingly, among the Americans, as well as among other rude people, persons whose decrepid and shrivelled form seems to indicate an extraordinary length of life. But as most of them are unacquainted with the art of numbering, and all of them as forgetful of what is past, as they are improvident of what is to come, it is impossible to ascertain their age with any degree of precision. It is evident that the period of their longevity must vary considerably, according to the diversity of climates, and their different modes of subsistence. They seem, however, to be every where exempt from many of the distempers which afflict polished nations. None of the maladies, which are the immediate offspring of luxury, ever visited them; and they have no names in their languages by which to distinguish this numerous train of adventitious evils.

But whatever be the situation in which man is placed, he is born to suffer; and his diseases in the savage state, though fewer in number, are, like those of the animals whom he nearly resembles in his mode of life, more violent and more fatal. If luxury engenders and nourishes distempers of one species, the rigor and distresses of savage life bring on those of another. As men in this state are wonderfully improvident, and their means of subsistence precarious, they often pass from extreme want to exuberant plenty, according to the vicissitudes of fortune in the chase, or in consequence of the various degrees of abundance with which the earth affords to them its productions in different seasons. Their inconsiderate gluttony in the one situation, and their severe abstinence in the other, are equally pernicious. For though the human constitution may be accustomed by habit, like that of animals of prey, to tolerate long famine, and then to gorge voraciously, it is not a little affected by such sudden and violent transitions. The strength and vigor of savages are at some seasons impaired by what they suffer from a scarcity of food; at others they are afflicted with disorders arising from indigestion and a superfluity of gross aliment. These are so common, that they may be considered as the unavoidable consequence of their mode of subsisting, and cut off considerable numbers in the prime of life. They are likewise extremely subject to consumptions, to pleuritis, asthmatic, and paralytic disorders, brought on by the immoderate hardships and fatigue which they endure in hunting and in war; or owing to the inclemency of the seasons to which they are continually exposed. In the savage state, hardships and fatigue violently assault the constitution. In polished societies, intemperance undermines it. It is not easy to determine which of them operates with most fatal effect, or tends most to abridge human life. The influence of the former is certainly most extensive. The pernicious consequences of luxury reach only a few members in any community; the distresses of savage life are felt by all. As far as I can judge, after very minute inquiry, the general period of human life is

abhor among savages than in well regulated and industrious societies.

One dreadful malady, the severest scourge with which, in this life, offended Heaven chastens the indulgence of criminal desire, seems to have been peculiar to the Americans. By communicating it to their conquerors, they have not only amply avenged their own wrongs, but, by adding this calamity to those which formerly imbibed human life, they have, perhaps, more than counterbalanced all the benefits which Europe has derived from the discovery of the New World. This distemper, from the country in which it first raged, or from the people by whom it was supposed to have been spread over Europe, has been sometimes called the Neapolitan, and sometimes the French disease. At its first appearance, the infection was so malignant, its symptoms so violent, its operation so rapid and fatal, as to battle all the efforts of medical skill. Astonishment and terror accompanied this unknown affliction in its progress, and men began to dread the extinction of the human race by such a cruel visitation. Experience, and the ingenuity of physicians, gradually discovered remedies of such virtue as to cure or to mitigate the evil. During the course of two centuries and a half, its virulence seems to have abated considerably. At length, in the same manner with the leprosy, which raged in Europe for some centuries, it may waste its force and disappear; and in some happier age, this western infection, like that from the east, may be known only by description. [50]

II. After considering what appears to be peculiar in the bodily constitution of the Americans, our attention is naturally turned towards the powers and qualities of their minds. As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigor and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which several powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. In the early ages of society, while the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a very narrow sphere. Hence arise two remarkable characteristics of the human mind in this state. Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both these distinctions are conspicuous among the rudest and most unimproved of the American tribes, and constitute a striking part of their description.

What, among polished nations, is called speculative reasoning or research, is altogether unknown in the rude state of society, and never becomes the occupation or amusement of the human faculties, until man be so far improved as to have secured, with certainty, the means of subsistence, as well as the possession of leisure and tranquillity. The thoughts and attention of a savage are confined within the small circle of objects immediately conducive to his preservation or enjoyment. Every thing beyond that escapes his observation, or is perfectly indifferent to him. Like a mere animal, what is before his eyes interests and affects him; what is out of sight, or at a distance, makes little impression. There are several people in America, whose limited understandings seem not to be capable of forming an arrangement for futurity; neither their solicitude nor their foresight extend so far. They follow blindly the impulse of the appetite which they feel, but are entirely regardless of distant consequences, and even of those removed in the least degree from immediate apprehension. While they highly prize such things as serve for present use, or minister to present enjoyment, they set no value upon those which are not the object of some immediate want. When, on the approach of the evening, a Carribee feels himself disposed to go to rest, no consideration will tempt him to sell his hammock. But, in the morning when he is sallying out to the business or pastime of the day, he will part with it for the slightest toy that catches his fancy. At the close of winter, while the impression of what he has suffered from the rigor of the climate, is fresh in the mind of the North American, he sets himself with vigor to prepare materials for erecting a comfortable hut to protect him against the inclemency of the succeeding season; but, as soon as the weather becomes mild, he forgets what is past, abandons his work, and never thinks of it more until the return of cold compels him, when too late, to resume it.

If in concerns the most interesting, and seemingly the most simple, the reason of man while rude and destitute of culture, differs so little from the thoughtless levity of children, or the improvident instinct of animals,

its exertions in other directions cannot be very considerable. The objects towards which reason turns, and the disquisitions in which it engages, must depend upon the state in which man is placed, and are suggested by his necessities and desires. Disquisitions, which appear the most necessary and important to men in one state of society, never occur to those in another. Among civilized nations, arithmetic, or the art of numbering, is deemed an essential and elementary science; and in our continent, the invention and use of it reaches back to a period so remote as is beyond the knowledge of history. But among savages, who have no property to estimate, no hoarded treasures to count, no variety of objects or multiplicity of ideas to enumerate, arithmetic is a superfluous and useless art. Accordingly, among some tribes in America it seems to be quite unknown. There are many who cannot reckon further than three; and have no denomination to distinguish any number above it. Several can proceed as far as ten, others to twenty. When they would convey an idea of any number beyond these, they point to the hair of their head, intimating that it is equal to them, or with wonder declare it to be so great that it cannot be reckoned. Not only the Americans, but all nations while extremely rude, seem to be unacquainted with the art of computation. As soon, however, as they acquire such acquaintance or connexion with a variety of objects, that there is frequent occasion to combine or divide them, their knowledge of numbers increases, so that the state of this art among any people may be considered as one standard by which to estimate the degree of their improvement. The Iroquoise, in North America, as they are much more civilized than the rude inhabitants of Brazil, Paraguay, or Guiana, have likewise made greater advances in this respect; though even their arithmetic does not extend beyond a thousand, as in their petty transactions they have no occasion for any higher number. The Cherokee, a less considerable nation on the same continent, can reckon only as far as a hundred, and to that extent have names for the several numbers; the smaller tribes in their neighborhood can rise no higher than ten. [51]

In other respects, the exercise of the understanding among rude nations is still more limited. The first ideas of every human being must be such as he receives by the senses. But in the mind of man, while in the savage state, there seem to be hardly any ideas but what enter by this avenue. The objects around him are presented to his eye. Such as may be subservient to his use, or can gratify any of his appetites, attract his notice; he views the rest without curiosity or attention. Satisfied with considering them under that simple mode in which they appear to him, as separate and detached, he neither combines them so as to form general classes, nor contemplates their qualities apart from the subject in which they inhere, nor bestows a thought upon the operations of his own mind concerning them. Thus he is unacquainted with all the ideas which have been denominated *universal*, or *abstract*, or *of reflection*. The range of his understanding must, of course, be very confined, and his reasoning powers be employed merely on what is sensible. This is so remarkably the case with the ruder nations of America, that their language, (as we shall afterwards find) have not a word to express any thing but what is material or corporeal. *Time*, *space*, *substance*, and a thousand terms, of those present abstract and universal ideas, are altogether unknown to them. A naked savage, cowering over the fire in his miserable cabin, or stretched under a few branches which afford him a temporary shelter, has as little inclination as capacity for useless speculation. His thoughts extend not beyond what relates to animal life; and when they are not directed towards some of its concerns, his mind is totally inactive. In situations where no extraordinary effort either of ingenuity or labor is requisite, in order to satisfy the simple demands of nature the powers of the mind are so seldom roused to any exertion, that the rational faculties continue almost dormant and unexercised. The numerous tribes scattered over the rich plains of South America, the inhabitants of some of the islands, and of several fertile regions on the continent, come under this description. Their vacant countenance, their staring unexpressive eye, their listless inattention, and total ignorance of subjects which seemed to be the first which should occupy the thoughts of rational beings, made such impression upon the Spaniards, when they first beheld these rude people, that they considered them as animals of an inferior order, and could not believe that they belonged to the human species. It required the authority of a papal bull to counteract this opinion, and to convince them that the Americans were

capable of the functions and entitled to the privileges of humanity. Since that time, persons more enlightened and impartial than the discoverers or conquerors of America, have had an opportunity of contemplating the most savage of its inhabitants, and they have been astonished and humbled with observing how nearly man in this condition approaches to the brute creation. But in severer climates, where subsistence cannot be procured with the same ease, where men must unite more closely, and act with greater concert, necessity calls forth their talents and sharpens their invention, so that the intellectual powers are more exercised and improved. The North American tribes, and the natives of Chili, who inhabit the temperate regions in the two great districts of America, are people of cultivated and enlarged understandings, when viewed in comparison with some of those seated in the islands, or on the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco. Their occupations are more various, their system of policy, as well as of war, more complex, their arts more numerous. But even among them, the intellectual powers are extremely limited in their operations, and, unless when turned directly to those objects which interest a savage, are held in no estimation. Both the North Americans and Chileses, when not engaged in some of the functions belonging to a warrior or hunter, loiter away their time in thoughtless indolence, unacquainted with any other subject worthy of their attention, or capable of occupying their minds. If even among them reason is so much circumscribed in its exertions, and never arrives, in its highest attainments, at the knowledge of those general principles and maxims which serve as the foundation of science, we may conclude that the intellectual powers of man in the savage state are destitute of their proper object, and cannot acquire any considerable degree of vigor and enlargement.

From the same causes, the active efforts of the mind are few, and on most occasions languid. If we examine into the motives which rouse men to activity in civilized life, and prompt them to persevere in fatiguing exertions of their ingenuity or strength, we shall find that they arise chiefly from acquired wants and appetites. These are numerous and importunate; they keep the mind in perpetual agitation, and in order to gratify them, invention must be always on the stretch, and industry must be incessantly employed. But the desires of simple nature are few, and where a favorable climate yields almost spontaneously what suffices to gratify them they scarcely stir the soul, or excite any violent emotion. Hence the people of several tribes in America waste their life in a listless indolence. To be free from occupation, seems to be all the enjoyment towards which they aspire. They will continue whole days stretched out in their hammocks, or seated on the earth in perfect idleness, without changing their posture, or raising their eyes from the ground, or uttering a single word.

Such is their aversion to labor that neither the hope of future good, nor the apprehension of future evil can surmount it. They appear equally indifferent to both, discovering little solicitude, and taking no precautions to avoid the one or to secure the other. The cravings of hunger may rouse them; but as they devour, with little distinction, whatever will appease its instinctive demands, the exertions which these occasion are of short duration. Destitute of ardor, as well as variety of desire, they feel not the force of those powerful springs which give vigor to the movements of the mind, and urge the patient hand of industry to persevere in its efforts. Man, in some parts of America, appears in a form so rude that we can discover no effects of his activity, and the principle of understanding, which should direct it, seems hardly to be unfolded. Like the other animals he has no fixed residence; he has erected no habitation to shelter him from the inclemency of the weather; he has taken no measures for securing certain subsistence; he neither sows nor reaps; but roams about as led in search of the plants and fruits which the earth brings forth in succession; and in quest of the game which he kills in the forest, or of the fish which he catches in the rivers.

This description, however, applies only to some tribes. Man cannot continue long in this state of feeble and uninformed infancy. He was made for industry and action, and the powers of his nature, as well as the necessity of his condition, urge him to fulfil his destiny. Accordingly, among most of the American nations, especially those seated in rigorous climates, some efforts are employed, and some previous precautions are taken, for securing subsistence. The career of regular industry is begun and the laborious arm has made the first essays of its powers. Still, however,

the improvident and slothful genius of the savage state predominates. Even among those more improved tribes, labor is deemed ignominious and degrading. It is only to work of a certain kind that a man will deign to put his hand. The greater part is devolved entirely upon the women. One half of the community remains inactive, while the other is oppressed with the multitude and variety of its occupations. Thus their industry is partial, and the foresight which regulates it is no less limited. A remarkable instance of this occurs in the chief arrangement with respect to their manner of living. They depend for their subsistence, during one part of the year, on fishing; during another, on hunting; during a third, on the produce of their agriculture. Though experience has taught them to foresee the return of those various seasons, and to make some provision for the respective exigencies of each, they either want sagacity to proportion this provision to their consumption, or are so incapable of any command over their appetites, that, from their inconsiderate waste, they often feel the calamities of famine as severely as the rudest of the savage tribes. What they suffer one year does not augment their industry, or render them more provident to prevent similar distresses. This inconsiderate thoughtlessness about futurity, the effect of ignorance and the cause of sloth, accompanies and characterizes man in every stage of savage life; and, by a capricious singularity in his operations he is then least solicitous about supplying his wants, when the means of satisfying them are most precarious, and procured with the greatest difficulty. [52]

III. After viewing the bodily constitutions of the Americans, and contemplating the powers of their minds, we are led, in the natural order of inquiry, to consider them as united together in society. Hitherto our researches have been confined to the operations of understanding respecting themselves as individuals; now they will extend to the degree of their sensibility and affection towards their species.

The domestic state is the first and most simple form of human association. The union of the sexes among different animals is of longer or shorter duration in proportion to the ease or difficulty of rearing their offspring. Among those tribes where the season of infancy is short, and the young soon acquire vigor or agility, no permanent union is formed. Nature commits the care of training up the offspring to the mother alone, and her tenderness, without any other assistance, is equal to the task. But where the state of infancy is long and helpless, and the joint assiduity of both parents is requisite in tending their feeble progeny, there a more intimate connexion takes place, and continues until the purpose of nature be accomplished, and the new race grow up to full maturity. As the infancy of man is more feeble and helpless than that of any other animal, and he is dependent during a much longer period on the care and foresight of his parents, the union between husband and wife came early to be considered not only as a solemn but as a permanent contract. A general state of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes never existed but in the imagination of poets. In the infancy of society when men, destitute of arts and industry, lead a hard precarious life, the rearing of their progeny demands the attention and efforts of both parents; and if their union had not been formed and continued with this view, the race could not have been preserved. Accordingly in America, even among the rudest tribes, a regular union between husband and wife was universal, and the rights of marriage were understood and recognised. In those districts where subsistence was scanty, and the difficulty of maintaining a family was great, the man confined himself to one wife. In warmer and more fertile provinces, the facility of procuring food concurred with the influence of climate in inducing the inhabitants to increase the number of their wives. In some countries the marriage-union subsisted during life; in others, the impatience of the Americans under restraint of any species, together with their natural levity and caprice, prompted them to dissolve it on very slight pretences, and often without assigning any cause.

But in whatever light the Americans considered the obligation of this contract, either as perpetual or only as temporary; the condition of women was equally humiliating and miserable. Whether man has been improved by the progress of arts and civilization in society, is a question which, in the wantonness of disputation, has been agitated among philosophers. That women are indebted to the refinements of polished manners, for a happy change in their state, is a point which can

admit of no doubt. To despise and to degrade the female sex is a characteristic of the savage state in every part of the globe. Man proud of excelling in strength and in courage, the chief marks of pre-eminence among rude people, treats woman, as an inferior, with disdain. The Americans, perhaps from that coldness and insensibility which has been considered as peculiar to their constitution, add neglect and harshness to contempt. The most intelligent travellers have been struck with this inattention of the Americans to their women. It is not, as I have already observed, by a studied display of tenderness and attachment that the American attempts to gain the heart of the woman whom he wishes to marry. Marriage itself, instead of being a union of affection and interests between equals, becomes among them the unnatural conjunction of a master with his slave. It is the observation of an author whose opinions are deservedly of great weight, that wherever wives are purchased their condition is extremely depressed. They become the property and the slaves of those who buy them. In whatever part of the globe this custom prevails, the observation holds. In countries where refinement has made some progress, women when purchased are excluded from society, shut up in sequestered apartments, and kept under the vigilant guard of their masters. In ruder nations they are degraded to the meanest functions. Among many people of America the marriage contract is properly a purchase. The man buys his wife of her parents. Though unacquainted with the use of money, or with such commercial transactions as take place in more improved society, he knows how to give an equivalent for any object which he desires to possess. In some places, the suitor devotes his service for a certain time to the parents of the maid whom he courts; in others he hunts for them occasionally, or assists in cultivating their fields and forming their canoes; in others, he offers presents of such things as are deemed most valuable on account of their usefulness or rarity. In return for these he receives his wife; and this circumstance, added to the low estimation of women among savages, leads him to consider her as a female servant whom he has purchased, and whom he has a title to treat as an inferior. In all unpolished nations, it is true, the functions in domestic economy which fall naturally to the share of women are so many, that they are subjected to hard labor, and must bear more than their full portion of the common burden. But in America their condition is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife among most tribes is no better than a beast of burden, destined to every office of labor and fatigue. While the men loiter out the day in sloth, or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed upon them without pity, and services are received without complacence or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed their female children in their infancy, in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage to which they knew they were doomed. Thus the first institution of social life is perverted. That state of domestic union towards which nature leads the human species, in order to soften the heart to gentleness and humanity, is rendered so unequal as to establish a cruel distinction between the sexes, which forms the one to be harsh and unfeeling, and humbles the other to servility and subjection.

It is owing, perhaps, in some measure, to this state of depression, that women in rude nations are far from being prolific. The vigor of their constitution is exhausted by excessive fatigue, and the wants and distresses of savage life are so numerous as to force them to take various precautions in order to prevent too rapid an increase of their progeny. Among wandering tribes, or such as depend chiefly upon hunting for subsistence, the mother cannot attempt to rear a second child until the first has attained such a degree of vigor as to be in some measure independent of her care. From this motive it is the universal practice of the American women to suckle their children during several years; and, as they seldom marry early, the period of their fertility is over before they can finish the long but necessary attendance upon two or three children. Among some of the least polished tribes, whose industry and foresight do not extend so far as to make any regular

provision for their subsistence, it is a maxim not to burden themselves with rearing more than two children; and no such numerous families as are frequent in civilized societies are to be found among men in the savage state. When twins are born, one of them commonly is abandoned, because the mother is not equal to the task of rearing both. [53] When a mother dies while she is nursing a child, all hope of preserving its life fails, and it is buried together with her in the same grave. As the parents are frequently exposed to want by their own improvident indolence, the difficulty of sustaining their children becomes so great that it is not uncommon to abandon or destroy them. Thus their experience of the difficulty of training up an infant to maturity, amidst the hardships of savage life, often stifles the voice of nature among the Americans, and suppresses the strong emotions of parental tenderness.

But though necessity compels the inhabitants of America thus to set bounds to the increase of their families, they are not deficient in affection and attachment to their offspring. They feel the power of this instinct in its full force, and as long as their progeny continue feeble and helpless, no people exceed them in tenderness and care. But in rude nations the dependence of children upon their parents is of shorter continuance than in polished societies. When men must be trained to the various functions of civil life by previous discipline and education, when the knowledge of abstruse sciences must be taught, and dexterity in intricate arts must be acquired, before a young man is prepared to begin his career of action, the attentive feelings of a parent are not confined to the years of infancy, but extend to what is more remote, the establishment of his child in the world. Even then his solicitude does not terminate. His protection may still be requisite, and his wisdom and experience still prove useful guides. Thus a permanent connexion is formed; parental tenderness is exercised, and filial respect returned, throughout the whole course of life. But in the simplicity of the savage state the affection of parents, like the instinctive fondness of animals, ceases almost entirely as soon as their offspring attain maturity. Little instruction fits them for that mode of life to which they are destined. The parents, as if their duty were accomplished, when they have conducted their children through the helpless years of infancy, leave them afterwards at entire liberty. Even in their tender age, they seldom advise or admonish; they never chide or chastise them. They suffer them to be absolute masters of their own actions. In an American hut, a father, a mother, and their posterity, live together like persons assembled by accident, without seeming to feel the obligation of the duties mutually arising from this connection. As filial love is not cherished by the continuance of attention or good offices, the recollection of benefits received in early infancy is too faint to excite it. Conscious of their own liberty, and impatient of restraint, the youth of America are accustomed to act as if they were totally independent. Their parents are not objects of greater regard than other persons. They treat them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence as to fill those who have been witnesses of their conduct with horror. Thus the ideas which seem to be natural to man in his savage state, as they result necessarily from his circumstances and condition in that period of his progress, affect the two capital relations in domestic life. They render the union between husband and wife unequal. They shorten the duration and weaken the force of the connection between parents and children.

IV. From the domestic state of the Americans, the transition to the consideration of their civil government and political institutions is natural. In every inquiry concerning the operations of men when united together in society, the first object of attention should be their mode of subsistence. Accordingly as that varies, their laws and policy must be different. The institution suited to the ideas and exigencies of tribes which subsist chiefly by fishing or hunting, and which have as yet acquired but an imperfect conception of any species of property, will be much more simple than those which must take place when the earth is cultivated with regular industry; and a right of property, not only in its productions, but in the soil itself, is completely ascertained.

All the people of America, now under review, belong to the former class. But though they may all be comprehended under the general denomination of savage, the advances which they had made in the art of procuring to themselves a certain and plentiful subsistence were very unequal. On the extensive plains of South America man appears in one of the rudest

states in which he has ever been observed, or perhaps can exist. Several tribes depend entirely upon the bounty of nature for subsistence. They discover no solicitude, they employ little foresight, they scarcely exert any industry to secure what is necessary for their support. The *Topayers*, of Brazil, the *Guaxeros*, of Tierra Firme, the *Caiguas*, the *Mozos*, and several other people of Paraguay, are unacquainted with every species of cultivation. They neither sow nor plant. Even the culture of the manioc, of which cassada bread is made of is an art too intricate for their ingenuity, or too fatiguing to their indolence. The roots which the earth produces spontaneously; the fruits, the berries, and the seeds which they gather in the woods; together with lizards and other reptiles, which multiply amazingly with the heat of the climate in a fat soil, moistened by frequent rains, supply them with food during some part of the year. At other times they subsist by fishing; and nature seems to have indulged the laziness of the South American tribes by the liberality with which she ministers in this way to their wants. The vast rivers of that region in America abound with an infinite variety of the most delicate fish. The lakes and marshes formed by the annual overflowing of the waters are filled with all the different species, where they remain shut up, as in natural reservoirs, for the use of the inhabitants. They swarm in such shoals, that in some places they are caught without art or industry. [54] In others, the natives have discovered a method of infecting the water with the juice of certain plants, by which the fish are so intoxicated that they float on the surface, and are taken with the hand. [55] Some tribes have ingenuity enough to preserve them without salt, by drying or smoking them upon hurdles over a slow fire. The prolific quality of the rivers in South America, induces many of the natives to resort to their banks, and to depend almost entirely for nourishment on what their waters supply with such profusion. In this part of the globe hunting seems not to have been the first employment of men, or the first effort of their invention and labor to obtain food. They were fishers before they became hunters; and as the occupations of the former do not call for equal exertions of activity or talents with those of the latter, people in that state appear to possess neither the same degree of enterprise nor of ingenuity. The petty nations adjacent to the Maragnon and Orinoco are manifestly the most inactive and least intelligent of all the Americans.

None but tribes contiguous to great rivers can sustain themselves in this manner. The greater part of the American nations, dispersed over the forests with which their country is covered, do not procure subsistence with the same facility. For although these forests, especially in the southern continent of America, are stored plentifully with game, considerable efforts of activity and ingenuity are requisite in pursuit of it. Necessity incited the natives to the one, and taught them the other. Hunting became their principal occupation; and as it called forth strenuous exertions of courage, of force, and of invention, it was deemed no less honorable than necessary. This occupation was peculiar to the men. They were trained to it from their earliest youth. A bold and dexterous hunter ranked next in fame to the distinguished warrior, and an alliance with the former is often courted in preference to one with the latter. Hardly any device, which the ingenuity of man has discovered for ensnaring or destroying wild animals, was unknown to the Americans. While engaged in this favorite exercise, they shake off the indolence peculiar to their nature, the latent powers and vigor of their minds are roused, and they become active, persevering, and indefatigable. Their sagacity in finding their prey and their address in killing it are equal. Their reason and their senses being constantly directed towards this one object, the former displays such fertility of invention and the latter acquire such a degree of acuteness as appear almost incredible. They discern the footsteps of a wild beast, which escape every other eye, and can follow them with certainty through the pathless forest. If they attack their game openly, their arrow seldom errs from the mark: if they endeavor to circumvent it by art, it is almost impossible to avoid their toils. Among several tribes, their young men were not permitted to marry until they had given such proofs of their skill in hunting as put it beyond doubt that they were capable of providing for a family. Their ingenuity, always on the stretch, and sharpened by emulation as well as necessity, has struck out many inventions which greatly facilitate success in the chase. The most singular of these is the discovery of a poison, in which they dip the arrows employed in hunting. The

slightest wound with those envenomed shafts is mortal. If they only pierce the skin, the blood fixes and congeals in a moment, and the strongest animal falls motionless to the ground. Nor does this poison, notwithstanding its violence and subtlety, infect the flesh of the animal which it kills. That may be eaten with perfect safety, and retain its native relish and qualities. All the nations situated upon the banks of the Maragnon and Orinoco are acquainted with this composition, the chief ingredient in which is the juice extracted from the root of the *curare*, a species of withe. In other parts of America they employ the juice of the *manchillo* for the same purpose, and it operates with no less fatal activity. To people possessed of those secrets the bow is a more destructive weapon than the musket, and, in their skilful hands, does great execution among the birds and beasts which abound in the forests of America.

But the life of a hunter gradually leads man to a state more advanced. The chase, even where prey is abundant, and the dexterity of the hunter much improved, affords but an uncertain maintenance, and at some seasons it must be suspended altogether. If a savage trusts to his bow alone for food, he and his family will be often reduced to extreme distress. [56] Hardly any region of the earth furnishes man spontaneously with what his wants require. In the mildest climates, and most fertile soils, his own industry and foresight must be exerted in some degree to secure a regular supply of food. Their experience of this surmounts the abhorrence of labor natural to savage nations, and compels them to have recourse to culture, as subsidiary to hunting. In particular situations, some small tribes may subsist by fishing, independent of any production of the earth raised by their own industry. But throughout all America, we scarcely meet with any nation of hunters which does not practise some species of cultivation.

The agriculture of the Americans, however, is neither extensive nor laborious. As game and fish are their principal food, all they aim at by cultivation is to supply any occasional defect of these. In the southern continent of America, the natives confined their industry to rearing a few plants, which, in a rich soil and warm climate, were easily trained to maturity. The chief of these is *maize*, well known in Europe by the name of Turkey or Indian wheat, a grain extremely prolific, of simple culture, agreeable to the taste, and affording a strong hearty nourishment. The second is the *manioc*, which grows to the size of a large shrub or small tree, and produces roots somewhat resembling parsnips. After carefully squeezing out the juice, these roots are grated down to a fine powder, and formed into thin cakes called *cassada* bread, which, though insipid to the taste, proves no contemptible food. As the juice of the manioc is a deadly poison, some authors have celebrated the ingenuity of the Americans in converting a noxious plant into wholesome nourishment. But it should rather be considered as one of the desperate expedients for procuring subsistence to which necessity reduces rude nations; or, perhaps, men were led to the use of it by a progress in which there is nothing marvellous. One species of manioc is altogether free of any poisonous quality, and may be eaten without any preparation but that of roasting it in the embers. This, it is probable, was first used by the Americans as food; and, necessity having gradually taught them the art of separating its pernicious juice from the other species, they have by experience found it to be more prolific as well as more nourishing. [57] The third is the *plantain*, which, though it rises to the height of a tree, is of such quick growth, that in less than a year it rewards the industry of the cultivator with its fruit. This, when roasted, supplies the place of bread, and is both palatable and nourishing. [58] The fourth is the *potatoe*, whose culture and qualities are too well known to need any description. The fifth is *pimento*, a small tree yielding a strong aromatic spice. The Americans, who, like other inhabitants of warm climates, delight in whatever is hot and of poignant flavor, deem this seasoning a necessary of life, and mingle it copiously with every kind of food they take.

Such are the various productions, which were the chief object of culture among the hunting tribes on the continent of America; and with a moderate exertion of active and provident industry these might have yielded a full supply to the wants of a numerous people. But men, accustomed to the free and vagrant life of hunters, are incapable of regular application to labor, and consider agriculture as a secondary and inferior occupation. Accordingly, the provision for sub-

sistence, arising from cultivation, was so limited and scanty among the Americans, that, upon any accidental failure of their usual success in hunting, they were often reduced to extreme distress.

In the islands, the mode of subsisting was considerably different. None of the large animals which abound on the continent were known there. Only four species of quadrupeds, besides a kind of small dun dog existed in the islands, the biggest of which did not exceed the size of a rabbit. To hunt such a diminutive prey was an occupation which required no effort either of activity or courage. The chief employment of a hunter in the isles was to kill birds, which on the continent are deemed ignoble game, and left chiefly to the pursuit of boys. This want of animals, as well as their peculiar situation, led the islanders to depend principally upon fishing for their subsistence. Their rivers, and the sea with which they are surrounded, supplied them with this species of food. At some particular seasons, turtle, crabs, and other shellfish abounded in such numbers that the natives could support themselves with a facility in which their indolence delighted. At other times, they ate lizards and various reptiles of odious forms. To fishing the inhabitants of the islands added some degree of agriculture. Maize, [59] manioc, and other plants were cultivated in the same manner as on the continent. But all the fruits of their industry, together with what their soil and climate produced spontaneously, afforded them but a scanty maintenance. Though their demands for food were very sparing, they hardly raised what was sufficient for their own consumption. If a few Spaniards settled in any district, such a small addition of supernumerary mouths soon exhausted their scanty stores, and brought on a famine.

Two circumstances common to all the savage nations of America, concurred with those which I have already mentioned, not only in rendering their agriculture imperfect, but in circumscribing their power in all their operations. They had no tame animals; and they were unacquainted with the useful metals.

In other parts of the globe, man, in his rudest state, appears as lord of the creation, giving law to various tribes of animals, which he has tamed and reduced to subjection. The Tartar follows his prey on the horse which he has reared; or tends his numerous herds, which furnish him both with food and clothing: the Arab has rendered the camel docile, and avails himself of its persevering strength: the Laplander has formed the reindeer to be subservient to his will; and even the people of Kamchatka have trained their dogs to labor. This command over the inferior creatures is one of the noblest prerogatives of man, and among the greatest efforts of his wisdom and power. Without this his dominion is incomplete. He is a monarch who has no subjects, a master without servants, and must perform every operation by the strength of his own arm. Such was the condition of all the rude nations in America. Their reason was so little improved, or their union so incomplete, that they seem not to have been conscious of the superiority of their nature, and suffered all the animal creation to retain its liberty, without establishing their own authority over any one species. Most of the animals, indeed, which have been rendered domestic in our continent, do not exist in the New World; but those peculiar to it are neither so fierce nor so formidable as to have exempted them from servitude. There are some animals of the same species on both continents. But the reindeer, which has been tamed and broken to the yoke in the one hemisphere, runs wild in the other. The *bison* of America is manifestly of the same species with the horned cattle of the other hemisphere. The latter, even among the rudest nations in our continent, have been rendered domestic; and, in consequence of his dominion over them, man can accomplish works of labor with greater facility, and has made a great addition to his means of subsistence. The inhabitants of many regions of the New World, where the bison abounds, might have derived the same advantages from it. It is not of a nature so indocile, but that it might have been trained to be as subservient to man as our cattle. But a savage, in that uncultivated state wherein the Americans were discovered, is the enemy of the other animals, not their superior. He wastes and destroys, but knows not how to multiply or to govern them.

This, perhaps, is the most notable distinction between the inhabitants of the Ancient and New Worlds, and a high pre-eminence of civilized men above such as continue rude. The greatest operations of man in changing and improving the face of nature, as well as his most considerable efforts in cultivating the earth.

are accomplished by means of the aid which he receives from the animals that he has tamed, and employs in labor. It is by their strength that he subdues the stubborn soil, and converts the desert or marsh into a fruitful field. But man, in his civilized state, is so accustomed to the service of the domestic animals, that he seldom reflects upon the vast benefits which he derives from it. If we were to suppose him, even when most improved, to be deprived of their useful ministry, his empire over nature must in some measure cease, and he would remain a feeble animal, at a loss how to subsist, and incapable of attempting such arduous undertakings as their assistance enables him to execute with ease.

It is a doubtful point, whether the dominion of man over the animal creation, or his acquiring the useful metals, has contributed most to extend his power. The era of this important discovery is unknown, and in our hemisphere very remote. It is only by tradition, or by digging up some rude instruments of our forefathers, that we learn that mankind were originally unacquainted with the use of metals, and endeavored to supply the want of them by employing flints, shells, bones, and other hard substances, for the same purposes which metals serve among polished nations. Nature completes the formation of some metals. Gold, silver, and copper, are found in their perfect state in the clefts of rocks, in the sides of mountains, or the channels of rivers. These were accordingly the metals first known, and first applied to use. But iron, the most servicable of all, and to which man is most indebted, is never discovered in its perfect form; its gross and stubborn ore must feel twice the force of fire, and go through two laborious processes, before it becomes fit for use. Man was long acquainted with the other metals before he acquired the art of fabricating iron, or attained such ingenuity as to perfect an invention, to which he is indebted for those instruments wherewith he subdues the earth, and commands all its inhabitants. But in this, as well as in many other respects, the inferiority of the Americans was conspicuous. All the savage tribes, scattered over the continent and islands, were totally unacquainted with the metals which their soil produces in great abundance, if we except some trifling quantity of gold, which they picked up in the torrents that descended from their mountains, and formed into ornaments. Their devices to supply this want of the servicable metals were extremely rude and awkward. The most simple operation was to them an undertaking of immense difficulty and labor. To fell a tree with no other instruments than hatchets of stone, was employment for a month. To form a canoe into shape, and to hollow it, consumed years; and it frequently began to rot before they were able to finish it. Their operations in agriculture were equally slow and defective. In a country covered with woods of the hardest timber, the clearing of a small field destined for culture required the united efforts of a tribe, and was a work of much time and great toil. This was the business of the men, and their indolence was satisfied with performing it in a very slovenly manner. The labor of cultivation was left to the women, who, after digging, or rather stirring the field, with wooden mattocks, and stakes hardened in the fire, sowed or planted it; but they were more indebted for the increase to the fertility of the soil than to their own rude industry.

Agriculture, even when the strength of man is seconded by that of the animals which he has subjected to the yoke, and his power augmented by the use of the various instruments with which the discovery of metals has furnished him, is still a work of great labor; and it is with the sweat of his brow that he renders the earth fertile. It is not wonderful, then, that people destitute of both these advantages should have made so little progress in cultivation, that they must be considered as depending for subsistence on fishing and hunting, rather than on the fruits of their own labor.

From this description of the mode of subsisting among the rude American tribes, the form and genius of their political institutions may be deduced, and we are enabled to trace various circumstances of distinction between them and more civilized nations.

1. They were divided into small independent communities. While hunting is the chief source of subsistence, a vast extent of territory is requisite for supporting a small number of people. In proportion as men multiply and unite, the wild animals on which they depend for food diminish, or fly at a greater distance from the haunts of their enemy. The increase of a society in this state is limited by its own nature, and the members of it must either disperse, like the game which

they pursue, or fall upon some better method of procuring food than by hunting. Beasts of prey are by nature solitary and unsocial, they go not forth to the chase in herds, but delight in those recesses of the forest where they can roam and destroy undisturbed. A nation of hunters resembles them both in occupation and in genius. They cannot form into large communities, because it would be impossible to find subsistence; and they must drive to a distance every rival who may encroach on those domains, which they consider as their own. This was the state of all the American tribes; the numbers in each were inconsiderable, though scattered over countries of great extent; they were far removed from one another, and engaged in perpetual hostilities or rivalry. In America, the word *nation* is not of the same import as in other parts of the globe. It is applied to small societies, not exceeding, perhaps, two or three hundred persons, but occupying provinces, greater than some kingdoms in Europe. The country of Guiana, though of larger extent than the kingdom of France, and divided among a greater number of nations, did not contain above twenty-five thousand inhabitants. In the provinces which border on the Orinoco, one may travel several hundred miles in different directions, without finding a single hut, or observing the footsteps of a human creature. In North America, where the climate is more rigorous, and the soil less fertile, the desolation is still greater. There, journeys of some hundred leagues have been made through uninhabited plains and forests. [60] As long as hunting continues to be the chief employment of man, to which he trusts for subsistence, he can hardly be said to have occupied the earth. [61]

2. Nations which depend upon hunting are in a great measure strangers to the idea of property. As the animals on which the hunter feeds are not bred under his inspection, nor nourished by his care, he can claim no right to them while they run wild in the forest. Where game is so plentiful that it may be caught with little trouble, men never dream of appropriating what is of small value, or of easy acquisition. Where it is so rare, that the labor or danger of the chase requires the united efforts of a tribe, or village, what is killed is a common stock belonging equally to all, who, by their skill or their courage, have contributed to the success of the excursion. The forest or hunting-grounds are deemed the property of the tribe, from which it has a title to exclude every rival nation. But no individual arrogates a right to any district of these in preference to his fellow-citizens. They belong alike to all; and thither, as to a general and undivided store, all repair in quest of sustenance. The same principles by which they regulate their chief occupation extend to that which is subordinate. Even agriculture has not introduced among them a complete idea of property. As the men hunt, the women labor together, and after they have shared the toils of the seed time, they enjoy the harvest in common. Among some tribes, the increase of their cultivated lands is deposited in a public granary, and divided among them at stated times, according to their wants. [62] Among others, though they lay up separate stores, they do not acquire such an exclusive right of property, that they can enjoy superfluity while those around them suffer want. Thus the distinctions arising from the inequality of possessions are unknown. The terms rich or poor enter not into their language; and being strangers to property, they are unacquainted with what is the great object of laws and policy, as well as the chief motive which induced mankind to establish the various arrangements of regular government.

3. People in this state retain a high sense of equality and independence. Wherever the idea of property is not established, there can be no distinction among men but what arises from personal qualities. These can be conspicuous only on such occasions as call them forth into exertion. In times of danger, or in affairs of intricacy, the wisdom and experience of age are consulted, and prescribe the measures which ought to be pursued. When a tribe of savages takes the field against the enemies of their country, the warrior of most approved courage leads the youth to the combat. If they go forth in a body to the chase, the most expert and adventurous hunter is foremost, and directs their motions. But during seasons of tranquillity and inaction, when there is no occasion to display those talents, all pre-eminence ceases. Every circumstance indicates that all the members of the community are on a level. They are clothed in the same simple garb. They feed on the same plain fare. Their houses and furniture are exactly similar. No distinction can arise from the inequality of possessions. Whatever forms dependence on one part,

or constitutes superiority on the other, is unknown. All are freemen, all feel themselves to be such, and assert with firmness the rights which belong to that condition. This sentiment of independence is imprinted so deeply in their nature that no change of condition can eradicate it, and bend their minds to servitude. Accustomed to be absolute masters of their own conduct, they disdain to execute the orders of another; and having never known control they will not submit to correction. [63] Many of the Americans, when they found that they were treated as slaves by Spaniards, died of grief; many destroyed themselves in despair.

4. Among the people in this state, government can assume little authority, and the sense of civil subordination must remain very imperfect. While the idea of property is unknown, or incompletely conceived; while the spontaneous productions of the earth, as well as the fruits of industry, are considered as belonging to the public stock, there can hardly be any such subject of difference or discussion among the members of the same community, as will require the hand of authority to interpose in order to adjust it. Where the right of separate and exclusive possession is not introduced, the great object of law and jurisdiction does not exist. When the members of a tribe are called into the field, either to invade the territories of their enemies, or to repel their attacks; when they are engaged together in the toil and dangers of the chase, they then perceive that they are part of a political body. They are conscious of their own connexion with the companions in conjunction with whom they act; and they follow and reverence such as excel in conduct and valor. But during the intervals between such common efforts they seem scarcely to feel the ties of political union. [64] No visible form of government is established. The names of *magistrate* and *subject* are not in use. Every one seems to enjoy his natural independence almost entire. If a scheme of public utility be proposed, the members of the community are left at liberty to choose whether they will or will not assist in carrying it into execution. No statute imposes any service as a duty, no compulsory laws oblige them to perform it. All their resolutions are voluntary, and flow from the impulse of their own minds. The first step towards establishing a public jurisdiction has not been taken in those rude societies. The right of revenge is left in private hands. If violence is committed, or blood is shed, the community does not assume the power either of inflicting or of moderating the punishment. It belongs to the family and friends of the person injured or slain to avenge the wrong, or to accept of the reparation offered by the aggressor. If the elders interpose, it is to advise, not to decide, and it is seldom their counsels are listened to; for, as it is deemed pusillanimous to suffer an offender to escape with impunity, resentment is implacable and everlasting. The object of government among savages is rather foreign than domestic. They do not aim at maintaining interior order and police by public regulations, or the exertions of any permanent authority, but labor to preserve such union among the members of their tribe, that they may watch the motions of their enemies, and act against them with concert and vigor.

Such was the form of political order established among the greater part of the American nations. In this state were almost all the tribes spread over the provinces extending eastward of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the confines of Florida. In a similar condition were the people of Brazil, the inhabitants of Chili, several tribes of Paragua and Guiana, and in the countries which stretch from the mouth of the Orinoco to the peninsula of Yucatan. Among such an infinite number of petty associations, there may be peculiarities which constitute a distinction, and mark the various degrees of their civilization and improvement. But an attempt to trace and enumerate these would be vain, as they have not been observed by persons capable of discerning the minute and delicate circumstances which serve to discriminate nations resembling one another in their general character and features. The description which I have given of the political institutions which took place among those rude tribes in America, concerning which we have received the most complete information, will apply, with little variation, to every people, both in its northern and southern division, who have advanced no further in civilization than to add some slender degree of agriculture to fishing and hunting.

Imperfect as those institutions may appear, several tribes were not so far advanced in their political progress. Among all those petty nations which trusted for subsistence entirely to fishing and hunting without any

species of cultivation, the union was so incomplete, and their sense of mutual dependence so feeble, that hardly any appearance of government or order can be discerned in their proceedings. Their wants are few, their objects of pursuit simple, they form into separate tribes, and act together, from instinct, habit, or convenience, rather than from any formal concert and association. To this class belong the Californians, several of the small nations in the extensive country of Paragua, some of the people on the banks of the Orinoco, and on the river St. Magdalene, in the new kingdom of Granada.

But though among these last mentioned tribes there was hardly any shadow of regular government, and even among those which I first described its authority is slender and confined within narrow bounds, there were, however, some places in America where government was carried far beyond the degree of perfection which seems natural to rude nations. In surveying the political operations of man, either in his savage or civilized state, we discover singular and eccentric institutions, which start as it were from their station, and fly off so wide, that we labor in vain to bring them within the general laws of any system, or to account for them by those principles which influence other communities in a similar situation. Some instances of this occur among those people of America whom I have included under the common denomination of savage. These are so curious and important that I shall describe them, and attempt to explain their origin.

In the New World, as well as in other parts of the globe, cold or temperate countries appear to be the favorite seat of freedom and independence. There the mind, like the body, is firm and vigorous. There men, conscious of their own dignity, and capable of the greatest efforts in asserting it, aspire to independence, and their stubborn spirits stoop with reluctance to the yoke of servitude. In warmer climates, by whose influence the whole frame is so much enervated that present pleasure is the supreme felicity, and mere repose is enjoyment, men acquiesce, almost without a struggle, in the dominion of a superior. Accordingly, if we proceed from north to south along the continent of America, we shall find the power of those vested with authority gradually increasing, and the spirit of the people becoming more tame and passive. In Florida, the authority of the sachems, caziques, or chiefs, was not only permanent, but hereditary. They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, they enjoyed prerogatives of various kinds, and were treated by their subjects with that reverence which people accustomed to subjection, pay to a master.

Among the Natchez, a powerful tribe now extinct, formerly situated on the banks of the Mississippi, a difference of rank took place, with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble, and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which distinguished the high elevation of the one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The former were called *Respectable*; the latter, the *Stinkards*. The great Chief, in whom the supreme authority was vested, is reputed to be a being of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach this great Chief with religious veneration, and honor him as the representative of their deity. His will is a law, to which all submit with implicit obedience. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one has incurred his displeasure, the offender comes with profound humility and offers him his head. Nor does the dominion of the Chiefs end with their lives; their principal officers, their favorite wives, together with many domestics of inferior rank, are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who served them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompense of their fidelity and a mark of distinction to be selected to accompany their deceased master. Thus a perfect despotism, with its full train of superstition, arrogance, and enmity, is established among the Natchez, and, by a singular fatality, that people has tasted of the worst calamities incident to polished nations, though they themselves are not far advanced beyond the tribes around them in civility and improvement. In Hispaniola, Cuba, and the larger islands, their caziques or chiefs possessed extensive power. The dignity was transmitted by hereditary right from father to son. Its honors and prerogatives were considerable. Their subjects paid great respect to the caziques, and executed their orders without hesitation or reserve.

They were distinguished by peculiar ornaments, and in order to preserve or augment the veneration of the people, they had the address to call in the aid of superstition to uphold their authority. They delivered their mandates as the oracles of heaven, and pretended to possess the power of regulating the seasons, and of dispensing rain or sunshine according as their subjects stood in need of them.

In some parts of the southern continent, the power of the caziques seems to have been as extensive as in the isles. In Bogota, which is now a province of the new kingdom of Granada, there was settled a nation more considerable in number, and more improved in the various arts of life, than any in America, except the Mexican and Peruvians. The people of Bogota subsisted chiefly by agriculture. The idea of property was introduced among them, and its rights, secured by laws, handed down by tradition, and observed with great care. They lived in towns which may be termed large when compared with those in other parts of America. They were clothed in a decent manner, and their houses may be termed commodious when compared with those of the small tribes around them. The effect of this uncommon civilization were conspicuous. Government had assumed a regular form. A jurisdiction was established, which took cognizance of different crimes, and punished them with rigor. A distinction of ranks was known; their chief, to whom the Spaniards gave the title of monarch, and who merited that name on account of his splendour as well as power, reigned with absolute authority. He was attended by officers of various conditions; he never appeared in public without a numerous retinue; he was carried in a sort of palanquin with much pomp, and harbingers went before him to sweep the road and strew it with flowers. This uncommon pomp was supported by presents or taxes received from his subjects, to whom their prince was such an object of veneration that none of them presumed to look him directly in the face, or ever approached him but with an averted countenance. There were other tribes on the same continent, among which, though far less advanced than the people of Bogota in their progress towards refinement, the freedom and independence natural to man in his savage state was much abridged, and their caziques had assumed extensive authority.

It is not easy to point out the circumstances, or to discover the causes which contributed to introduce and establish among each of those people a form of government so different from that of the tribes around them, and so repugnant to the genius of rude nations. If the persons who had an opportunity of observing them in their original state had been more attentive and more discerning, we might have received information from their conquerors sufficient to guide us in this inquiry. If the transactions of people unacquainted with the use of letters were not involved in impenetrable obscurity, we might have derived some information from this domestic source. But as nothing satisfactory can be gathered either from the accounts of the Spaniards, or from their own traditions, we must have recourse to conjectures in order to explain the irregular appearances in the political state of the people whom I have mentioned. As all those tribes which had lost their native liberty and independence were seated in the torrid zone, or in countries approaching to it, the climate may be supposed to have had some influence in forming their minds to that servitude which seems to be the destiny of man in those regions of the globe. But though the influence of climate, more powerful than that of any other natural cause, is not to be overlooked, that alone cannot be admitted as a solution of the point in question. The operations of mind are so complex that we must not attribute the form which they assume to the force of a single principle or cause. Although despotism be confined in America to the torrid zone, and to the warm regions bordering upon it, I have already observed that these countries contain various tribes, some of which possess a high degree of freedom, and others are altogether unacquainted with the restraints of government. The indolence and timidity peculiar to the inhabitants of the islands, render them so incapable of the sentiments or efforts necessary for maintaining independence, that there is no occasion to search for any other cause of their tame submission to the will of a superior. The subjection of the Natchez, and of the people of Bogota, seems to have been the consequence of a difference in their state from that of the other Americans. They were settled nations, residing constantly in one place. Hunting was not the chief occupation of the former, and the latter seem hardly to have trusted to it for any part of their subsistence.

Both had made such progress in agriculture and arts that the idea of property was introduced in some degree in the one community, and fully established in the other. Among people in this state, avarice and ambition have acquired objects, and have begun to exert their power; views of interest allure the selfish; the desire of pre-eminence excites the enterprising; dominion is courted by both; and passions unknown to man in his savage state prompt the interested and ambitious to encroach on the rights of their fellow-citizens. Motives, with which rude nations are equally unacquainted, induce the people to submit tamely to the usurped authority of their superiors. But even among nations in this state, the spirit of subjects could not have been rendered so obsequious, or the power of rulers so unbounded, without the intervention of superstition. By its fatal influence the human mind, in every stage of its progress, is depressed, and its native vigor and independence subdued. Whoever can acquire the direction of this formidable engine, is secure of dominion over his species. Unfortunately for the people whose institutions are the subject of inquiry, this power was in the hands of their chiefs. The caziques of the isles could put what responses they pleased into the mouths of their *Cemus* or gods; and it was by their interposition, and in their name, that they imposed any tribute or burden on their people. The same power and prerogative was exercised by the great chief of the Natchez, as the principal minister as well as the representative of the Son, their deity. The respect which the people of Bogota paid to their monarchs was likewise inspired by religion, and the heir apparent of the kingdom was educated in the innermost recess of their principal temple, under such austere discipline, and with such peculiar rites, as tended to fill his subjects with high sentiments concerning the sanctity of his character, and the dignity of his station. Thus superstition, which in the rudest period of society, is either altogether unknown, or wastes its force in childish unmeaning practices, had acquired such an ascendancy over those people of America, who had made some little progress towards refinement, that it became the chief instrument of bending their minds to an untimely servitude, and subjected them, in the beginning of their political career, to a despotism hardly less rigorous than that which awaits nations in the last stage of their corruption and decline.

V. After examining the political institutions of the rude nations in America, the next object of attention is their art of war, or their provision for public security and defence. The small tribes dispersed over America are not only independent and unconnected, but engaged in perpetual hostilities with one another. Though mostly strangers to the idea of separate property, vested in any individual, the rudest of the American nations are well acquainted with the rights of each community to its own domains. This right they hold to be perfect and exclusive, entitling the possessor to oppose the encroachment of neighboring tribes. As it is of the utmost consequence to prevent them from destroying or disturbing the game in their hunting grounds, they guard this national property with a jealous attention. But as their territories are extensive, and the boundaries of them not exactly ascertained, innumerable subjects of dispute arise, which seldom terminate without bloodshed. Even in this simple and primitive state of society, interest is a source of discord, and often prompts savage tribes to take arms in order to repel or punish such as encroach on the forests or plains to which they trust for subsistence.

But interest is not either the most frequent or the most powerful motive of the incessant hostilities among rude nations. These must be imputed to the passion of revenge, which rages with such violence in the breast of savages, that eagerness to gratify it may be considered as the distinguishing characteristic of men in their uncivilized state. Circumstances of powerful influence, both in the interior government of rude tribes, and in their external operations against foreign enemies, concur in cherishing and adding strength to a passion fatal to the general tranquillity. When the right of redressing his own wrongs is left in the hands of every individual, injuries are felt with exquisite sensibility, and vengeance exercised with unrelenting rancor. No time can obliterate the memory of an offence, and it is seldom that it can be expiated but by the blood of the offender. In carrying on their public wars, savage nations are influenced by the same ideas, and animated with the same spirit, as in preëxisting private vengeance. In small communities, every man is touched with the injury or affront offered to the body of which he is a member, as if it were a personal attack

upon his own honor or safety. The desire of revenge is communicated from breast to breast, and soon kindles into rage. As feeble societies can take the field only in small parties, each warrior is conscious of the importance of his own arm, and feels that to it is committed a considerable portion of the public vengeance. War, which between extensive kingdoms is carried on with little animosity, is prosecuted by small tribes with all the rancor of a private quarrel. The resentment of nations is as implacable as that of individuals. It may be dissimulated or suppressed, but is never extinguished; and often, when least expected or dreaded, it bursts out with redoubled fury. When polished nations have obtained the glory of victory, or have acquired an addition of territory, they may terminate a war with honor. But savages are not satisfied until they extirpate the community which is the object of their hatred. They fight, not to conquer, but to destroy. If they engage in hostilities, it is with a resolution never to see the face of the enemy in peace, but to prosecute the quarrel with immortal enmity. The desire of vengeance is the first and almost the only principle which a savage instils into the minds of his children. This grows up with him as he advances in life; and as his attention is directed to few objects, it acquires a degree of force unknown among men whose passions are dissipated and weakened by the variety of their occupations and pursuits. The desire of vengeance, which takes possession of the heart of savages, resembles the instinctive rage of an animal rather than the passion of a man. It turns, with undiscerning fury, even against inanimate objects. If hurt accidentally by a stone, they often seize it in a transport of anger, and endeavor to wreak their vengeance upon it. If struck with an arrow in a battle, they will tear it from the wound, break and bite it with their teeth, and dash it on the ground. With respect to their enemies their rage of vengeance knows no bounds. When under the dominion of this passion, man becomes the most cruel of all animals. He neither pities, nor forgives, nor spares.

The force of this passion is so well understood by the Americans themselves, that they always apply to it in order to excite their people to take arms. If the elders of any tribe attempt to rouse their youth from sloth, if a chief wishes to allure a band of warriors to follow him in invading an enemy's country, the most persuasive topics of their martial eloquence are drawn from revenge. "The bones of our countrymen," say they, "lie uncovered; their bloody bed has not been washed clean. Their spirits cry against us; they must be appeased. Let us go and devour the people by whom they were slain. Sit no longer inactive upon your mats; lift the hatchet, console the spirits of the dead, and tell them that they shall be avenged."

Animated with such exhortations, the youth snatch their arms in a transport of fury, raise the song of war, and burn with impatience to imbue their hands in the blood of their enemies. Private chiefs often assemble small parties and invade a hostile tribe without consulting the rulers of the community. A single warrior, prompted by caprice or revenge, will take the field alone, and march several hundred miles to surprise and cut off a straggling enemy. [65] The exploits of a noted warrior, in such solitary excursions, often form the chief part in the history of an American campaign; [66] and their elders connive at such irregular sallies, as they tend to cherish a martial spirit, and accustom their people to enterprise and danger. But when a war is national, and undertaken by public authority, the deliberations are formal and slow. The elders assemble, they deliver their opinions in solemn speeches, they weigh with maturity the nature of the enterprise, and balance its beneficial or disadvantageous consequences with no inconsiderable portion of political discernment or sagacity. Their priests and soothsayers are consulted, and sometimes they ask the advice even of their women. If the determination be for war, they prepare for it with much ceremony. A leader offers to conduct the expedition, and is accepted. But no man is constrained to follow him; the resolution of the community to commence hostilities imposes no obligation upon any member to take part in the war. Each individual is still master of his own conduct, and his engagement in the service is perfectly voluntary.

The maxims by which they regulate their military operations, though extremely different from those which take place among more civilized and populous nations, are well suited to their own political state, and the nature of the country in which they act. They never take the field in numerous bodies, as it would require a greater effort of foresight and industry than is usual among savages, to provide for their subsistence during

a march of some hundred miles through dreary forests, or during a long voyage upon their lakes and rivers. Their armies are not encumbered with baggage or military stores. Each warrior, besides his arms, carries a mat and a small bag of pounded maize, and with these is completely equipped for any service. While at a distance from the enemy's frontier, they disperse through the woods, and support themselves with the game which they kill, or the fish which they catch. As they approach nearer to the territories of the nation which they intend to attack, they collect their troops, and advance with greater caution. Even in their hottest and most active wars they proceed wholly by stratagem and ambuscade. They place not their glory in attacking their enemies with open force. To surprise and destroy is the greatest merit of a commander, and the highest pride of his followers. War and hunting are their only occupations, and they conduct both with the same spirit and the same arts. They follow the track of their enemies through the forest. They endeavor to discover their haunts, they lurk in some thicket near to these, and, with the patience of a sportsman lying in wait for game, will continue in their station day after day until they can rush upon their prey when most secure, and least able to resist them. If they meet no straggling party of the enemy, they advance towards their villages, but with such solicitude to conceal their own approach, that they often creep on their hands and feet through the woods, and paint their skins of the same color with the withered leaves, in order to avoid detection. If so fortunate as to remain unobserved, they set on fire the enemies' huts in the dead of night, and massacre the inhabitants as they fly naked and defenceless from the flames. If they hope to effect a retreat without being pursued, they carry off some prisoners, whom they reserve for a more dreadful fate. But if, notwithstanding all their address and precautions, they find that their motions are discovered, that the enemy has taken the alarm, and is prepared to oppose them, they usually deem it most prudent to retire. They regard it as extreme folly to meet an enemy who is on his guard, upon equal terms, or to give battle in an open field. The most distinguished success is a disgrace to a leader if it has been purchased with any considerable loss of his followers, [67] and they never boast of a victory if stained with the blood of their own countrymen. To fall in battle, instead of being reckoned an honorable death, is a misfortune which subjects the memory of a warrior to the imputation of rashness or imprudence. [68]

This system of war was universal in America; and the small uncivilized tribes, dispersed through all its different regions and climates, display more craft than boldness in carrying on their hostilities. Struck with this conduct, so opposite to the ideas and maxims of Europeans, several authors contend that it flows from a feeble and dastardly spirit peculiar to the Americans, which is incapable of any generous or manly exertion. But when we reflect that many of these tribes, on occasions which call for extraordinary efforts, not only defend themselves with obstinate resolution, but attack their enemies with the most daring courage, and that they possess fortitude of mind superior to the sense of danger or the fear of death, we must ascribe their habitual caution to some other cause than constitutional timidity. The number of men in each tribe is so small, the difficulty of rearing new members amidst the hardships and dangers of savage life is so great, that the life of a citizen is extremely precious, and the preservation of it becomes a capital object in their policy. Had the point of honor been the same among the feeble American tribes as among the powerful nations of Europe, had they been taught to court fame or victory in contempt of danger and death, they must have been ruined by maxims so ill adapted to their condition. But wherever their communities are more populous, so that they can act with considerable force, and can sustain the loss of several of their members without being sensibly weakened, the military operations of the Americans more nearly resemble those of other nations. The Brazilians, as well as the tribes situated upon the banks of the river De la Plata, often take the field in such numerous bodies as deserve the name of armies. They defy their enemies to the combat, engage in regular battles, and maintain the conflict with that desperate ferocity which is natural to men who, having no idea of war but that of exterminating their enemies, never give or take quarter. [69] In the powerful empires of Mexico and Peru, great armies were assembled, frequent battles were fought, and the theory as well as practice of war were different from

what took place in those petty societies which assume the name of nations.

But though vigilance and attention are the qualities chiefly requisite where the object of war is to deceive and to surprise; and though the Americans, when acting singly, display an amazing degree of address in concealing their own motions, and discovering those of an enemy, yet it is remarkable that, when they take the field in parties, they can seldom be brought to observe the precautions most essential to their own security. Such is the difficulty of accustoming savages to subordination, or to act in concert; such is their impatience under restraint, and such their caprice and presumption, that it is rarely they can be brought to conform themselves to the counsels and directions of their leaders. They never station sentinels around the place where they rest at night, and after marching some hundred miles to surprise an enemy, are often surprised themselves, and cut off, while sunk in as profound sleep as if they were not within reach of danger.

If, notwithstanding this negligence and security, which often frustrate their most artful schemes, they catch the enemy unprepared, they rush upon them with the utmost ferocity, and tearing off the scalps of all those who fall victims to their rage, [70] they carry home those strange trophies in triumph. These they preserve as monuments, not only of their own prowess, but of the vengeance which their arm has inflicted upon the people who were objects of public resentment. They are still more sollicitous to seize prisoners. During their retreat, if they hope to effect it unmolested, the prisoners are commonly exempt from any insult, and treated with some degree of humanity, though guarded with the most strict attention.

But after this temporary suspension, the rage of the conquerors rekindles with new fury. As soon as they approach their own frontier, some of their number are despatched to inform their countrymen with respect to the success of the expedition. Then the prisoners begin to feel the wretchedness of their condition. The women of the village, together with the youth who have not attained to the age of bearing arms, assemble, and forming themselves into two lines, through which the prisoners must pass, beat and bruise them with sticks or stones in a cruel manner. After this first gratification of their rage against their enemies, follow lamentations for the loss of such of their own countrymen as have fallen in the service, accompanied with words and actions which seem to express the utmost anguish and grief. But in a moment, upon a signal given, their tears cease; they pass, with a sudden and unaccountable transition, from the depths of sorrow to the transports of joy; and begin to celebrate their victory with all the wild exultation of a barbarous triumph. The fate of the prisoners remains still undecided. The old men deliberate concerning it. Some are destined to be tortured to death, in order to satiate the revenge of the conquerors; some to replace the members which the community has lost in that or former wars. They who are reserved for this milder fate, are led to the huts of those whose friends have been killed. The women meet them at the door, and if they receive them, their sufferings are at an end. They are adopted into the family, and, according to their phrase, are seated upon the mat of the deceased. They assume his name, they hold the same rank, and are treated thenceforward with all the tenderness due to a father, a brother, a husband, or a friend. But, if either from caprice or an unrelenting desire of revenge, the women of any family refuse to accept of the prisoner who is offered to them, his doom is fixed. No power can then save him from torture and death.

While their lot is in suspense, the prisoners themselves appear altogether unconcerned about what may befall them. They talk, they eat, they sleep, as if they were perfectly at ease, and no danger impending. When the fatal sentence is intimated to them, they receive it with an unaltered countenance, raise their death song, and prepare to suffer like men. Their conquerors assemble as to a solemn festival, resolved to put the fortitude of the captive to the utmost proof. A scene ensues, the bare description of which is enough to chill the heart with horror, wherever men have been accustomed, by milder institutions, to respect their species, and to melt into tenderness at the sight of human sufferings. The prisoners are tied naked to a stake, but so as to be at liberty to move round it. All who are present, men, women, and children, rush upon them like furies. Every species of torture is applied that the rancor of revenge can invent. Some burn their limbs with red hot irons, some mangle their bodies with knives, others tear their flesh from their bones,

pluck out their nails by the roots, and rend and twist their sinews. They vie with one another in refinements of torture. Nothing sets bounds to their rage but the dread of abridging the duration of their vengeance by hastening the death of the sufferers; and such is their cruel ingenuity in tormenting, that, by avoiding industriously to hurt any vital part, they often prolong this scene of anguish for several days. In spite of all that they suffer, the victims continue to chant their death song with a firm voice, they boast of their own exploits, they insult their tormentors for the want of skill in avenging their friends and relations, they warn them of the vengeance which awaits them on account of what they are now doing, and excite their ferocity by the most provoking reproaches and threats. To display undaunted fortitude, in such dreadful situations is the noblest triumph of a warrior. To avoid the trial by a voluntary death, or to shrink under it, is deemed infamous and cowardly. If any one betray symptoms of timidity, his tormentors often despatch him at once with contempt, as unworthy of being treated like a man. Animated with those ideas, they endure without a groan what it seems almost impossible that human nature should sustain. They appear to be not only insensible to pain, but to court it. "Forbear," said an aged chief of the Iroquois, when his insults had provoked one of his tormentors to wound him with a knife, "forbear these stabs of your knife, and rather let me die by fire, than those dogs, your allies, from beyond the sea, may learn by my example to suffer like men." This magnanimity of which there are frequent instances among the American warriors, instead of exciting admiration, or calling forth sympathy, exasperates the fierce spirits of their torturers to fresh acts of cruelty. Weary, at length of contending with men whose constancy of mind they cannot vanquish, some chief, in a rage, puts a period to their sufferings, by despatching them with his dagger or club.

This barbarous scene is often succeeded by one no less shocking. As it is impossible to appease the fell spirit of revenge which rages in the heart of a savage, this frequently prompts the Americans to devour those unhappy persons who have been the victims of their cruelty. In the ancient world, tradition has preserved the memory of barbarous nations of cannibals, who fed on human flesh. But in every part of the New World there were people to whom this custom was familiar. It prevailed in the southern continent, in several of the islands, and in various districts of North America. Even in those parts where circumstances with which we are unacquainted had in a great measure abolished this practice, it seems formerly to have been so well known that it is incorporated into the idiom of their language. Among the Iroquois, the phrase by which they express their resolution of making war against an enemy is, "Let us go and eat that nation." If they solicit the aid of a neighboring tribe, they invite it "to eat broth made of the flesh of their enemies." [71] Nor was the practice peculiar to rude unpolished tribes; the principle from which they took rise is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Americans, that it subsisted in Mexico, one of the civilized empires in the New World, and relics of it may be discovered among the more mild inhabitants of Peru. It was not scarcity of food, as some authors imagine, and the importunate cravings of hunger, which forced the Americans to those horrid repasts on their fellow-creatures. Human flesh was never used as common food in any country, and the various relations concerning people who reckoned it among the stated means of subsistence, flow from the credulity and mistakes of travellers. The rancor of revenge first prompted men to this barbarous action. The fiercest tribes devoured none but prisoners taken in war, or such as they regarded as enemies. [72] Women and children who were not the objects of enmity, if not cut off in the fury of their first inroad into a hostile country, seldom suffered by the deliberate effects of their revenge.

The people of South America gratify their revenge in a manner somewhat different, but with no less unrelenting rancor. Their prisoners, after meeting at their first entrance with the same rough reception as among the North Americans, are not only exempt from injury, but treated with the greatest kindness. They are feasted and caressed, and some beautiful young women are appointed to attend and solace them. It is not easy to account for this part of their conduct, unless we impute it to a refinement in cruelty. For, while they seem studious to attach the captives to life, by supplying them with every enjoyment that can render it agreeable, their doom is irrevocably fixed. On a day appointed the victorious tribe assembles, the pri-

soner is brought forth with great solemnity, he views the preparations for the sacrifice with as much indifference as if he himself was not the victim, and meeting his fate with undaunted firmness, is despatched with a single blow. The moment he falls, the women seize the body and dress it for the feast. They besmear their children with the blood, in order to kindle in their bosoms a hatred of their enemies, which is never extinguished, and all join in feeding upon the flesh with amazing greediness and exultation. To devour the body of a slaughtered enemy they deem the most complete and exquisite gratification of revenge. Wherever this practice prevails, captives never escape death, but they are not tortured with the same cruelty as among tribes which are less accustomed to such horrid feasts. [73]

As the constancy of every American warrior may be put to such severe proof, the great object of military education and discipline in the New World is to form the mind to sustain it. When nations carry on war with open force, defy their enemies to the combat, and vanquish them by the superiority of their skill or courage, soldiers are trained to be active, vigorous, and enterprising. But in America, where the genius and maxims of war are extremely different, passive fortitude is the quality in highest estimation. Accordingly, it is early the study of the Americans to acquire sentiments and habits which will enable them to behave like men when their resolution shall be put to the proof. As the youth of other nations exercise themselves in feats of activity and force, those of America vie with one another in exhibitions of their patience under sufferings. They harden their nerves by those voluntary trials, and gradually accustom themselves to endure the sharpest pain without complaining. A boy and a girl will bind their naked arms together, and place a burning coal between them, in order to try who first discovers such impatience as to shake it off. All the trials customary in America, when a youth is admitted into the class of warriors, or when a warrior is promoted to the dignity of captain or chief, are accommodated to this idea of manliness. They are not displays of valor, but of patience; they are not exhibitions of their ability to offend, but of their capacity to suffer. Among the tribes on the banks of the Orinoco, if a warrior aspires to the rank of captain, his probation begins with a long fast, more rigid than any ever observed by the most abstemious hermit. At the close of this the chiefs assemble, each gives him three lashes with a large whip, applied so vigorously that his body is almost flayed, and if he betrays the least symptoms of impatience or even sensibility he is disgraced for ever, and rejected as unworthy of the honor to which he aspires. After some interval, the constancy of the candidate is proved by a more excruciating trial. He is laid in hammock with his hands bound fast, and innumerable multitude of venomous ants, whose bite occasions exquisite pain, and produces a violent inflammation, are thrown upon him. The judges of his merit stand around the hammock, and, while these cruel insects fasten upon the most sensible parts of his body, a sigh, a groan, an involuntary motion, expressive of what he suffers, would exclude him for ever from the rank of captain. Even after this evidence of his fortitude, it is not deemed to be completely ascertained, but must stand another test more dreadful than any he has hitherto undergone. He is again suspended in his hammock, and covered with leaves of the palmetto. A fire of stinking herbs is kindled underneath, so as he may feel its heat and be involved in its smoke. Though scorched and almost suffocated, he must continue to endure with the same patient insensibility. Many perish in this rude essay of their firmness and courage, but such as go through it with applause, receive the ensigns of their new dignity with much solemnity, and are ever after regarded as leaders of approved resolution, whose behavior in the most trying situations will do honor to their country. In North America the previous trial of a warrior is neither so formal nor so severe. Though even there, before a youth is permitted to bear arms, his patience and fortitude are proved by blows, by fire, and by insults more intolerable to a haughty spirit than both.

The amazing steadiness with which the Americans endure the most exquisite torments, has induced some authors to suppose that, from the peculiar feebleness of their frame, their sensibility is not so acute as that of other people; as women, and persons of a relaxed habit, are observed to be less affected with pain than robust men, whose nerves are more firmly braced. But the constitution of the Americans is not so different in its texture from that of the rest of the human species as to account for this diversity in their behavior. It

flows from a principle of honor, instilled early and cultivated with such care, as to inspire man in his rudest state with an heroic magnanimity, to which philosophy hath endeavored in vain to form him, when more highly improved and polished. This invincible constancy he has been taught to consider as the chief distinction of a man, and the highest attainment of a warrior. The ideas which influence his conduct, and the passions which take possession of his heart, are few. They operate of course with more decisive effect than when the mind is crowded with a multiplicity of objects, or distracted by the variety of its pursuits; and when every motive that acts with any force in forming the sentiments of a savage, prompts him to suffer with dignity, he will bear what might seem to be impossible for human patience to sustain. But wherever the fortitude of the Americans is not roused to exertion by their ideas of honor, their feelings of pain are the same with those of the rest of mankind. [74] Nor is that patience under sufferings for which the Americans have been so justly celebrated, a universal attainment. The constancy of many of the victims is overcome by the agonies of torture. Their weakness and lamentations complete the triumph of their enemies, and reflect disgrace upon their own country.

The perpetual hostilities carried on among the American tribes are productive of very fatal effects. Even in seasons of public tranquillity, their imperfect industry does not supply them with any superfluous store of provisions; but when the irruption of an enemy desolates their cultivated lands, or disturbs them in their hunting excursions, such a calamity reduces a community, naturally unprovided and destitute of resources, to extreme want. All the people of the district that is invaded are frequently forced to take refuge in woods and mountains, which can afford them little subsistence, and where many of them perish. Notwithstanding their excessive caution in conducting their military operations, and the solicitude of every leader to preserve the lives of his followers, as the rude tribes in America seldom enjoy any interval of peace, the loss of men among them is considerable in proportion to the degree of population. Thus famine and the sword combine in thinning their numbers. All their communities are feeble, and nothing now remains of several nations which were once considerable, but the name.

Sensible of this continual decay, there are tribes which endeavor to recruit their national force when exhausted, by adopting prisoners taken in war, and by this expedient prevent their total extinction. The practice, however, is not universally received. Resentment operates more powerfully among savages than considerations of policy. Far the greater part of their captives was anciently sacrificed to their vengeance, and it is only since their numbers began to decline fast, that they have generally adopted milder maxims. But such as they do naturalize renounce for ever their native tribe, and assume the manners as well as passions of the people by whom they are adopted so entirely, that they often join them in expeditions against their own countrymen. Such a sudden transition, and so repugnant to one of the most powerful instincts implanted by nature, would be deemed strange among many people; but among the members of small communities, where national enmity is violent and deep rooted, it has the appearance of being still more unaccountable. It seems, however, to result naturally from the principles upon which war is carried on in America. When nations aim at exterminating their enemies, no exchange of prisoners can ever take place. From the moment one is made a prisoner, his country and his friends consider him as dead. [75] He has incurred indelible disgrace by suffering himself to be surprised or to be taken by an enemy; and were he to return home, after such a stain upon his honor, his nearest relations would not receive or even acknowledge that they knew him. Some tribes were still more rigid, and if a prisoner returned, the infamy which he had brought on his country was expiated, by putting him instantly to death. As the unfortunate captive is thus an outcast from his own country, and the ties which bound him to it are irreparably broken, he feels less reluctance in forming a new connexion with people, who, as an evidence of their friendly sentiments, not only deliver him from a cruel death, but offer to admit him to all the rights of a fellow-citizen. The perfect similarity of manners among savage nations facilitates and completes the union, and induces a captive to transfer not only his allegiance, but his affection to the community into the bosom of which he is received.

But though war be the chief occupation of men in their rude state, and to excel in it their highest dis-

tion and pride, their inferiority is always manifest when they engage in competition with polished nations. Destitute of that foresight which discerns and provides for remote events, strangers to the union and mutual confidence requisite in forming any extensive plan of operations, and incapable of the subordination no less requisite in carrying such plans into execution, savage nations may astonish a disciplined enemy by their valor, but seldom prove formidable to him by their conduct; and whenever the contest is of long continuance, must yield to superior art. [76] The empires of Peru and Mexico, though their progress in civilization, when measured by the European or Asiatic standards, was inconsiderable, acquired such an ascendancy over the rude tribes around them, that they subjected most of them with great facility to their power. When the people of Europe overran the various provinces of America, this superiority was still more conspicuous. Neither the courage, nor number of the natives could repel a handful of invaders. The abhorration and enmity, prevalent among barbarians, prevented them from uniting in any common scheme of defence, and while each tribe fought separately, all were subdued.

VI. The arts of rude nations unacquainted with the use of metals, hardly merit any attention on their own account, but are worthy of some notice, as far as they serve to display the genius and manners of man in this stage of his progress. The first distress a savage must feel, will arise from the manner in which his body is affected by the heat, or cold, or moisture of the climate under which he lives; and his first care will be to provide some covering for his own defence. In the warmer and more mild climates of America, none of the rude tribes were clothed. To most of them nature had not even suggested any idea of impropriety in being altogether uncovered. As under a mild climate there was little need of any defence from the injuries of the air, and their extreme indolence shunned every species of labor to which it was not urged by absolute necessity, all the inhabitants of the isles, and a considerable part of the people on the continent, remained in this state of naked simplicity. Others were satisfied with some slight covering, such as decency required. But though naked, they were not unadorned. They dressed their hair in many different forms. They fastened bits of gold, or shells, or shining stones, in their ears, their noses and cheeks. They stained their skins with a great variety of figures; and they spent much time, and submitted to great pain, in ornamenting their persons in this fantastic manner. [77] However, which finds endless occupation for ingenuity and invention in nations where dress has become a complex and intricate art, is circumscribed within so narrow bounds, and confined to so few articles among naked savages, that they are not satisfied with those simple decorations, and have a wonderful propensity to alter the natural form of their bodies, in order to render it (as they imagine) more perfect and beautiful. This practice was universal among the rudest of the American tribes. Their operations for that purpose begin as soon as an infant is born. By compressing the bones of the skull, while still soft and flexible, some flatten the crown of their heads; some squeeze them into the shape of a cone; others mould them as much as possible into a square figure; and they often endanger the lives of their posterity by their violent and absurd efforts to derange the plan of nature, or to improve upon her designs. But in all their attempts either to adorn or to new model their persons, it seems to have been less the object of the Americans to please, or to appear beautiful, than to give an air of dignity and terror to their aspect. Their attention to dress had more reference to war than to gallantry. The difference in rank and estimation between the two sexes was so great, as seems to have extinguished, in some measure, their solicitude to appear mutually amiable. The man deemed it beneath him to adorn his person, for the sake of one on whom he was accustomed to look down as a slave. It was when the warrior had in view to enter the council of his nation, or to take the field against its enemies, that he assumed his choicest ornaments, and decked his person with the nicest care. The decorations of the women were few and simple; whatever was precious or splendid was reserved for the men. In several tribes the women were obliged to spend a considerable part of their time every day in adorning and painting their husbands, and could bestow little attention upon ornamenting themselves. Among a race of men so haughty as to despise, or so cold as to neglect them, the women naturally became careless and slovenly, and the love of finery and show, which had been deemed their favorite passion, was confined chiefly to the other sex. To deck his

person was the distinction of a warrior, as well as one of his most ardent occupations. [77] In one part of their dress, which at first sight appears the most singular and capricious, the Americans have discovered considerable sagacity in providing against the chief inconveniences of their climate, which is often sultry and moist to excess. All the different tribes, which remain unclothed, are accustomed to anoint and rub their bodies with the grease of animals, with viscous gums, and with oils of different kinds. By this they check that profuse perspiration, which in the torrid zone wastes the vigor of the frame, and abridges the period of human life. By this, too, they provide a defence against the extreme moisture during the rainy season [78] They likewise, at certain seasons, temper pairs of different colors with those unctuous substances, and bedaub themselves plentifully with that composition. Sheathed with this impenetrable varnish, their skins are not only protected from the penetrating heat of the sun, but as all the innumerable tribes of insects have an antipathy to the smell or taste of that mixture, they are delivered from their teasing persecution, which amidst forests and marshes, especially in the warmer regions, would have been altogether intolerable in a state of perfect nakedness.

The next object to dress that will engage the attention of a savage, is to prepare some habitation which may afford him shelter by day, and a retreat at night. Whatever is connected with his ideas of personal dignity, whatever bears any reference to his military character, the savage warrior deems an object of importance. Whatever relates only to peaceable and inactive life, he views with indifference. Hence, though finally attentive to dress, he is little solicitous about the elegance or disposition of his habitation. Savage nations, far from that state of improvement, in which the mode of living is considered as a mark of distinction, and unacquainted with those wants, which require a variety of accommodation, regulate the construction of their houses according to their limited ideas of necessity. Some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. [79] In the rainy season they retire into caves, formed by the hand of Nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. Others, who have no fixed abode, and roam through the forest in quest of game, sojourn in temporary huts, which they erect with little labor, and abandon without any concern. The inhabitants of those vast plains, which are deluged by the overflowing of rivers during the heavy rains that fall periodically between the tropics, raise houses upon piles fastened in the ground, or place them among the boughs of trees, and are thus safe amidst that wide extended inundation which surrounds them. Such were the first essays of the rudest Americans towards providing themselves with habitations. But even among tribes which are more improved, and whose residence is become altogether fixed, the structure of their houses is extremely mean and simple. They are wretched huts, sometimes of an oblong and sometimes of a circular form, intended merely for shelter, with no view to elegance, and little attention to convenience. The doors are so low that it is necessary to bend or to creep on the hands and feet in order to enter them. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to convey out the smoke. To follow travellers in other minute circumstances of their descriptions, is not only beneath the dignity of history, but would be foreign to the object of my researches. One circumstance merits attention, as it is singular, and illustrates the character of the people. Some of their houses are so large as to contain accommodation for fourscore or a hundred persons. These are built for the reception of different families, which dwell together under the same roof, [80] and often around a common fire, without separate apartments, or any kind of screen or partition between the spaces which they respectively occupy. As soon as men have acquired distinct ideas of property; or when they are so much attached to their females, as to watch them with care and jealousy; families of course divide and settle in separate houses, where they can secure and guard whatever they wish to preserve. This singular mode of habitation among several people of America, may therefore be considered not only as the effect of their imperfect notions concerning property, but as a proof of inattention, and indifference towards their women. If they had not been accustomed to perfect equality, such

an arrangement could not have taken place. If their sensibility had been apt to have taken alarm, they would not have trusted the virtue of their women amidst the temptations and opportunities of such a promiscuous intercourse. At the same time, the perpetual concord, which reigns in habitations where so many families are crowded together, is surprising, and affords a striking evidence that they must be people of either a very gentle, or of a very phlegmatic temper, who in such a situation, are unacquainted with animosity, brawling, and discord.

After making some provision for his dress and habitation, a savage will perceive the necessity of preparing proper arms with which to assault or repel an enemy. This, accordingly, has early exercised the ingenuity and invention of all rude nations. The first offensive weapons were doubtless such as chance presented, and the first efforts of art to improve upon these, were extremely awkward and simple. Clubs made of some heavy wood, stakes hardened in the fire, lances whose heads were armed with flint or the bones of some animal, are weapons known to the rudest nations. All these, however, are of use only in close encounter. But men wished to annoy their enemies while at a distance, and the bow and arrow it the most early invention for this purpose. This weapon is in the hands of people whose advances in improvement are extremely inconsiderable, and is familiar to the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe. It is remarkable, however, that some tribes in America were so destitute of art and ingenuity, that they had not attained to the discovery of this simple invention, and seem to have been unacquainted with the use of any missile weapon. The sling, though in its construction not more complex than the bow, and among many nations of equal antiquity, was little known to the people of North America, or the islands, but appears to have been used by a few tribes in the southern continent. [81] The people, in some provinces of Chili, and those of Patagonia, towards the southern extremity of America, use a weapon peculiar to themselves. They fasten stones, about the size of a fist, to each end of a leather thong of eight feet in length, and swing these round their heads, throw them with such dexterity, that they seldom miss the object at which they aim.

Among people who had hardly any occupation but war or hunting, the chief exertions of their invention, [82] as well as industry, were naturally directed towards these objects. With respect to every thing else, their wants and desires were so limited, that their invention was not upon the stretch. As their food and habitations are perfectly simple, their domestic utensils are few and rude. Some of the southern tribes had discovered the art of forming vessels of earthen ware, and baking them in the sun, so as they could endure the fire. In North America, they hollowed a piece of hard wood in the form of a kettle, and filling it with water, brought it to boil, by putting red-hot stones into it. [83] These vessels they used in preparing part of their provisions; and this may be considered as a step towards refinement and luxury; for men in their rudest state were not acquainted with any method of dressing their victuals but by roasting them on the fire; and among several tribes in America this is the only species of cookery yet known. But the masterpiece of art, among the savages of America, is the construction of the canoes. An Esquimaux, shut up in his boat of whalebone, covered with the skins of seals, can brave that stormy ocean on which the barrenness of his country compels him to depend for the chief part of his subsistence. The people of Canada venture upon their rivers and lakes in boats made of the bark of trees, and so light that two men can carry them, wherever shallows or cataracts obstruct the navigation. [84] In these frail vessels they undertake and accomplish long voyages. The inhabitants of the isles and of the southern continent form their canoes by hollowing the trunk of a large tree, with infinite labor; and though in appearance they are extremely awkward and unwieldy, they paddle and steer them with such dexterity, that Europeans, well acquainted with all the improvements in the science of navigation, have been astonished at the rapidity of their motion, and the quickness of their evolutions. Their *progies*, or war boats, are so large as to carry forty or fifty men; their canoes, employed in fishing and in short voyages are less capacious. The form as well as materials of all these various kinds of vessels, is well adapted to the service for which they are destined; and the more minutely they are examined, the mechanism of their structure, as well as neatness of their fabric, will appear the more surprising.

But, in every attempt towards industry among the Americans, one striking quality in their character is conspicuous. They apply to work without ardor, carry it on with little activity, and, like children, are easily diverted from it. Even in operations which seem the most interesting, and where the most powerful motives urge them to vigorous exertions, they labor with a languid listlessness. Their work advances under their hand with such slowness, that an eye witness compares it to the imperceptible progress of vegetation. They will spend so many years in forming a canoe, that it often begins to rot with age before they finish it. They will suffer one part of a roof to decay and perish, before they complete the other. The slightest manual operation consumes an amazing length of time, and what in polished nations would hardly be an effort of industry, is among savages an arduous undertaking. This slowness of the Americans in executing works of every kind may be imputed to various causes. Among savages, who do not depend for subsistence upon the efforts of regular industry, time is of so little importance that they set no value upon it; and provided they can finish a design, they never regard how long they are employed about it. The tools which they employ are so awkward and defective that every work in which they engage must necessarily be tedious. The hand of the most industrious and skilful artist, were it furnished with no better instrument than a stone hatchet, a shell, or the bone of some animal, would find it difficult to perfect the most simple work. It is by length of labor that he must endeavor to supply his defect of power. But above all, the cold phlegmatic temper peculiar to the Americans, renders their operations languid. It is almost impossible to rouse them from that habitual indolence to which they are sunk; and unless when engaged in war or in hunting, they seem incapable of exerting any vigorous effort. Their ardor of application is not so great as to call forth that inventive spirit which suggests expedients for facilitating and abridging labor. They will return to a task day after day, but all their methods of executing it are tedious and operose. [85] Even since the Europeans have communicated to them the knowledge of their instruments, and taught them to imitate their arts, the peculiar genius of the Americans is conspicuous in every attempt they make. They may be patient and assiduous in labor, they can copy with a servile and minute accuracy, but discover little invention and no talents for despatch. In spite of instruction and example, the spirit of the race predominates; their motions are naturally tardy, and it is in vain to urge them to quicken their pace. Among the Spaniards in America, *the work of an Indian* is a phrase by which they describe any thing, in the execution of which an immense time has been employed and much labor wasted.

VII. No circumstance respecting rude nations has been the object of greater curiosity than their religious tenets and rites; and none, perhaps, has been so imperfectly understood, or represented with so little fidelity. Priests and missionaries are the persons who have had the best opportunities of carrying on this inquiry among the most uncivilized of the American tribes. Their minds, engrossed by the doctrines of their own religion, and habituated to its institutions, are apt to discover something which resembles those objects of their veneration, in the opinions and rites of every people. Whatever they contemplate they view through one medium, and draw and accommodate it to their own system. They study to reconcile the institutions which fall under their observation to their own creed, not to explain them according to the rude notions of the people themselves. They ascribe to them ideas which they are incapable of forming, and suppose them to be acquainted with principles and facts, which it is impossible that they should know. Hence, some missionaries have been induced to believe, that even among the most barbarous nations in America, they had discovered traces, no less distinct than amazing, of their acquaintance with the sublime mysteries and peculiar institutions of Christianity. From their own interpretation of certain expressions and ceremonies, they have concluded that these people had some knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinity, of the incarnation of the Son of God, of his expiatory sacrifice, of the virtue of the cross, and of the efficacy of the Sacraments. In such unattentive and credulous guides we can place little confidence.

But even when we make our choice of conductors with the greatest care, we must not follow them with implicit faith. An inquiry into the religious notions of rude nations is involved in peculiar intricacies, and we must often pause in order to separate the facts which our informers relate from the reasonings with which

they are accompanied, or the theories which they build upon them. Several pious writers, more attentive to the importance of the subject than the condition of the people whose sentiments they were endeavoring to discover, have bestowed much unprofitable labor in researches of this nature. [86]

There are two fundamental doctrines, upon which the whole system of religion, as far as it can be discovered by the light of nature, is established. The one respects the being of a God, the other the immortality of the soul. To discover the ideas of the uncultivated nations under our review, with regard to those important points, it is not only an object of curiosity, but may afford instruction. To these two articles I shall confine my researches, leaving subordinate opinions, and the detail of local superstitions, to more minute inquirers. Whoever has had any opportunity of examining into the religious opinions of persons in the inferior ranks of life, even in the most enlightened and civilized nations, will find that their system of belief is derived from instruction, not discovered by inquiry. That numerous part of the human species, whose lot is labor, whose principal and almost sole occupation is to secure subsistence, views the arrangement and operations of nature with little reflection, and has neither leisure, nor capacity for entering into that path of refined and intricate speculation which conduces to the knowledge of the principles of natural religion. In the early and most rude periods of savage life, such disquisitions are altogether unknown. When the intellectual powers are just beginning to unfold, and their first feeble exertions are directed towards a few objects of primary necessity and use; when the faculties of the mind are so limited as not to have formed abstract or general ideas; when language is so barren as to be destitute of names to distinguish any thing that is not perceived by some of the senses; it is preposterous to expect that man should be capable of tracing with accuracy the relation between cause and effect; or to suppose that he should rise from the contemplation of the one to the knowledge of the other, and form just conceptions of a Deity, as the Creator and Governor of the universe. The idea of creation is so familiar, wherever the mind is enlarged by science and illuminated with revelation, that we seldom reflect how profound and abstruse this idea is, or consider what progress man must have made in observation and research, before he could arrive at any knowledge of this elementary principle in religion. Accordingly, several tribes have been discovered in America, which have no idea whatever of a Supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship. Inattentive to that magnificent spectacle of beauty and order presented to their view, unaccustomed to reflect either upon what they themselves are, or to inquire who is the author of their existence, men, in their savage state, pass their days like the animals around them, without knowledge or veneration of any superior power. Some rude tribes have not in their language any name for the Deity, nor have the most accurate observers been able to discover any practice or institution which seemed to imply that they recognised his authority, or were solicitous to obtain his favor. [87] It is however only among men in the most uncultivated state of nature, and while their intellectual faculties are so feeble and limited as hardly to elevate them above the irrational creation, that we discover this total insensibility to the impressions of any invisible power.

But the human mind, formed for religion, soon opens to the reception of ideas, which are destined, when corrected and refined, to be the great source of consolation amidst the calamities of life. Among some of the American tribes, still in the infancy of improvement, we discern apprehensions of some invisible and powerful beings. These apprehensions are originally indistinct and perplexed, and seem to be suggested rather by the dread of impending evils than to flow from gratitude for blessings received. While nature holds on her course with uniform and undisturbed regularity, men enjoy the benefits resulting from it, without inquiring concerning its cause. But every deviation from this regular course rouses and astonishes them. When they behold events to which they are not accustomed, they search for the reasons of them with eager curiosity. Their understanding is unable to penetrate into these; but imagination, a more forward and ardent faculty of the mind, decides without hesitation. It ascribes the extraordinary occurrences in nature to the influence of invisible beings, and supposes that the thunder, the hurricane, and the earthquake are effects of their interposition. Some such confused notion of spiritual or invisible power, superintending over those

natural calamities which frequently desolate the earth, and terrify its inhabitants, may be traced among many rude nations. [88] But besides this, the disasters and dangers of savage life are so many, and men often find themselves in situations so formidable, that the mind, sensible of its own weakness, has no resource but in the guidance and protection of wisdom and power superior to what is human. Dejected with calamities which oppress him, and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage no longer relies upon himself; he feels his own impotence, and sees no prospect of being extricated, but by the interposition of some unseen arm. Hence, in all uncivilized nations, the first rites or practices which bear any resemblance to acts of religion, have it for their object to avert evils which men suffer or dread. The *Manitous* or *Okis* of the North Americans were amulets or charms, which they imagined to be of such virtue as to preserve the persons who reposed confidence in them from any disastrous event, or they were considered as tutelary spirits, whose aid they might implore in circumstances of distress. The *Cemis* of the islanders were reputed by them to be the authors of every calamity that afflicted the human race; they were represented under the most frightful forms, and religious homage was paid to them with no other view than to appease these furious deities. Even among those tribes whose religious system was more enlarged, and who had formed some conception of benevolent beings, which delighted in conferring benefits, as well as of malevolent powers prone to inflict evil; superstition still appears as the offspring of fear, and all its efforts were employed to avert calamities. They were persuaded that their good deities, prompted by the beneficence of their nature, would bestow every blessing in their power, without solicitation or acknowledgement; and their only anxiety was to soothe and deprecate the wrath of the powers whom they regarded as the enemies of mankind.

Such were the imperfect conceptions of the greater part of the Americans with respect to the interposition of invisible agents, and such, almost universally, was the mean and illiberal object of their superstitions. Were we to trace back the ideas of other nations to that rude state in which history first presents them to our view, we should discover a surprising resemblance in their tenets and practices; and should be convinced, that in similar circumstances, the faculties of the human mind hold nearly the same course in their progress, and arrive at almost the same conclusions. The impressions of fear are conspicuous in all the systems of superstition formed in this situation. The most exalted notions of men rise no higher than to a perplexed apprehension of certain beings, whose power, though supernatural, is limited as well as partial.

But, among other tribes, which have been longer united, or have made greater progress in improvement, we discern some feeble pointing towards more just and adequate conceptions of the power that presides in nature. They seem to perceive that there must be some universal cause to whom all things are indebted for their being. If we may judge by some of their expressions, they appear to acknowledge a divine power to be the maker of the world, and the disposer of all events. They denominate him the *Great Spirit*. But these ideas are faint and confused, and when they attempt to explain them, it is manifest that among them the word *spirit* has a meaning very different from that in which we employ it, and that they have no conception of any deity but what is corporeal. They believe their gods to be of the human form, though of a nature more excellent than man, and retail such wild incoherent fables concerning their functions and operations, as are altogether unworthy of a place in history. Even among these tribes, there is no established form of public worship; there are no temples erected in honor of their deities; and no ministers peculiarly consecrated to their service. They have the knowledge, however, of several superstitious ceremonies and practices handed down to them by tradition, and to these they have recourse with a childish credulity, when roused by any emergence from their usual insensibility, and excited to acknowledge the power, and to implore the protection of superior beings.

The tribe of the Natchez, and the people of Bogota, had advanced beyond the other uncultivated nations of America in their ideas of religion, as well as in their political institutions; and it is no less difficult to explain the cause of this distinction than of that which we have already considered. The Sun was the chief object of religious worship among the Natchez. In their temples, which were constructed with some magnificence, and decorated with various ornaments, ac-

cording to their mode of architecture, they preserved a perpetual fire, as the purest emblem of their divinity. Ministers were appointed to watch and feed this sacred flame. The first function of the great chief of the nation, every morning, was an act of obeisance to the Sun; and festivals returned at stated seasons, which were celebrated by the whole community with solemn but unbloody rites. This is the most refined species of superstition known in America, and perhaps one of the most natural as well as most seducing. The Sun is the apparent source of the joy, fertility, and life, diffused through nature; and while the human mind, in its earlier essays towards inquiry, contemplates and admires his universal and animating energy, its admiration is apt to stop short at what is visible, without reaching to the unseen cause; and pays that adoration to the most glorious and beneficial work of God, which is due only to him who formed it. As fire is the purest and most active of the elements, and in some of its qualities and effects resembles the Sun, it was, not improperly, chosen to be the emblem of his powerful operation. The ancient Persians, a people far superior in every respect, to that rude tribe whose rites I am describing, founded their religious system on similar principles, and established a form of public worship, less gross and exceptionable than that of any people destitute of guidance from revelation. This surprising coincidence in sentiment between two nations, in such different states of improvement, is one of the many singular and unaccountable circumstances which occur in the history of human affairs.

Among the people of Bogota, the Sun and Moon were, likewise, the chief objects of veneration. Their system of religion was more regular and complete, though less pure, than that of the Natchez. They had temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and that long train of ceremonies, which superstition introduces, wherever she has fully established her dominion over the minds of men. But the rites of their worship are cruel and bloody. They offered human victims to their deities, and many of their practices nearly resembled the barbarous institutions of the Mexicans, the genius of which we shall have an opportunity of considering more attentively in its proper place.

With respect to the other great doctrine of religion, concerning the immortality of the soul, the sentiments of the Americans were more united: the human mind even with a least improved and invigorated by culture, shrinks from the thought of annihilation, and looks forward with hope and expectation to a state of future existence. This sentiment, resulting from a secret consciousness of its own dignity, from an instinctive longing after immortality, is universal, and may be deemed natural. Upon this are founded the most exalted hopes of man in his highest state of improvement; nor has nature withheld from him this soothing consolation, in the most early and rude period of his progress. We can trace this opinion from one extremity of America to the other, in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but nowhere unknown. The most uncivilized of its savage tribes do not apprehend death as the extinction of being. All entertain hopes of a future and more happy state, where they shall be for ever exempt from the calamities which imbitter human life in its present condition. This future state they conceive to be a delightful country, blessed with perpetual spring, whose forests abound with game, whose rivers swarm with fish, where famine is never felt, and uninterrupted plenty shall be enjoyed without labor or toil. But as men, in forming their first imperfect ideas concerning the invisible world, suppose that there they shall continue to feel the same desires, and to be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world: they naturally ascribe eminence and distinction, in that state to the same qualities and talents which are here the objects of their esteem. The Americans, accordingly allotted the highest place, in their country of spirits, to the skilful hunter, to the adventurous and successful warrior, and to such as had tortured the greatest number of captives, and devoured their flesh. These notions were so prevalent that they gave rise to a universal custom, which is at once the strongest evidence that the Americans believe in a future state, and the best illustration of what they expect there. As they imagine, that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, that their friends may not enter upon it defenceless and unprovided, they bury together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tombs the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, manioc, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever

is reckoned among the necessities in their simple mode of life. In some provinces, upon the decease of a cazique or chief, a certain number of his wives, of his favorites, and of his slaves, were put to death and interred together with him, that he might appear with the same dignity, in his future station, and waited upon by the same attendants. This persuasion is so deep rooted that many of the deceased person's retainers offer themselves as voluntary victims, and court the privilege of accompanying their departed master, as a high distinction. It has been found difficult, on some occasions, to set bounds to this enthusiasm of affectionate duty, and to reduce the train of a favorite leader to such a number as the tribe could afford to spare. [89]

Among the Americans, as well as other uncivilized nations, many of the rites and observances which bear some resemblance to acts of religion, have no connection with devotion, but proceed from a fond desire of prying into futurity. The human mind is most apt to feel and to discover this vain curiosity, when its own powers are most feeble and uninformed. Astonished with occurrences of which it is unable to comprehend the cause, it naturally fancies that there is something mysterious and wonderful in their origin. Alarmed at events of which it cannot discern the issue or the consequences, it has recourse to other means of discovering them than the exercise of its own sagacity. Wherever superstition is so established as to form a regular system, this desire of penetrating into the secrets of futurity is connected with it. Divination becomes a religious act. Priests, as the ministers of heaven, pretend to deliver its oracles to men. They are the only soothsayers, augurs, and magicians, who profess the sacred and important art of disclosing what is hidden from other eyes.

But, among rude nations, who pay no veneration to any superintending power, and who have no established rites or ministers of religion, their curiosity to discover what is future or unknown, is cherished by a different principle, and derives strength from another alliance. As the diseases of men in the savage state, are (as has been already observed) like those of the animal creation, few, but extremely violent, their impatience under what they suffer, and solitude for the recovery of health, soon inspired them with extraordinary reverence for such as pretended to understand the nature of their maladies, and to be possessed of knowledge sufficient to prevent or deliver them from their sudden and fatal effects. These ignorant pretenders, however, were such utter strangers to the structure of the human frame, as to be equally unacquainted with the causes of its disorders, and the manner in which they will terminate. Superstition, mingled frequently with some portion of craft, supplied what they wanted in science. They imputed the origin of diseases to supernatural influence, and prescribed or performed a variety of mysterious rites, which they gave out to be of such efficacy as to remove the most dangerous and inveterate maladies. The credulity and love of the marvellous, natural to uninformed men, favored the deception, and prepared them to be the dupes of those impostors. Among savages, their first physicians are a kind of conjurers or wizards, who boast that they know what is past, and can foretell what is to come. Incantations, sorcery, and mummeries of diverse kinds, no less strange than frivolous, are the means which they employ to expel the imaginary causes of malignity; and relying upon the efficacy of these, they predict with confidence what will be the fate of their deluded patients. Thus superstition, in its earliest form, flowed from the solicitude of man to be delivered from present distress, not from his dread of evils awaiting him in a future life, and was originally ingrafted on medicine, not on religion. One of the first and most intelligent historians of America, was struck with this alliance between the art of divination and that of physic, among the people of Hispaniola. But this was not peculiar to them. The *Aleris*, the *Payas*, the *Autmoins*, or whatever was the distinguishing name of their diviners and charmers in other parts of America, were all the physicians of their respective tribes, in the same manner as the *Buhitos* of Hispaniola. As their function led them to apply to the human mind when enfeebled by sickness, and as they found it, in that season of dejection, prone to be alarmed with imaginary fears, or amused with vain hopes, they easily induced it to rely with implicit confidence on the virtue of their spells, and the certainty of their predictions.

Whenever men acknowledge the reality of supernatural power and discernment in one instance, they have a propensity to admit it in others. The Americans did not long suppose the efficacy of conjuration to be con-

fined to one object. They had recourse to it in every situation of danger or distress. When the events of war were peculiarly disastrous, when they met with unforeseen disappointment in hunting, when inundations or drought threatened their crops with destruction, they called upon their conjurers to begin their incantations, in order to discover the causes of those calamities, or to foretell what would be their issue. Their confidence in this delusive art gradually increased, and manifested itself in all the occurrences of life. When involved in any difficulty, or about to enter upon any transaction of moment, every individual regularly consulted the sorcerer, and depended upon his instructions to extricate him from the former, as well as to direct his conduct in the latter. Even among the rudest tribes in America, superstition appears in this form, and divination is an art in high esteem. Long before man had acquired such knowledge of a deity as inspires reverence, and leads to adoration, we observe him stretching out a presumptuous hand to draw aside that veil with which Providence kindly conceals its purposes from human knowledge; and we find him laboring with fruitless anxiety to penetrate into the mysteries of the divine administration. To discern and to worship a superintending power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding; a vain desire of prying into futurity is the error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

From this weakness proceeded likewise the faith of the Americans in dreams, their observation of omens, their attention to the chirping of birds, and the cries of animals, all which they suppose to be indications of future events; and if any one of these prognostics is deemed unfavorable, they instantly abandon the pursuit of those measures on which they are most eagerly bent.

VIII. But if we would form a complete idea of the uncultivated nations of America, we must not pass unobserved some singular customs, which, though universal and characteristic, could not be reduced, with propriety, to any of the articles into which I have divided my inquiry concerning their manners.

Among savages, in every part of the globe, the love of dancing is a favorite passion. As, during a great part of their time, they languish in a state of inactivity and indolence, without any occupation to rouse or interest them, they delight universally in a pastime which calls forth the active powers of their nature into exercise. The Spaniards, when they first visited America, were astonished at the fondness of the natives for dancing, and beheld with wonder a people, cold and unanimated in most of their other pursuits, kindle into life, and exert themselves with ardor, as often as this favorite amusement recurred. Among them, indeed, dancing ought not to be denominated an amusement. It is a serious and important occupation which mingles in every occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourse be necessary between two American tribes, the ambassadors of the one approach in a solemn dance, and present the calumet or emblem of peace; the sachems of the other receive it with the same ceremony. If war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance expressive of the resentment which they feel, and of the vengeance which they meditate. If the wrath of their gods is to be appeased, or their beneficence to be celebrated; if they rejoice at the birth of a child, or mourn the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with which they are then animated. If a person is indisposed, a dance is prescribed as the most effectual means of restoring him to health; and if he himself cannot endure the fatigue of such an exercise, the physician or conjuror performs it in his name, as if the virtue of his activity could be transferred to his patient.

All their dances are imitations of some action; and though the music by which they are regulated is extremely simple, and tiresome to the ear by its dull monotony, some of their dances appear wonderfully expressive and animated. The war dance is, perhaps, the most striking. It is the representation of a complete American campaign. The departure of the warriors from their village, their march into the enemy's country, the caution with which they encamp, the address with which they station some of their party in ambush, the manner of surprising the enemy, the noise and ferocity of the combat, the scalping of those who are slain, the seizing of prisoners, the triumphant return of the conquerors, and the torture of the victims, are successively exhibited. The performers enter with such enthusiastic ardor into their several parts; their gestures, their countenance, their voice, are so wild and so well adapted to their various situations, that Euro-

peans can hardly believe it to be a mimic scene, or view it without emotions of fear and horror.

But however expressive some of the American dances may be, there is one circumstance in them remarkable, and connected with the character of the race. The songs, the dances, the amusements of other nations, expressive of the sentiments which animate their hearts, are often adapted to display or excite the sensibility which mutually attaches the sexes. Among some people, such is the ardor of this passion, that love is almost the sole object of festivity and joy; and as rude nations are strangers to delicacy, and unaccustomed to disguise any emotion of their minds, their dances are often extremely wanton and indecent. Such is the *Calenda*, of which the natives of Africa are so passionately fond; and such the feats of the dancing girls which the Asiatics contemplate with so much avidity of desire. But among the Americans, more cold and indifferent to their females, from causes which I have already explained, the passion of love mingles but little with their festivals and pastimes. Their songs and dances are mostly solemn and martial; they are connected with some of the serious and important affairs of life; and, having no relation to love or gallantry, are seldom common to the two sexes, but executed by the men and women apart. [90] If, on some occasions, the women are permitted to join in the festival, the character of the entertainment is still the same, and no movement or gesture is expressive of attachment, or encourages familiarity.

An immoderate love of play, especially at games of hazard, which seems to be natural to all people unaccustomed to the occupations of regular industry, is likewise universal among the Americans. The same causes, which so often prompt persons in civilized life, who are at their ease, to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. The former are independent of labor, the latter do not feel the necessity of it; and as both are unemployed, they run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and to agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage in play become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms, are staked at the gaming table, and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or of hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. Among several tribes, such gaming parties frequently recur, and become their most acceptable entertainment at every great festival. Superstition, which is apt to take hold of those passions which are most vigorous, frequently lends its aid to confirm and strengthen this favorite inclination. Their conjurors are accustomed to prescribe a solemn match at play as one of the most efficacious methods of appeasing their gods, or of restoring the sick to health.

From causes similar to those which render them fond of play, the Americans are extremely addicted to drunkenness. It seems to have been one of the first exertions of human ingenuity to discover some composition of an intoxicating quality; and there is hardly any nation so rude, or so destitute of invention, as not to have succeeded in this fatal research. The most barbarous of the American tribes have been so unfortunate as to attain this art; and even those which are so deficient in knowledge, as to be unacquainted with the method of giving an intoxicating strength to liquors by fermentation, can accomplish the same end by other means. The people of the islands of North America, and of California, used, for this purpose, the smoke of tobacco, drawn up with a certain instrument into the nostrils, the fumes of which ascending to the brain, they felt all the transports and plevacy of intoxication. [91] In almost every other part of the New World, the natives possessed the art of extracting an intoxicating liquor from maize or the maize root, the same substances which they convert into bread. The operation by which they effect this nearly resembles the common one of brewing, but with this difference, that, in place of yeast, they use a nauseous infusion of a certain quantity of maize or maize chewed by their women. The saliva excites a vigorous fermentation, and in a few days the liquor becomes fit for drinking. It is not disagreeable to the taste, and, when swallowed in large quantities, is of an intoxicating quality. This is the general beverage of the Americans, which they distinguish by various names, and for which they feel such a violent and insatiable desire as it is not easy either to conceive or describe. Among polished nations, where a succession of various functions and

amusements keeps the mind in continual occupation, the desire for strong drink is regulated in a great measure by the climate, and increases or diminishes according to the variations of its temperature. In warm regions, the delicate and sensible frame of the inhabitants does not require the stimulation of fermented liquors. In colder countries, the constitution of the natives, more robust and more sluggish, stands in need of generous liquors to quicken and animate it. But among savages, the desire of something that is of power to intoxicate is in every situation the same. All the people of America, if we except some small tribes near the Straits of Magellan, whether natives of the torrid zone, or inhabitants of its more temperate regions, or placed by a harder fate in the severe climate towards its northern or southern extremity, appear to be equally under the dominion of this appetite. Such a similarity of taste, among people in such different situations, must be ascribed to the influence of some moral cause, and cannot be considered as the effect of any physical or constitutional want. While engaged in war or in the chase, the savage is often in the most interesting situations, and all the powers of his nature are roused to the most vigorous exertions. But those animating scenes are succeeded by long intervals of repose, during which the warrior meets with nothing that he deems of sufficient dignity or importance to merit his attention. He languishes and mopes in this season of indolence. The posture of his body is an emblem of the state of his mind. In one climate, covering over the fire in his cabin; in another, stretched under the shade of some tree, he dozes away his time in sleep, or in an unthinking joyless inactivity not far removed from it. As strong liquors awake him from this torpid state, give a brisker motion to his spirits, and enliven him more thoroughly than either dancing or gaming, his love of them is excessive. A savage, when not engaged in action, is a pensive melancholy animal; but as soon as he tastes, or has a prospect of tasting, the intoxicating draught, he becomes gay and frolicsome. Whatever be the occasion or pretexts on which the Americans assemble, the meeting always terminates in a debauch. Many of their festivals have no other object, and they welcome the return of them with transports of joy. As they are not accustomed to restrain any appetite, they set no bounds to this. The riot often continues without intermission several days; and whatever may be the fatal effects of their excess, they never cease from drinking as long as one drop of liquor remains. The persons of greatest eminence, the most distinguished warriors, and the chiefs most renowned for their wisdom, have no greater command of themselves than the most obscure members of the community. Their eagerness for present enjoyment renders them blind to its fatal consequences; and those very men, who in other situations seem to possess a force of mind more than human, are in this instance inferior to children, in foresight as well as consideration, and mere slaves of brutal appetite. When their passions, naturally strong, are heightened and inflamed by drink, they are guilty of the most enormous outrages, and the festivity seldom concludes without deeds of violence or bloodshed.

But, amidst this wild debauch, there is one circumstance remarkable; the women, in most of the American tribes, are not permitted to partake of it. [92] Their province is to prepare the liquor, to serve it about to the guests, and to take care of their husbands and friends when their reason is overpowered. This exclusion of the women from an enjoyment so highly valued by savages, may be justly considered as a mark of their inferiority, and as an additional evidence of that contempt with which they were treated in the New World. The people of North America, when first discovered, were not acquainted with any intoxicating drink; but as the Europeans early found it their interest to supply them with spirituous liquors, drunkenness soon became as universal among them as among their countrymen to the south; and their women, having acquired this new taste, indulge it with as little decency and moderation as the men.

It were endless to enumerate all the detached customs which have excited the wonder of travellers in America; but I cannot omit one seemingly as singular as any that has been mentioned. When their parents and other relations become old, or labor under any distemper which their slender knowledge of the healing art cannot remove, the Americans cut short their days with a violent hand, in order to be relieved from the burden of supporting and tending them. This practice prevailed among the ruder tribes in every part of the continent, from Hudson's Bay to the river De la Plata;

and however shocking it may be to those sentiments of tenderness and attachment, which, in civilized life, we are apt to consider as congenial with our frame, the condition of man in the savage state leads and reconciles him to it. The same hardships and difficulty of procuring subsistence, which deter savages, in some cases, from rearing their children, prompt them to destroy the aged and infirm. The declining state of the one is as helpless as the infancy of the other. The former are no less unable than the latter to perform the functions that belong to a warrior or hunter, or to endure those various distresses in which savages are so often involved by their own want of foresight and industry. Their relations feel this; and, incapable of attending to the wants or weaknesses of others, their impatience under an additional burden prompts them to extinguish that life which they find it difficult to sustain. This is not regarded as a deed of cruelty, but as an act of mercy. An American, broken with years and infirmities, conscious that he can no longer depend on the aid of those around him, places himself contentedly in his grave; and it is by the hands of his children or nearest relations that the thong is pulled, or the blow inflicted, which releases him for ever from the sorrows of life.

IX. After contemplating the rude American tribes in such various lights; after taking a view of their customs and manners from so many different stations, nothing remains but to form a general estimate of their character compared with that of more polished nations. A human being, as he comes originally from the hand of nature, is every where the same. At his first appearance in the state of infancy, whether it be among the rudest savages or in the most civilized nation, we can discern no quality which marks any distinction or superiority. The capacity of improvement seems to be the same; and the talents he may afterwards acquire, as well as the virtues he may be rendered capable of exercising, depend, in a great measure, upon the state of society in which he is placed. To this state his mind naturally accommodates itself, and from it receives discipline and culture. In proportion to the wants which it accustoms a human being to feel, and the functions in which these engage him, his intellectual powers are called forth. According to the connexions which it establishes between him and the rest of his species, the affections of his heart are exerted. It is only by attending to this great principle that we can discover what is the character of man in every different period of his progress.

If we apply it to savage life, and measure the attainments of the human mind in that state by this standard, we shall find, according to an observation which I have already made, that the intellectual powers of man must be extremely limited in their operations. They are confined within the narrow sphere of what he deems necessary for supplying his own wants. Whatever has not some relation to these neither attracts his attention, nor is the object of his inquiries. But however narrow the bounds may be within which the knowledge of a savage is circumscribed, he possesses thoroughly that small portion which he has attained. It was not communicated to him by formal instruction; he does not attend to it as a matter of mere speculation and curiosity; it is the result of his own observation, the fruit of his own experience, and accommodated to his condition and exigencies. While employed in the active occupations of war or of hunting, he often finds himself in difficult and perilous situations, from which the efforts of his own sagacity must extricate him. He is frequently engaged in measures, where every step depends upon his own ability to decide, where he must rely solely upon his own penetration to discern the dangers to which he is exposed, and upon his own wisdom in providing against them. In consequence of this, he feels the knowledge which he possesses, and efforts which he makes, and either in deliberation or action rests on himself alone.

As the talents of individuals are exercised and improved by such exertions, much political wisdom is said to be displayed in conducting the affairs of their small communities. The council of old men in an American tribe, deliberating upon its interests, and determining with respect to peace or war, has been compared to the senate in more polished republics. The proceedings of the former, we are told, are often no less formal and sagacious than those of the latter. Great political wisdom is exhibited in pondering the various measures proposed, and in balancing their probable advantages against the evils of which they may be productive. Much address and eloquence are employed by the leaders, who aspire at acquiring such confidence with

their countrymen, as to have an ascendant in those assemblies. But, among savage tribes, the field for displaying political talents cannot be extensive. Where the idea of private property is incomplete, and no criminal jurisdiction is established, there is hardly any function of internal government to exercise. Where there is no commerce, and scarcely any intercourse among separate tribes; where enmity is implacable, and hostilities are carried on almost without intermission; there will be few points of public concern to adjust with their neighbors; and that department of their affairs which may be denominated foreign, cannot be so intricate as to require much refined policy in conducting it. Where individuals are so thoughtless and improvident as seldom to take effectual precautions for self-preservation, it is vain to expect that public measures and deliberations will be regulated by the contemplation of remote events. It is the genius of savages to act from the impulse of present passion. They have neither foresight, nor temper to form complicated arrangements with respect to their future conduct. The consultations of the Americans, indeed, are so frequent, and their negotiations are so many, [33] and so long protracted, as to give their proceedings an extraordinary aspect of wisdom. But this is not owing so much to the depth of their schemes, as to the coldness and phlegm of their temper, which render them slow in determining. If we except the celebrated league, that united the Five Nations in Canada, into a federal republic, which shall be considered in its proper place, we can discern few such traces of political wisdom, among the rude American tribes, as discover any great degree of foresight or extent of intellectual abilities. Even among them, we shall find public measures more frequently directed by the impetuous ferocity of their youth, than regulated by the experience and wisdom of their old men.

As the condition of man in the savage state is unfavorable to the progress of the understanding, it has a tendency likewise, in some respects, to check the exercise of affection, and to render the heart contracted. The strongest feeling in the mind of a savage is a sense of his own independence. He has sacrificed so small a portion of his natural liberty by becoming a member of society, that he remains, in a great degree, the sole master of his own actions. He often takes his resolutions alone, without consulting or feeling any connection with the persons around him. In many of his operations he stands as much detached from the rest of his species as if he had formed no union with them. Conscious how little he depends upon other men, he is apt to view them with a careless indifference. Even the force of his mind contributes to increase this unconcern; and as he looks not beyond himself in deliberating with respect to the part which he should act, his solicitude about the consequences of it seldom extends further. He pursues his own career, and indulges his own fancy, without inquiring or regarding whether what he does be agreeable or offensive to others, whether they may derive benefit or receive hurt from it. Hence the ungovernable caprice of savages, their impatience under any species of restraint, their inability to suppress or moderate any inclination, the scorn or neglect with which they receive advice, their high estimation of themselves, and their contempt of other men. Among them, the pride of independence produces almost the same effects with interestedness in a more advanced state of society; it refers every thing to a man himself, it leads him to be indifferent about the manner in which his actions may affect other men, and renders the gratification of his own wishes the measure and end of conduct.

To the same cause may be imputed the hardness of heart and insensibility remarkable in all savage nations. Their minds, raised only by strong emotions, are little susceptible of gentle, delicate, or tender affections. Their union is so incomplete that a single individual acts as if he retained all his natural rights entire and undiminished. If a favor is conferred upon him, or any beneficial service is performed on his account, he receives it with much satisfaction, because it contributes to his enjoyment; but this sentiment extends not beyond himself; it excites no sense of obligation, he neither feels gratitude nor thinks of making any return. [91] Even among persons the most closely connected, the exchange of those good offices which strengthen attachment, mollify the heart, and sweeten the intercourse of life, is not frequent. The ligatures of independence among the Americans remain a sullen reserve, which keeps them at a distance from each other. The nearest relations are mutually afraid to make any demand, or to solicit any service, lest it should be considered by the

other as imposing a burden, or laying a restraint upon his will.

I have already remarked the influence of this hard unfeeling temper upon domestic life, with respect to the connection between husband and wife, as well as that between parents and children. Its effects are no less conspicuous, in the performance of those mutual offices of tenderness which the intimacies of our nature happily exact. Among some tribes, when any of their number are seized with any violent disease, they are generally abandoned by all around them, who, careless of their recovery, fly to the utmost consternation from the supposed danger of infection. But even where they are not thus deserted, the cold indifference with which they are attended can afford them little consolation. No look of sympathy, no soothing expressions, no officious services, contribute to alleviate the distress of the sufferers, or to make them forget what they endure. Their nearest relations will often refuse to submit to the smallest inconvenience, or to part with the least trifle, however much it may tend to their accommodation or relief. No little is the boast of a savage susceptible of those sentiments which prompt men to that feeling attention which mitigates the calamities of human life, that, in some provinces of America, the Spaniards have found it necessary to enforce the common duties of humanity by positive laws, and to oblige husbands and wives, parents and children, under severe penalties, to take care of each other during their sickness. The same harshness of temper is still more conspicuous in their treatment of the animal creation. Prior to their intercourse with the people of Europe, the North Americans had some tame dogs, which accompanied them in their hunting excursions, and served them with all the ardor and fidelity peculiar to the species. But, instead of that fond attachment which the hunter naturally feels towards those useful companions of his toils, they requite their services with neglect, seldom feed, and never caress them. In other provinces the Americans have become acquainted with the domestic animals of Europe, and availed themselves of their service; but it is universally observed that they always treat them harshly, and never employ any method either for breaking or managing them, but force and cruelty. In every part of the deportment of man in his savage state, whether towards his equals of the human species, or towards the animals below him, we recognise the same character, and trace the operations of a mind intent on its own gratifications, and regulated by its own caprice, with little attention or sensibility to the sentiments and feelings of the beings around him.

After explaining how unfavorable the savage state is to the cultivation of the understanding, and to the improvement of the heart, I should not have thought it necessary to mention what may be deemed its lesser defects, if the character of nations, as well as of individuals, were not often more distinctly marked by circumstances apparently trivial than by those of greater moment. A savage frequently placed in situations of danger and distress, depending on himself alone, and wrapped up in his own thoughts and schemes, is a serious melancholy animal. His attention to others is small. The range of his own ideas is narrow. Hence that taciturnity which is so disgusting to men accustomed to the open intercourse of social conversation. When they are not engaged in action, the Americans often sit whole days in one posture, without opening their lips. When they go forth to war, or to the chase, they usually march in a line at some distance from one another, and without exchanging a word. The same profound silence is observed when they row together in a canoe. It is only when they are animated by intoxicating liquors, or roused by the jollity of the festival and dance, that they become gay and conversible.

To the same causes may be imputed the refined cunning with which they form and execute their schemes. Men who are not habituated to a liberal communication of their own sentiments and wishes, are apt to be so distrustful as to place little confidence in others, and to have recourse to an insidious craft in accomplishing their own purposes. In civilized life, those persons who by their situations have but a few objects of pursuit on which their minds incessantly dwell, are most remarkable for low artifice in carrying on their little projects. Among savages, whose views are equally confined, and their attention no less preserved to those circumstances must operate still more powerfully, and gradually accustom them to a design and subtlety in all their transactions. The force of this is increased by habits which they acquire in carrying on the two most interesting operations wherein they

are engaged. With them war is a system of craft, in which they trust for success to stratagem more than to open force, and have their invention continually on the stretch to circumvent and surprise their enemies. As hunters, it is their constant object to ensnare in order that they may destroy. Accordingly, art and cunning have been universally observed as distinguishing characteristics of all savages. The people of the rude tribes of America are remarkable for their artifice and duplicity. Impenetrably secret in forming their measures, they pursue them with a patient undeviating attention, and there is no reinvestment of dissimulation which they cannot employ, in order to ensure success. The natives of Peru were engaged above thirty years in concerting the plan of that insurrection which took place under the vice-royalty of the Marquis de Villa Garcia; and though it was communicated to a great number of persons, in all different ranks, no indication of it ever transpired during that long period; no man betrayed his trust, or by an unguarded look, or rash word, gave rise to any suspicion of what was intended. The dissimulation and craft of individuals is no less remarkable than that of nations. When set upon deceiving, they wrap themselves up so artificially, that it is impossible to penetrate into their intentions, or to detect their designs.

But if there be defects or vices peculiar to the savage state, there are likewise virtues which it inspires, and good qualities, to the exercise of which it is friendly. The bonds of society sit so loose upon the members of the more rude American tribes, that they hardly feel any restraint. Hence the spirit of independence, which is the pride of a savage, and which he considers as the unalienable prerogative of man. Incapable of control, and disdaining to acknowledge any superior, his mind, though limited in its powers, and erring in many of its pursuits, acquires such elevation by the consciousness of its own freedom, that he acts on some occasions with astonishing force, and perseverance, and dignity.

As independence nourishes this high spirit among savages, the perpetual wars in which they are engaged call it forth into action. Such long intervals of tranquillity as are frequent in polished societies are unknown in the savage state. Their enmities, as I have observed, are implacable and immortal. The valor of the young men is never allowed to rust in inaction. The hatchet is always in the hand, either for attack or defence. Even in their hunting excursions, they must be on their guard against surprise from the hostile tribes by which they are surrounded. Accustomed to continual alarms, they grow familiar with danger; courage becomes an habitual virtue, resulting naturally from their situation, and strengthened by constant exertions. The mode of displaying fortitude may not be the same in small and rude communities, as in more powerful and civilized states. Their system of war, and standard of valor may be formed upon different principles; but in no situation does the human mind rise more superior to the sense of danger, or the dread of death, than in its most simple and uncultivated state.

Another virtue remarkable among savages, is attachment to the community of which they are members. From the nature of their political union, one might expect this tie to be extremely feeble. But there are circumstances which render the influence, even of their loose mode of association, very powerful. The American tribes are small; combined against their neighbors, in prosecution of ancient enmities, or in avenging recent injuries, their interests and operations are neither numerous nor complex. These are objects which the uncultivated understanding of a savage can comprehend. His heart is capable of forming connections which are so little diffused. He assents with warmth to public measures, dictated by passions similar to those which direct his own conduct. Hence the ardor with which individuals undertake the most perilous service, when the community deems it necessary. Hence their fierce and deep rooted antipathy to the public enemies. Hence their zeal for the honor of their tribe, and that love of their country, which prompts them to brave danger that it may triumph, and to endure the most exquisite torments, without a groan, that it may not be disgraced.

Thus, in every situation where a human being can be placed even in the most unfavorable, there are virtues which peculiarly belong to it; there are affections which it calls forth; there is a species of happiness which it yields. Nature, with the most beneficent intention, condescends and forms the mind to its condition; the ideas and wishes of man extend not beyond that state of society to which he is habituated. What

it presents as objects of contemplation or enjoyment, fills and satisfies his mind, and he can hardly conceive any other mode of life to be pleasant, or even tolerable. The Tartar, accustomed to roam over extensive plains, and to subsist on the product of his herds, unrepents upon his enemy, as the greatest of all curses, that he may be condemned to reside in one place, and to be nourished with the top of a weed. The rude Americans, fond of their own pursuits, and satisfied with their own lot, are equally unable to comprehend the intention or utility of the various accommodations, which, in more polished society are deemed essential to the comfort of life. Far from complaining of their own situation, or viewing that of men in a more improved state with admiration or envy, they regard themselves as the standard of excellence, as beings the best entitled, as well as the most perfectly qualified to enjoy real happiness. Unaccustomed to any restraint upon their will or their actions, they behold with amazement the inequality of rank, and the subordination which takes place in civilized life, and consider the voluntary submission of one man to another as a renunciation no less base than unaccountable, of the first distinction of humanity. Void of foresight as well as free from care themselves, and delighted with that state of indolent security, they wonder at the anxious precautions, the unceasing industry, and complicated arrangements of Europeans, in guarding against distant evils, or providing for future wants; and they often exclaim against their preposterous folly, in thus multiplying the troubles and increasing the labor of life. This preference of their own manners is conspicuous on every occasion. Even the names, by which the various nations wish to be distinguished, are assumed from this idea of their own pre-eminence. The appellation which the Iroquois give to themselves is the *chief of men*, *Carabe*, the original name of the fierce inhabitants of the Windward Islands, signifies the *warlike people*. The Cherokees, from an idea of their own superiority, call the Europeans *Nothings*, or the *accursed race*, and assume to themselves the name of the *beloved people*. The same principle regulated the notions of the other Americans concerning the Europeans; for although at first they were filled with astonishment at their arts, and with dread of their power, they soon came to abate their estimation of men whose maxims of life were so different from their own. Hence they called them the froth of the sea, men without father or mother. They supposed, that either they had no country of their own, and therefore invaded that which belonged to others; or that, being destitute of the necessities of life at home, they were obliged to roam over the ocean, in order to rob such as were more amply provided.

Men thus satisfied with their own condition are far from any inclination to relinquish their own habits, or to adopt those of civilized life. The transition is too violent to be suddenly made. Even where endeavors have been used to wean a savage from his own customs, and to render the accommodations of polished society familiar to him: even where he has been allowed to taste of those pleasures, and has been honored with those distinctions, which are the chief objects of our desire, he droops and languishes under the restraint of laws and forms, he seizes the first opportunity of breaking loose from them, and returns with transport to the forest or the wild, where he can enjoy a careless and uncontrolled freedom.

Thus I have finished a laborious delineation of the character and manners of the uncivilized tribes scattered over the vast continent of America. In this, I aspire not at rivaling the great masters who have painted and adorned savage life, either in boldness of design, or in the glow and beauty of their coloring. I am satisfied with the more humble merit of having persisted with patient industry, in viewing my subject in many various lights, and collecting from the most accurate observers such detached, and often minute features, as might enable me to exhibit a portrait that resembles the original.

Before I close this part of my work, one observation more is necessary, in order to justify the conclusions which I have formed, or to prevent the mistakes into which such as examine them may fall. In contemplating the inhabitants of a country so widely extended as America, great attention should be paid to the diversity of climates under which they are placed. The influence of this I have pointed out with respect to several important particulars which have been the object of research; but even where it has not been mentioned, it ought not to be overlooked. The provinces of America are of such different temperament, that this alone is sufficient to constitute a distinction between

their inhabitants. In every part of the earth where man exists, the power of climate operates, with decisive influence, upon his condition and character. In those countries which approach near to the extremes of heat or cold, this influence is so conspicuous as to strike every eye. Whether we consider man merely as an animal, or as being endowed with rational powers which fit him for activity and speculation, we shall find that he has uniformly attained the greatest perfection of which his nature is capable, in the temperate regions of the globe. There his constitution is most vigorous, his organs most acute, and his form most beautiful. There, too, he possesses a superior extent of capacity, greater fertility of imagination, more enterprising courage, and a sensibility of heart which gives birth to desires, not only ardent, but persevering. In this favorite situation he has displayed the utmost efforts of his genius, in literature, in policy, in commerce, in war, and in all the arts which improve or embellish life.

This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more improved. The talents of civilized men are continually exerted in rendering their own condition more comfortable; and by their ingenuity and inventions, they can in a great measure supply the defects, and guard against the inconveniences of any climate. But the improvident savage is affected by every circumstance peculiar to his situation. He takes no precaution either to mitigate or to improve it. Like a plant or an animal, he is formed by the climate under which he is placed, and feels the full force of its influence.

In surveying the rude nations of America, this natural distinction between the inhabitants of the temperate and torrid zones is very remarkable. They may, accordingly, be divided into two great classes. The one comprehends all the North Americans from the river St. Laurence to the Gulf of Mexico, together with the people of Chili, and a few small tribes towards the extremity of the southern continent. To the other belong all the inhabitants of the islands, and those settled in the various provinces which extend from the isthmus of Darien almost to the southern confines of Brasil, along the east side of the Andes. In the former, which comprehends all the regions of the temperate zone that in America are inhabited, the human species appears manifestly to be more perfect. The natives are more robust, more active, more intelligent, and more courageous. They possess, in the most eminent degree, that force of mind, and love of independence, which I have pointed out as the chief virtues of man in his savage state. They have defended their liberty with persevering fortitude against the Europeans, who subdued the other rude nations of America with the greatest ease. The natives of the temperate zone are the only people in the New World who are indebted for their freedom to their own valor. The North Americans, though long encompassed by three formidable European powers, still retain part of their original possessions, and continue to exist as independent nations. The people of Chili, though early invaded, still maintain a gallant contest with the Spaniards, and have set bounds to their encroachments; whereas, in the warmer regions, men are more feeble in their frame, less vigorous in the efforts of their minds, of a gentle but dastardly spirit, more enslaved by pleasure, and more sunk in indolence. Accordingly, it is in the torrid zone that the Europeans have most completely established their dominion over America; the most fertile and desirable provinces in it are subjected to their yoke; and if several tribes there still enjoy independence, it is either because they have never been attacked by an enemy already satiated with conquest, and possessed of larger territories than he was able to occupy, or because they have been saved from oppression by their remote and inaccessible situation.

Conspicuous as this distinction may appear between the inhabitants of those different regions, it is not, however, universal. Moral and political causes, as I have formerly observed, affect the disposition and character of individuals, as well as nations, still more powerfully than the influence of climate. There are, accordingly, some tribes, in various parts of the torrid zone, possessed of courage, high spirit, and the love of independence, in a degree hardly inferior to the natives of more temperate climates. We are too little acquainted with the history of these people, to be able to trace the several circumstances in their progress and condition, to which they are indebted for this remarkable pre-eminence. The fact, nevertheless, is certain. As early as the first voyage of Columbus, he received

information that several of the islands were inhabited by the *Carribbers*, a fierce race of men, nowise resembling their feeble and timid neighbors. In his second expedition to the New World, he found this information to be just, and was himself a witness of their intrepid valor. [95] The same character they have maintained invariably in all subsequent contests with the people of Europe; and even in our own times we have seen them make a gallant stand in defence of the last territory which the rapacity of the invaders had left in their possession. [96] Some nations in Brasil were no less eminent for vigor of mind and bravery in war. The people of the isthmus of Darien boldly met the Spaniards in the field, and frequently repelled those formidable invaders. Other instances might be produced. It is not by attending to any single cause or principle, how powerful and extensive soever its influence may appear, that we can explain the actions, or account for the character of men. Even the law of climate, more universal, perhaps, in its operation than any that affects the human species, cannot be applied, in judging of their conduct, without many exceptions.

BOOK V.

History of the conquest of New Spain by Cortes.

WHEN Grijalva [1518] returned to Cuba, he found the armament destined to attempt the conquest of that rich country which he had discovered almost complete. Not only ambition, but avarice, had urged Velasquez to hasten his preparations; and having such a prospect of gratifying both, he had advanced considerable sums out of his private fortune towards defraying the expenses of the expedition. At the same time, he exerted his influence as governor, in engaging the most distinguished persons in the colony to undertake the service. [97] At a time when the spirit of the Spanish nation was adventurous to excess, a number of soldiers, eager to embark in any daring enterprise, soon appeared. But it was not so easy to find a person qualified to take the command in an expedition of so much importance; and the character of Velasquez, who had the right of nomination, greatly increased the difficulty of the choice. Though of most aspiring ambition, and not destitute of talents for government, he possessed neither such courage, nor such vigor and activity of mind, as to undertake in person the conduct of the armament which he was preparing. In this embarrassing situation, he formed the chimerical scheme, not only of achieving great exploits by a deputy, but of securing to himself the glory of conquests which were to be made by another. In the execution of this plan, he fondly aimed at reconciling contradictions. He was solicitous to choose a commander of intrepid resolution, and of superior abilities, because he knew these to be requisite in order to ensure success; but, at the same time, from the jealousy natural to little minds, he wished this person to be of a spirit so tame and obsequious as to be entirely dependent on his will. But when he came to apply those ideas in forming an opinion concerning the several officers who occurred to his thoughts as worthy of being intrusted with the command, he soon perceived that it was impossible to find such incompatible qualities united in one character. Such as were distinguished for courage and talents were too high spirited to be passive instruments in his hands. Those who appeared more gentle and tractable were destitute of capacity, and unequal to the charge. This augmented his perplexity and his fears. He deliberated long and with much solicitude, and was still wavering in his choice when Amador de Laredo, the royal treasurer in Cuba, and Andres Duera, his own secretary, the two persons in whom he chiefly confided, were encouraged by this irresolution to propose a new candidate; and they supported their recommendation with such assiduity and address, that, no less fatally for Velasquez than happily for their country, it proved successful.

The man whom they pointed out to him was Fernando Cortes. He was born at Medellin, a small town in Estremadura, in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty-five, and descended from a family of noble blood, but of very moderate fortune. Being originally destined by his parents to the study of law, as the most likely method of bettering his condition, he was sent early to the university of Salamanca, where he imbibed some tincture of learning. But he was soon disgusted with an academic life, which did not suit his ardent and restless genius, and retired to Medellin, where he gave himself up entirely to active sports and martial exercises. At this period of life he was so impetuous, so overbearing, and so dissipated, that his father was glad

to comply with his inclination, and sent him abroad as an adventurer in arms. There were in that age two conspicuous theatres, on which such of the Spanish youth as courted military glory might display their valor; one in Italy, under the command of the Great Captain; the other in the New World. Cortes preferred the former, but was prevented by indisposition from embarking with a reinforcement of troops sent to Naples. Upon this disappointment he turned his views towards America, whither he was allured by the prospect of the advantages which he might derive from the patronage of Ovando, [98] the governor of Hispaniola, who was his kinsman. When he landed at St. Domingo, in one thousand five hundred and four, his reception was such as equalled his most sanguine hopes, and he was employed by the Governor in several honorable and lucrative stations. These, however, did not satisfy his ambition; and, in the year one thousand five hundred and eleven, he obtained permission to accompany Diego Velasquez in his expedition to Cuba. In this service he distinguished himself so much, that, notwithstanding some violent contests with Velasquez, occasioned by trivial events unworthy of remembrance, he was at length taken into favor, and received an ample concession of lands and of Indians, the recompense usually bestowed upon adventurers in the New World.

Though Cortes had not hitherto acted in high command, he had displayed such qualities in several scenes of difficulty and danger, as raised universal expectation, and turned the eyes of his countrymen towards him as one capable of performing great things. The turbulence of youth, as soon as he found objects and occupations suited to the ardor of his mind, gradually subsided and settled into a habit of regular indefatigable activity. The impetuosity of his temper, when he came to act with his equals, insensibly abated, by being kept under restraint, and mellowed into a cordial, soldierly frankness. These qualities were accompanied with calm prudence in concerting his schemes, with persevering vigor in executing them, and with what is peculiar to superior genius, the art of gaining the confidence and governing the minds of men. To all which were added the inferior accomplishments that strike the vulgar, and command their respect; a graceful person, a winning aspect, extraordinary address in martial exercises, and a constitution of such vigor as to be capable of enduring any fatigue.

As soon as Cortes was mentioned to Velasquez by his two confidants, he flattered himself that he had at length found what he had hitherto sought in vain, a man with talents for command, but not an object for jealousy. Neither the rank nor the fortune of Cortes, as he imagined, was such that he could aspire at independence. He had reason to believe that by his own readiness to bury ancient animosities in oblivion, as well as his liberality in conferring several recent favors, he had already gained the good will of Cortes, and hoped, by this new and unexpected mark of confidence, that he might attach him for ever to his interest.

Cortes, receiving his commission [Oct. 23.] with the warmest expressions of respect and gratitude to the governor, immediately erected his standard before his own house, appeared in a military dress, and assumed all the ensigns of his new dignity. His utmost influence and activity were exerted in persuading many of his friends to engage in the service, and in urging forward the preparations for the voyage. All his own funds, together with what money he could raise by mortgaging his lands and Indians, were expended in purchasing military stores and provisions, or in supplying the wants of such of his officers as were unable to equip themselves in a manner suited to their rank. [99] Inoffensive and even laudable as this conduct was, his disappointed competitors were malicious enough to give it a turn to his disadvantage. They represented him as aiming already, with little disguise, at establishing an independent authority over his troops, and endeavoring to secure their respect or love by his ostentatious and interested liberality. They reminded Velasquez of his former disensions with the man in whom he now reposed so much confidence, and foretold that Cortes would be more apt to avail himself of the power which the governor was inconsiderately putting in his hands, to avenge past injuries than to requite recent obligations. These insinuations made such impression upon the suspicious mind of Velasquez, that Cortes soon observed some symptoms of a growing alienation and distrust in his behavior, and was advised by Lucas and Barro to hasten his departure before these should become so confirmed as to break out with open violence. Fully sensible of this danger, he urged forward his preparations with such

rapidity that he set sail from St. Jago de Cuba on the eighteenth of November. Velasquez accompanying him to the shore, and taking leave of him with an appearance of perfect friendship and confidence, though he had secretly given it in charge to some of Cortes' officers, to keep a watchful eye upon every part of their commander's conduct.

Cortes proceeded to Trinidad, a small settlement on the same side of the island, where he was joined by several adventurers, and received a supply of provisions and military stores, of which his stock was still very incomplete. He had hardly left St. Jago, when the jealousy which had been working in the breast of Velasquez grew so violent that it was impossible to suppress it. The armament was no longer under his own eye and direction; and he felt that as his power over it ceased, that of Cortes would become more absolute. Imagination now aggravated every circumstance which had formerly excited suspicion: the rivals of Cortes industriously threw in reflections which increased his fear; and with no less art than malice they called superstition to their aid, employing the predictions of an astrologer in order to complete the alarm. All these, by their united operation, produced the desired effect. Velasquez repented bitterly of his own imprudence, in having committed a trust of so much importance to a person whose fidelity appeared so doubtful, and hastily despatched instructions to Trinidad, empowering Verdugo, the chief magistrate there, to deprive Cortes of his commission. But Cortes had already made such progress in gaining the esteem and confidence of his troops, that, finding officers as well as soldiers equally zealous to support his authority, he soothed or intimidated Verdugo, and was permitted to depart from Trinidad without molestation.

From Trinidad Cortes sailed for the Havana, in order to raise more soldiers, and to complete the outfitting of his fleet. There several persons of distinction entered into the service, and engaged to supply what provisions were still wanting; but as it was necessary to allow them some time for performing what they had promised, Velasquez, sensible that he ought no longer to rely on a man of whom he had so openly discovered his distrust, availed himself of the interval which this unavoidable delay afforded, in order to make one attempt more to wrest the command out of the hands of Cortes. He loudly complained of Verdugo's conduct, accusing him either of childish facility, or of manifest treachery, in suffering Cortes to escape from Trinidad. Anxious to guard against a second disappointment, he sent a person of confidence to the Havana, with peremptory injunctions to Pedro Barba, his lieutenant-governor in that colony, instantly to arrest Cortes, to send him prisoner to St. Jago under a strong guard, and to countermand the sailing of the armament until he should receive further orders. He wrote likewise to the principal officers, requiring them to assist Barba in executing what he had given him in charge. But before the arrival of this messenger, a Franciscan friar of St. Jago had secretly conveyed an account of this interesting transaction to Bartholomew de Olmedo, a monk of the same order, who acted as chaplain to the expedition. Cortes, forewarned of the danger, had time to take precautions for his own safety. His first step was to find some pretext for removing from the Havana Diego de Ordaz, an officer of great merit, but in whom, on account of his known attachment to Velasquez, he could not confide in this trying and delicate juncture. He gave him the command of a vessel destined to take on board some provisions in a small harbor beyond Cape Antonio, and thus made sure of his absence without seeming to suspect his fidelity. When he was gone, Cortes no longer concealed the intentions of Velasquez from his troops; and as officers and soldiers were equally impatient to set out on an expedition, in preparing for which most of them had expended all their fortunes, they expressed their astonishment and indignation at that illiberal jealousy to which the governor was about to sacrifice, not only the honor of their general, but all their sanguine hopes of glory and wealth. With one voice they entreated that he would not abandon the important station to which he had such a good title. They conjured him not to deprive them of a leader whom they followed with such well founded confidence, and offered to shed the last drop of their blood in maintaining his authority. Cortes was easily induced to comply with what he himself so ardently desired. He swore that he would never desert soldiers who had given him such a signal proof of their attachment, and promised instantly to conduct them to that rich country which had been so long the object of their thoughts and wishes. This declaration was received

with transports of military applause, accompanied with threats and imprecations against all who should presume to call in question the jurisdiction of their general, or to obstruct the execution of his designs.

Every thing was now ready for their departure; but though this expedition was fitted out by the united effort of the Spanish power in Cuba; though every settlement had contributed its quota of men and provisions; though the governor had laid out considerable sums, and each adventurer had exhausted his stock, or strained his credit, the poverty of the preparations was such as must astonish the present age, and bore, indeed, no resemblance to an armament destined for the conquest of a great empire. The fleet consisted of eleven vessels; the largest of a hundred tons, which was dignified by the name of Admiral; three of seventy or eighty tons, and the rest small open barks. On board of these were six hundred and seventeen men; of which five hundred and eight belonged to the land service, and a hundred and nine were seamen or artificers. The soldiers were divided into eleven companies, according to the number of the ships; to each of which Cortes appointed a captain, and committed to him the command of the vessel while at sea, and of the men when on shore. [100] As the use of fire arms among the nations of Europe was hitherto confined to a few battalions of regularly disciplined infantry, only thirteen soldiers were armed with muskets, thirty-two were cross-bow men, and the rest had swords and spears. Instead of the usual defensive armour, which must have been cumbersome in a hot climate, the soldiers wore jackets quilted with cotton, which experience had taught the Spaniards to be a sufficient protection against the weapons of the Americans. They had only sixteen horses, ten small field pieces, and four falconets.

With this slender and ill provided train did Cortes set sail [Feb. 10, 1519.] to make war upon a monarch whose dominions were more extensive than all the kingdoms subject to the Spanish crown. As religious enthusiasm always mingled with the spirit of adventure in the New World, and, by a combination still more strange, united with avarice, in prompting the Spaniards to all their enterprises, a large cross was displayed in their standards, with this inscription, *Let us follow the cross, for under this sign we shall conquer.*

So powerfully were Cortes and his followers animated with both these passions, that no less eager to plunder the opulent country whither they were bound, than zealous to propagate the Christian faith among its inhabitants, they set out, not with the solicitude natural to men going upon dangerous services, but with that confidence which arises from security of success, and certainty of the divine protection.

As Cortes had determined to touch at every place where Grijalva had visited, he steered directly towards the island of Cozumel; there he had the good fortune to redeem Jerome de Aguilar, a Spaniard, who had been eight years a prisoner among the Indians. This man was perfectly acquainted with a dialect of their language understood through a large extent of country, and possessing besides a considerable share of prudence and sagacity, proved extremely useful as an interpreter. From Cozumel, Cortes proceeded to the river of Tabasco [March 4.] in hopes of a reception as friendly as Grijalva had met with there, and of finding gold in the same abundance; but the disposition of the natives, from some unknown cause, was totally changed. After repeated endeavors to conciliate their good will, he was constrained to have recourse to violence. Though the forces of the enemy were numerous, and advanced with extraordinary courage, they were routed with great slaughter in several successive actions. The loss which they had sustained, and still more the astonishment and terror excited by the destructive effect of the fire arms, and the dreadful appearance of the horses, humbled their fierce spirits, and induced them to sue for peace. They acknowledged the King of Castile as their sovereign, and granted Cortes a supply of provisions with a present of cotton garments, some gold, and twenty female slaves. [101]

Cortes continued his course to the westward, keeping as near the shore as possible, in order to observe the country; but could discover no proper place for landing until he arrived at St. Juan de Ulua. As he entered this harbor, [April 2,] a large canoe full of people, among whom were two who seemed to be persons of distinction, approached his ship with signs of peace and amity. They came on board without fear or distrust, and addressed him in a most respectful manner, but in a language altogether unknown to Aguilar. Cortes was in the utmost perplexity and distress at at

event of which he instantly foresaw the consequences, and already felt the hesitation and uncertainty with which he should carry on the great schemes which he meditated, if, in his transactions with the natives, he must depend entirely upon such an imperfect, ambiguous, and conjectural mode of communication as the use of signs. But he did not remain long in his embarrassing situation; a fortunate accident extricated him when his own sagacity could have contributed little towards his relief. One of the female slaves, whom he had received from the *cazique* of Tabasco, happened to be present at the first interview between Cortes and his new guests. She perceived his distress, as well as the confusion of Aguilar; and, as she perfectly understood the Mexican language, she explained what they had said in the Yucatan tongue, with which Aguilar was acquainted. This woman, known afterwards by the name of Donna Marina, and who makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the New World, where great revolutions were brought about by small causes and inconsiderable instruments, was born in one of the provinces of the Mexican Empire. Having been sold as a slave in the early part of her life, after a variety of adventures she fell into the hands of the Tabascans, and had resided long enough among them to acquire their language without losing the use of her own. Though it was both tedious and troublesome to converse by the intervention of two different interpreters, Cortes was so highly pleased with having discovered this method of carrying on some intercourse with the people of a country into which he was determined to penetrate, that in the transports of his joy he considered it as a visible interposition of Providence in his favor.

He now learned that the two persons whom he had received on board of his ship were deputies from Teutile and Pilpatoe, two officers intrusted with the government of that province by a great monarch whom they called Montezuma; and that they were sent to inquire what his intentions were in visiting their coast, and to offer him what assistance he might need, in order to continue his voyage. Cortes, struck with the appearance of those people, as well as the tenor of the message, assured them, in respectful terms, that he approached their country with most friendly sentiments, and came to propose matters of great importance to the welfare of their prince and his kingdom, which he would unfold more fully, in person, to the governor and the general. Next morning, without waiting for any answer, he landed his troops, his horses, and artillery; and, having chosen proper ground, began to erect huts for his men, and to fortify his camp. The natives, instead of opposing the entrance of those fatal guests into their country, assisted them in all their operations with an alacrity of which they had ere long good reason to repent.

Next day Teutile and Pilpatoe entered the Spanish camp with a numerous retinue; and Cortes, considering them as the ministers of a great monarch entitled to a degree of attention very different from that which the Spaniards were accustomed to pay the petty *caziques* with whom they had intercourse in the isles, received them with much formal ceremony. He informed them, that he came as ambassador from Don Carlos, of Austria, King of Castile, the greatest monarch of the East, and was intrusted with propositions of such moment, that he could impart them to none but the Emperor Montezuma himself, and therefore required them to conduct him, without loss of time, into the presence of their master. The Mexican officers could not conceal their uneasiness at a request which they knew would be disagreeable, and which they foresaw might prove extremely embarrassing to their sovereign, whose mind had been filled with many disquieting apprehensions ever since the former appearance of the Spaniards on his coasts. But before they attempted to dissuade Cortes from insisting on his demand, they endeavored to conciliate his good will by entreating him to accept of certain presents, which, as humble slaves of Montezuma, they laid at his feet. They were introduced with great parade, and consisted of fine cotton cloth, of plumes of various colors, and of ornaments of gold and silver to a considerable value; the workmanship of which appeared to be as curious as the materials were rich. The display of these produced an effect very different from what the Mexicans intended. Instead of satisfying, it increased the avidity of the Spaniards, and rendered them so eager and impatient to become masters of a country which abounded with such precious productions, that Cortes could hardly listen with patience to the arguments which Pilpatoe and Teutile employed to dissuade him from visiting

the capital, and in a haughty determined tone, he insisted on his demand of being admitted to a personal audience of their sovereign. During this interview, some painters, in the train of the Mexican chiefs, had been diligently employed in delineating, upon white cotton cloths, figures of the ships, the horses, the artillery, the soldiers, and whatever else attracted their eyes as singular. When Cortes observed this, and was informed that these pictures were to be sent to Montezuma, in order to convey to him a more lively idea of the strange and wonderful objects now presented to their view than any words could communicate, he resolved to render the representation still more animating and interesting, by exhibiting such a spectacle as might give both them and their monarch an awful impression of the extraordinary prowess of his followers, and the irresistible force of their arms. The trumpets, by his order, sounded an alarm; the troops, in a moment, formed in order of battle, the infantry performed such martial exercises as were best suited to display the effect of their different weapons; the horse, in various evolutions, gave a specimen of their agility and strength; the artillery, pointed towards the thick woods which surrounded the camp, were fired, and made dreadful havoc among the trees. The Mexicans looked on with that silent amazement which is natural when the mind is struck with objects which are both awful and above its comprehension. But, at the explosion of the cannon, many of them fled, some fell to the ground, and all were so much confounded at the sight of men whose power so nearly resembled that of the gods, that Cortes found it difficult to compose and reassure them. The painters had now many new objects on which to exercise their art, and they put their fancy on the stretch in order to invent figures and symbols to represent the extraordinary things which they had seen.

Messengers were immediately despatched to Montezuma with those pictures, and a full account of every thing that had passed since the arrival of the Spaniards, and by them Cortes sent a present of some European curiosities to Montezuma, which, though of no great value, he believed would be acceptable on account of their novelty. The Mexican monarchs, in order to obtain early information of every occurrence in all the corners of their extensive empire, had introduced a refinement in police unknown at that time in Europe. They had couriers posted at proper stations along the principal roads; and as these were trained to agility by a regular education, and relieved one another at moderate distances, they conveyed intelligence with surprising rapidity. Though the capital in which Montezuma resided was above a hundred and eighty miles from St. Juan de Ulua, Cortes's presents were carried thither, and an answer to his demands received in a few days. The same officers who had hitherto treated with the Spaniards were employed to deliver this answer; but as they knew how repugnant the determination of their master was to all the schemes and wishes of the Spanish commander, they would not venture to make it known until they had previously endeavored to soothe and mollify him. For this purpose they renewed their negotiation, by introducing a train of a hundred Indians loaded with presents sent to him by Montezuma. The magnificence of these was such as became a great monarch, and far exceeded any idea which the Spaniards had hitherto formed of his wealth. They were placed on mats spread on the ground in such order as showed them to the greatest advantage. Cortes and his officers viewed with admiration the various manufactures of the country; cotton stuffs so fine, and of such delicate texture as to resemble silk; pictures of animals, trees, and other natural objects, formed with feathers of different colors, disposed and mingled with such skill and elegance as to rival the works of the pencil in truth and beauty of imitation. But what chiefly attracted their eyes were two large plates of a circular form, one of massive gold representing the sun, the other of silver, an emblem of the moon. [102] These were accompanied with bracelets, collars, rings, and other trinkets of gold; and that nothing might be wasted which could give the Spaniards a complete idea of what the country afforded, with some boxes filled with pearls, precious stones, and grains of gold unwrought, as they had been found in the mines or rivers. Cortes received all these with an appearance of profound veneration for the monarch by whom they were bestowed. But when the Mexicans, presuming upon this, informed him that their master, though he had desired him to accept of what he had sent as a token of regard for that monarch whom Cortes represented, would not give his consent that foreign troops should approach nearer to his capital, or even allow them to continue longer in his dominions, the Spanish general

declared, in a manner more resolute and peremptory than formerly, that he must insist on his first demand, as he could not without dishonor, return to his own country, until he was admitted into the presence of the prince whom he was appointed to visit in the name of his sovereign. The Mexicans, astonished at seeing any man dare to oppose that will which they were accustomed to consider as supreme and irresistible, yet afraid of precipitating their country into an open rupture with such formidable enemies, prevailed with Cortes to promise that he would not remove from his present camp until the return of a messenger whom they sent to Montezuma for further instructions.

The firmness with which Cortes adhered to his original proposal should naturally have brought the negotiation between him and Montezuma to a speedy issue, as it seemed to leave the Mexican monarch no choice, but either to receive him with confidence as a friend, or to oppose him openly as an enemy. The latter was what might have been expected from a haughty prince in possession of extensive power. The Mexican empire at this period was at a pitch of grandeur to which no society ever attained in so short a period. Though it had subsisted, according to their own traditions, only a hundred and thirty years, its dominion extended from the North to the South Sea, over territories stretching, with some small interruption, above five hundred leagues from east to west, and more than two hundred from north to south, comprehending provinces not inferior in fertility, population and opulence, to any in the torrid zone. The people were warlike and enterprising; the authority of the monarch unbounded, and his revenues considerable. If, with the forces which might have been suddenly assembled in such an empire, Montezuma had fallen upon the Spaniards while encamped on a barren unhealthy coast, unsupported by any ally, without a place of retreat, and destitute of provisions, it seems to be impossible, even with all the advantages of their superior discipline and arms, that they could have stood the shock, and they must either have perished in such an unequal contest, or have abandoned the enterprise.

As the power of Montezuma enabled him to take this spirited part, his own dispositions were such as seemed naturally to prompt him to it. Of all the princes who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, he was the most haughty, the most violent, and the most impatient of control. His subjects looked up to him with awe, and his enemies with terror. The former he governed with unexampled rigor; but they were impressed with such an opinion of his capacity as commanded their respect; and, by many victories over the latter, he had spread far the dread of his arms, and had added several considerable provinces to his dominions. But though his talents might be suited to the transactions of a state so imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, and sufficient to conduct them while in their accustomed course, they were altogether inadequate to a conjuncture so extraordinary, and did not qualify him either to judge with the discernment, or to act with the decision requisite in such trying emergence.

From the moment that the Spaniards appeared on his coast, he discovered symptoms of timidity and embarrassment. Instead of taking such resolutions as the consciousness of his own power, or the memory of his former exploits, might have inspired he deliberated with an anxiety and hesitation which did not escape the notice of his meanest courtiers. The perplexity and discomposure of Montezuma's mind upon this occasion, as well as the general dismay of his subjects, were not owing wholly to the impression which the Spaniards had made by the novelty of their appearance and the terror of their arms. Its origin may be traced up to a more remote source. There was an opinion, if we may believe the earliest and most authentic Spanish historians, almost universal among the Americans, that some dreadful calamity was impending over their heads, from a race of formidable invaders, who should come from regions towards the rising sun, to overrun and desolate their country. Whether this disquieting apprehension flowed from the memory of some natural calamity which had afflicted that part of the globe, and impressed the minds of the inhabitants with superstitious fears and forebodings, or whether it was an imagination accidentally suggested by the astonishment which the first sight of a new race of men occasioned, it is impossible to determine. But as the Mexicans were more prone to superstition than any people in the New World, they were more deeply affected by the appearance of the Spaniards, whom their credulity instantly represented as the instrument destined to bring about this fatal revolution which they dreaded. Under

those circumstances it ceases to be incredible that a handful of adventurers should alarm the monarch of a great empire, and all his subjects.

Notwithstanding the influence of this impression, when the messenger arrived from the Spanish camp with an account that the leader of the strangers, adhering to his original demand, refused to obey the order enjoining him to leave the country, Montezuma assumed some degree of resolution; and in a transport of rage natural to a fierce prince unaccustomed to meet with any opposition to his will, he threatened to sacrifice those presumptuous men to his gods. But his doubts and fears quickly returned; and instead of issuing orders to carry his threats into execution, he again called his ministers to confer and offer their advice. Feeble and temporising measures will always be the result when men assemble to deliberate in a situation where they ought to act. The Mexican counsellors took no effectual measure for expelling such troublesome intruders, and were satisfied with issuing a more positive injunction, requiring them to leave the country; but this they preposterously accompanied with a present of such value as proved a fresh inducement to remain there.

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were not without solicitude, or a variety of sentiments, in deliberating concerning their own future conduct. From what they had already seen, many of them formed such extravagant ideas concerning the opulence of the country, that despising danger or hardships when they had in view treasures which appeared to be inexhaustible, they were eager to attempt the conquest. Others, estimating the power of the Mexican empire by its wealth, and enumerating the various proofs which had occurred of its being under a well regulated administration, contended that it would be an act of the wildest frenzy to attack such a state with a small body of men, in want of provisions, unconnected with any ally, and already enfeebled by the diseases peculiar to the climate, and the loss of several of their number. Cortes secretly applauded the advocates for bold measures, and cherished their romantic hopes, as such ideas corresponded with his own, and favored the execution of the schemes which he had formed. From the time that the suspicions of Velasquez broke out with open violence in the attempts to deprive him of the command, Cortes saw the necessity of dissolving a connection which would obstruct and embarrass all his operations, and watched for a proper opportunity of coming to a final rupture with him. Having this in view, he had labored by every art to secure the esteem and affection of his soldiers. With his abilities for command, it was easy to gain their esteem; and his followers were quickly satisfied that they might rely, with perfect confidence, on the conduct and courage of their leader. Nor was it more difficult to acquire their affection. Among adventurers nearly of the same rank, and serving at their own expense, the dignity of command did not elevate a general above mingling with those who acted under him. Cortes availed himself of this freedom of intercourse to insinuate himself into their favor, and by his affable manners, by well timed acts of liberality to some, by inspiring all with vast hopes, and by allowing them to trade privately with the natives, [103] he attached the greater part of his soldiers so firmly to himself, that they almost forgot that the armament had been fitted out by the authority and at the expense of another.

During these intrigues, Teutile arrived with the present from Montezuma, and, together with it, delivered the ultimate order of that monarch to depart instantly out of his dominions; and when Cortes, instead of complying, renewed his request of an audience, the Mexican turned from him abruptly, and quitted the camp with looks and gestures which strongly expressed his surprise and resentment. Next morning, none of the natives, who used to frequent the camp in great numbers in order to barter with the soldiers, and to bring in provisions, appeared. All friendly correspondence seemed now to be at an end, and it was expected every moment that hostilities would commence. This, though an event that might have been foreseen, occasioned a sudden consternation among the Spaniards, which emboldened the adherents of Velasquez not only to murmur and cabal against their general, but to appoint one of their number to remonstrate openly against his imprudence in attempting the conquest of a mighty empire with such inadequate force, and to urge the necessity of returning to Cuba, in order to refit the fleet and augment the army. Diego de Ordaz, one of his principal officers, whom the malecontents charged with this commission, delivered it with a soldierly freedom and bluntness, assuring Cortes that he spoke the senti-

ments of the whole army. He listened to this remonstrance without any appearance of emotion, and as he well knew the temper and wishes of his soldiers, and foresaw how they would receive a proposition fatal at once to all the splendid hopes and schemes which they had been forming with such complacency, he carried his dissimulation so far as to seem to relinquish his own measures in compliance with the request of Ordaz, and issued orders that the army should be in readiness next day to re-embark for Cuba. As soon as this was known, the disappointed adventurers exclaimed and threatened; the emissaries of Cortes, mingling with them, inflamed their rage; the ferment became general; the whole camp was almost in open mutiny; all demanding with eagerness to see their commander. Cortes was not slow in appearing; when, with one voice, officers and soldiers expressed their astonishment and indignation at the orders which they had received. It was unworthy, they cried, of the Castilian courage to be daunted at the first aspect of danger, and infamous to fly before any enemy appeared. For their parts, they were determined not to relinquish an enterprise that had hitherto been successful, and which tended so visibly to spread the knowledge of true religion, and to advance the glory and interest of their country. Happy under his command, they would follow him with alacrity through every danger in quest of those settlements and treasures which he had so long held out to their view; but if he chose rather to return to Cuba, and tamely give up all his hopes of distinction and opulence to an envious rival, they would instantly choose another general to conduct them in that path of glory which he had not spirit to enter.

Cortes, delighted with their ardor, took no offence at the boldness with which it was uttered. The sentiments were what he himself had inspired, and the warmth of expression satisfied him that his followers had imbibed them thoroughly. He affected, however, to be surprised at what he heard, declaring that his orders to prepare for embarking were issued from a persuasion that this was agreeable to his troops; that, from deference to what he had been informed was their inclination, he had sacrificed his own private opinion, which was firmly bent on establishing immediately a settlement on the sea coast, and then on endeavoring to penetrate into the interior part of the country; that now he was convinced of his error; and as he perceived that they were animated with the generous spirit which breathed in every true Spaniard, he would resume, with fresh ardor, his original plan of operation, and doubted not to conduct them, in the career of victory, to such independent fortunes as their valor merited. Upon this declaration, shouts of applause testified the excess of their joy. The measure seemed to be taken with unanimous consent; such as secretly condemned it being obliged to join in the acclamations, partly to conceal their disaffection from their general, and partly to avoid the imputation of cowardice from their fellow-soldiers.

Without allowing his men time to cool or to reflect, Cortes set about carrying his design into execution. In order to give a beginning to a colony, he assembled the principal persons in his army, and by their suffrage elected a council and magistrates, in whom the government was to be vested. As men naturally transplant the institutions and forms of the mother country into their new settlements, this was framed upon the model of a Spanish corporation. The magistrates were distinguished by the same names and ensigns of office, and were to exercise a similar jurisdiction. All the persons chosen were most firmly devoted to Cortes, and the instrument of their election was framed in the king's name, without any mention of their dependence on Velasquez. The two principles of avarice and enthusiasm, which prompted the Spaniards to all their enterprises in the New World, seem to have concurred in suggesting the name which Cortes bestowed on his infant settlement. He called it, *The Rich Town of the True Cross*.

The first meeting of the new council was distinguished by a transaction of great moment. As soon as it assembled, Cortes applied for leave to enter; and approaching with many marks of profound respect, which added dignity to the tribunal, and set an example of reverence for its authority, he began a long harangue, in which, with much art, and in terms extremely flattering to persons just entering upon their new function, he observed, that as the supreme jurisdiction over the colony which they had planted was now vested in this court, he considered them as clothed with the authority and representing the person of their sovereign; that accordingly he would communicate to them what

he deemed essential to the public safety, with the same dutiful fidelity as if he were addressing his royal master; that the security of a colony settled in a great empire, whose sovereign had already discovered his hostile intentions, depended upon arms, and the efficacy of these upon the subordination and discipline preserved among the troops; that his right to command was derived from a commission granted by the governor of Cuba; and as that had been long since revoked, the lawfulness of his jurisdiction might well be questioned; that he might be thought to act upon a defective or even a dubious title; nor could they trust an army which might dispute the powers of its general, at a juncture when it ought implicitly to obey his orders; that, moved by these considerations, he now resigned all his authority to them, that they, having both right to choose, and power to confer full jurisdiction, might appoint one in the king's name to command the army in its future operations; and as for his own part, such was his zeal for the service in which they were engaged, that he would most cheerfully take up a pike with the same hand that laid down the general's truncheon, and convince his fellow-soldiers, that though accustomed to command, he had not forgotten how to obey. Having finished his discourse, he laid the commission from Velasquez upon the table, and, after kissing his truncheon, delivered it to the chief magistrate, and withdrew.

The deliberations of the council were not long, as Cortes had concerted this important measure with his confidants, and had prepared the other members with great address for the part which he wished them to take. His resignation was accepted; and as the uninterrupted tenor of their prosperity under his conduct afforded the most satisfying evidence of his abilities for command, they, by their unanimous suffrage, elected him chief justice of the colony, and captain-general of its army, and appointed his commission to be made out in the king's name, with most ample powers, which were to continue in force until the royal pleasure should be further known. That this deed might not be deemed the machination of a junto, the council called together the troops, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. The soldiers, with eager applause, ratified the choice which the council had made; the air resounded with the name of Cortes, and all vowed to shed their blood in support of his authority.

Cortes, having now brought his intrigues to the desired issue, and shaken off his mortifying dependence on the governor of Cuba, accepted of the commission, which vested in him supreme jurisdiction, civil as well as military over the colony, with many professions of respect to the council and gratitude to the army. Together with this new command, he assumed greater dignity, and began to exercise more extensive powers. Formerly he had felt himself to be only the deputy of a subject; now he acted as the representative of his sovereign. The adherents of Velasquez, fully aware of what would be the effect of this change in the situation of Cortes, could no longer continue silent and passive spectators of his actions. They exclaimed openly against the proceedings of the council as illegal, and against those of the army as mutinous. Cortes, instantly perceiving the necessity of giving a timely check to such seditious discourse by some vigorous measure, arrested Ordaz, Escudero, and Velasquez de Leon, the ringleaders of this faction and sent them prisoners aboard the fleet, loaded with chains. Their dependants, astonished and overawed, remained quiet; and Cortes, more desirous to reclaim than to punish his prisoners, who were officers of great merit, courted their friendship with such assiduity and address, that the reconciliation was perfectly cordial; and on the most trying occasions, neither their connection with the governor of Cuba, nor the memory of the indignity with which they had been treated, tempted them to swerve from an inviolable attachment to his interest. In this, as well as his other negotiations at this critical conjuncture, which decided with respect to his future fame and fortune Cortes owed much of his success to the Mexican gold, which he distributed with a liberal hand both among his friends and his opponents.

Cortes, having thus rendered the union between himself and his army indissoluble, by engaging it to join him in disclaiming any dependence on the governor of Cuba, and in repeated acts of disobedience to his authority, thought he now might venture to quit the camp in which he had hitherto remained, and advance into the country. To this he was encouraged by an event no less fortunate than seasonable. Some Indians having approached his camp in a mysterious manner, were introduced into his presence. He found that

they were sent with a proffer of friendship from the *cazique* of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance; and from their answers to a variety of questions which he put to them, according to his usual practice in every interview with the people of the country, he gathered, that their master, though subject to the Mexican empire, was impatient of the yoke, and filled with such dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than any prospect of deliverance from the oppression under which he groaned. On hearing this, a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire which he intended to attack was neither perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved. He concluded, that the causes of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other corners there must be malecontents, so weary of subjection, or so desirous of change, as to be ready to follow the standard of any protector. Full of those ideas, on which he began to form a scheme that time and more perfect information concerning the state of the country enabled him to mature, he gave a most gracious reception to the Zempoallans, and promised soon to visit their *cazique*.

In order to perform this promise, it was not necessary to vary the route which he had already fixed for his march. Some officers, whom he had employed to survey the coast, having discovered a village named Quibislan, about forty miles to the northward, which, both on account of the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the harbor, seemed to be a more proper station for a settlement than that where he was encamped, Cortes determined to remove thither. Zempoalla lay in his way, where the *cazique* received him in the manner which he had reason to expect; with gifts and caresses, like a man solicitous to gain his good will; with respect approaching almost to adoration, like one who looked up to him as a deliverer. From him he learned many particulars with respect to the character of Montezuma, and the circumstances which rendered his dominion odious. He was a tyrant, as the *cazique* told him with tears, haughty, cruel, and suspicious; who treated his own subjects with arrogance, ruined the conquered provinces by excessive exactions, and often tore their sons and daughters from them by violence; the former to be offered as victims to his gods; the latter to be reserved as concubines for himself or favorites. Cortes, in reply to him, artfully insinuated, that one great object of the Spaniards in visiting a country so remote from their own, was to redress grievances, and to relieve the oppressed; and having encouraged him to hope for this interposition in due time, he continued his march to Quibislan.

The spot which his officers had recommended as a proper situation, appeared to him to be so well chosen, that he immediately marked out ground for a town. The houses to be erected were only huts; but these were to be surrounded with fortifications of sufficient strength to resist the assaults of an Indian army. As the finishing of those fortifications was essential to the existence of a colony, and of no less importance in prosecuting the designs which the leader and his followers meditated, both in order to secure a place of retreat, and to preserve their communication with the sea, every man in the army, officers as well as soldiers, put his hand to the work, Cortes himself setting them an example of activity and perseverance in labor. The Indians of Zempoalla and Quibislan lent their aid; and this petty station, the parent of so many mighty settlements, was soon in a state of defence.

While engaged in this necessary work, Cortes had several interviews with the *caziques* of Zempoalla and Quibislan; and availing himself of their wonder and astonishment at the new objects which they daily beheld, he gradually inspired them with such a high opinion of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior order, and irresistible in arms, that, relying on their protection, they ventured to insult the Mexican power, at the very name of which they were accustomed to tremble. Some of Montezuma's officers having appeared to levy the usual tribute, and to demand a certain number of human victims, as an expiation for their guilt in presuming to hold intercourse with those strangers whom the emperor had commanded to leave his dominions; instead of obeying the order, the *caziques* made them prisoners, treated them with great indignity, and as their superstition was no less barbarous than that of the Mexicans, they prepared to sacrifice them to their gods. From this last danger they were delivered by the interposition of Cortes, who manifested the utmost horror at the mention of such a deed. The two *caziques* having now been pushed to an act of such

open rebellion, as left them no hope of safety but in attaching themselves inviolably to the Spaniards, they soon completed their union with them, by formally acknowledging themselves to be vassals of the same monarch. Their example was followed by the *Totonagues*, a fierce people who inhabited the mountainous part of the country. They willingly subjected themselves to the crown of Castile, and offered to accompany Cortes, with all their forces, in his march towards Mexico.

Cortes had now been above three months in New Spain; and though this period had not been distinguished by martial exploits, every moment had been employed in operations which, though less splendid, were more important. By his address in conducting his intrigues with his own army, as well as his sagacity in carrying on his negotiations with the natives, he had already laid the foundations of his future success. But whatever confidence he might place in the plan which he had formed, he could not but perceive, that as his title to command was derived from a doubtful authority, he held it by a precarious tenure. The injuries which Velasquez had received were such as would naturally prompt him to apply for redress to their common sovereign; and such a representation, he foresaw, might be given of his conduct that, he had reason to apprehend, not only that he might be degraded from his present rank, but subjected to punishment. Before he began his march, it was necessary to take the most effectual precautions against this impending danger. With this view he persuaded the magistrates of the colony at Vera Cruz to address a letter to the king, the chief object of which was to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. In order to accomplish this, they endeavored to detract from his merit in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, affirming that these had been equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expeditions, and not by the governor. They contended that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives, not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or to settle a colony there. They asserted that Cortes and the officers who served under him had defrayed the greater part of the expense of fitting out the armament. On this account, they humbly requested their sovereign to ratify what they had done in his name, and to confirm Cortes in the supreme command by his royal commission. That Charles might be induced to grant more readily what they demanded, they gave him a pompous description of the country which they had discovered; of its riches, the number of its inhabitants, their civilization and arts; they related the progress which they had already made in annexing some parts of the country situated on the sea coast to the crown of Castile; and mentioned the schemes which they had formed, as well as the hopes which they entertained, of reducing the whole to subjection.* Cortes himself wrote in a similar strain; and as he knew that the Spanish court, accustomed to the exaggerated representations of every new country by its discoverers, would give little credit to their splendid accounts of New Spain, if these were not accompanied with such a specimen of what it contained as would excite a high idea of its opulence, he solicited his soldiers to relinquish what they might claim as their part of the treasures which had hitherto been collected, in order that the whole might be sent to the king. Such was the ascendancy which he had acquired over their minds, and such their own romantic expectations of future wealth, that an army of indigent and rapacious adventurers was capable of this generous effort, and offered to their sovereign the richest present that had hitherto been transmitted from the New World. [101] Portocarrero and Montejo, the chief magistrates of the colony, were appointed to carry this present to Castile, with express orders not to touch at Cuba in their passage thither.

While a vessel was preparing for their departure an unexpected event occasioned a general alarm. Some soldiers and sailors, secretly attached to Velasquez, or

* In this letter it is asserted, that though a considerable number of Spaniards have been wounded in their various encounters with the people of Tabasco, not one of them died, and all had recovered in a very short time. This seems to confirm what I observe up. 122, concerning the perfection of the offensive weapon used by the Americans. In this letter, the human sacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities are described minutely, and with great horror; some of the Spaniards, it is said, had been eye-witnesses of those barbarous rites. To the letter is subjoined a catalogue and description of the presents sent to the emperor. That published by Genar, Cron. c. 29, seems to have been copied from it. Pet. Martyr describes many of the articles in his treatise, 'De Insulis nuper inventis,' p. 351, &c.

intimidated at the prospect of the dangers unavoidable in attempting to penetrate into the heart of a great empire with such unequal force, formed the design of seizing one of the brigantines, and making their escape to Cuba, in order to give the governor such intelligence as might enable him to intercept the ship which was to carry the treasure and despatches to Spain. This conspiracy, though formed by persons of low rank, was conducted with profound secrecy; but at the moment when every thing was ready for execution, they were betrayed by one of their associates.

Though the good fortune of Cortes interposed so seasonably on this occasion, the detection of this conspiracy filled his mind with most disquieting apprehensions, and prompted him to execute a scheme which he had long revolved. He perceived that the spirit of disaffection still lurked among his troops; that though hitherto checked by the uniform success of his schemes, or suppressed by the hand of authority various events might occur which would encourage and call it forth. He observed, that many of his men, weary of the fatigue of service, longed to revisit their settlements in Cuba; and that upon any appearance of extraordinary danger or any reverse of fortune, it would be impossible to restrain them from returning thither. He was sensible, that his forces, already too feeble, could bear no diminution, and that a very small defection of his followers would oblige him to abandon the enterprise. After ruminating often, and with much solicitude, upon those particulars, he saw no hope of success but in cutting off all possibility of retreat, and in reducing his men to the necessity of adopting the same resolution with which he himself was animated, either to conquer or to perish. With this view he determined to destroy his fleet; but as he durst not venture to execute such a bold resolution by his single authority, he labored to bring his soldiers to adopt his ideas with respect to the propriety of this measure. His address in accomplishing this was not inferior to the arduous occasion in which it was employed. He persuaded some that the ships had suffered so much by having been long at sea, as to be altogether unfit for service; to others he pointed out what a seasonable reinforcement of strength they would derive from the junction of a hundred men, now unprofitably employed as sailors; and to all he represented the necessity of fixing their eyes and wishes upon what was before them, without allowing the idea of a retreat once to enter their thoughts. With universal consent the ships were drawn ashore, and after stripping them of their sails, rigging, iron works, and whatever else might be of use, they were broke in pieces. Thus, from an effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history, five hundred men voluntarily consented to be shut up in a hostile country, filled with powerful and unknown nations; and, having precluded every means of escape, left themselves without any resource but their own valor and perseverance.

Nothing now retarded Cortes; the alacrity of his troops and the disposition of his allies were equally favorable. All the advantages, however, derived from the latter, though procured by much assiduity and address, were well nigh lost in a moment, by an indiscreet sally of religious zeal, which on many occasions precipitated Cortes into actions inconsistent with the prudence that distinguishes his character. Though hitherto he had neither time nor opportunity to explain to the natives the errors of their own superstition, or to instruct them in the principles of the Christian faith, he commanded his soldiers to overturn the altars and to destroy the idols in the chief temple of Zempoalla, and in their place to erect a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. The people beheld this with astonishment and horror; the priests excited them to arms; but such was the authority of Cortes, and so great the ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired, that the commotion was appeased without bloodshed, and concord perfectly re-established.

Cortes began his march from Zempoalla, on the sixteenth of August, with five hundred men, fifteen horse, and six field pieces. The rest of his troops, consisting chiefly of such as from age or infirmity were less fit for active service, he left as a garrison in Villa Rica, under the command of Escalante, an officer of merit, and warmly attached to his interests. The *cazique* of Zempoalla supplied him with provisions, and with two hundred of those Indians called *Tanemes*, whose office, in a country where tame animals were unknown, was to carry burdens, and to perform all servile labor. They were a great relief to the Spanish soldiers, who hitherto had been obliged not only to carry their own baggage, but to drag along the artillery by main force. He

offered likewise a considerable body of his troops, but Cortes was satisfied with four hundred; taking care, however, to choose persons of such note as might prove hostages for the fidelity of their master. Nothing memorable happened in his progress, until he arrived on the confines of Tlascalca. The inhabitants of that province, a warlike people, were implacable enemies of the Mexicans, and had been united in an ancient alliance with the caziques of Zempoalla. Though less civilized than the subjects of Montezuma, they were advanced in improvement far beyond the rude nations of America whose manners we have described. They had made considerable progress in agriculture; they dwelt in large towns; they were not strangers to some species of commerce; and in the imperfect accounts of their institutions and laws, transmitted to us by the early Spanish writers, we discern traces both of distributive justice and of criminal jurisdiction in their interior police. But still, as the degree of their civilization was incomplete, and as they depended for subsistence not on agriculture alone, but trusted for it in a great measure to hunting, they retained many of the qualities natural to men in this state. Like them they were fierce and revengeful; like them, too, they were high spirited and independent. In consequence of the former, they were involved in perpetual hostilities, and had but a slender and occasional intercourse with neighboring states. The latter inspired them with such detestation of servitude, that they not only refused to stoop to a foreign yoke, and maintain an obstinate and successful contest in defence of their liberty against the superior power of the Mexican empire, but they guarded with equal solicitude against domestic tyranny; and disdaining to acknowledge any master, they lived under the mild and limited jurisdiction of a council elected by their several tribes.

Cortes, though he had received information concerning the martial character of this people, flattered himself that his professions of delivering the oppressed from the tyranny of Montezuma, their inveterate enmity to the Mexicans, and the example of their ancient allies the Zempoallans, might induce the Tlascalans to grant him a friendly reception. In order to dispose them to this, four Zempoallans of great eminence were sent ambassadors, to request in his name, and in that of their cazique, that they would permit the Spaniards to pass through the territories of the republic in their way to Mexico. But instead of the favorable answer which was expected, the Tlascalans seized the ambassadors, and, without any regard to their public character, made preparations for sacrificing them to their gods. At the same time they assembled their troops, in order to oppose those unknown invaders if they should attempt to make their passage good by force of arms. Various motives concurred in precipitating the Tlascalans into this resolution. A fierce people, shut up within its own narrow precincts, and little accustomed to any intercourse with foreigners, is apt to consider every stranger as an enemy, and is easily excited to arms. They concluded, from Cortes's proposal of visiting Montezuma in his capital, that, notwithstanding all his professions, he courted the friendship of a monarch whom they both hated and feared. The imprudent zeal of Cortes in violating the temples in Zempoalla, filled the Tlascalans with horror; and as they were no less attached to their superstition than the other nations of New Spain, they were impatient to avenge their injured gods, and to acquire the merit of offering up to them as victims, those impious men who had dared to profane their altars; they contemned the small number of the Spaniards, as they had not yet measured their own strength with that of these new enemies, and had no idea of the superiority which they derived from their arms and discipline.

Cortes, after waiting some days in vain for the return of his ambassadors, advanced [Aug. 30.] into the Tlascalcan territories. As the resolutions of people who delight in war are executed with no less promptitude than they are formed, he found troops in the field ready to oppose him. They attacked him with great intrepidity, and in the first encounter, wounded some of the Spaniards, and killed two horses; a loss, in their situation, of great moment, because it was irreparable. From this specimen of their courage, Cortes saw the necessity of proceeding with caution. His army marched in close order; he chose the stations where he halted, with attention, and fortified every camp with extraordinary care. During fourteen days he was exposed to almost uninterrupted assaults, the Tlascalans advancing with numerous armies, and renewing the attack in various forms, with a degree of valor and perseverance to which the Spaniards had seen nothing paral-

lel in the New World. The Spanish historians describe those successive battles with great pomp, and enter into a minute detail of particulars, mingling many exaggerated and incredible circumstances [195] with such as are real and marvellous. But no power of words can render the recital of a combat interesting, where there is no equality of danger; and when the narrative closes with an account of thousands slain on the one side, while not a single person falls on the other, the most labored descriptions of the previous disposition of the troops, or of the various vicissitudes in the engagement, command no attention.

There are some circumstances, however, in this war, which are memorable, and merit notice, as they throw light upon the character both of the people of New Spain, and of their conquerors. Though the Tlascalans brought into the field such numerous armies as appear sufficient to have overwhelmed the Spaniards, they were never able to make any impression upon their small battalion. Singular as this may seem, it is not inexplicable. The Tlascalans, though addicted to war, were like all unpolished nations, strangers to military order and discipline, and lost in a great measure the advantage which they might have derived from their numbers, and the impetuosity of their attack, by their constant solicitude to carry off the dead and wounded. This point of honor, founded on a sentiment of tenderness natural to the human mind, and strengthened by anxiety to preserve the bodies of their countrymen from being devoured by their enemies, was universal among the people of New Spain. Attention to this pious office occupied them even during the heat of combat, broke their union, and diminished the force of the impression which they might have made by a joint effort.

Not only was their superiority in number of little avail, but the imperfection of their military weapons rendered their valor in a great measure inoffensive. After three battles and many skirmishes and assaults, not one Spaniard was killed in the field. Arrows and spears, headed with flint or the bones of fishes, stakes hardened in the fire, and wooden swords, though destructive weapons among naked Indians, were easily turned aside by the Spanish bucklers, and could hardly penetrate the *escapules*, or quilted jackets, which the soldiers wore. The Tlascalans advanced boldly to the charge, and often fought hand to hand. Many of the Spaniards were wounded though all slightly, which cannot be imputed to any want of courage or strength in their enemies, but to the defect of the arms with which they assailed them.

Notwithstanding the fury with which the Tlascalans attacked the Spaniards, they seemed to have conducted their hostilities with some degree of barbarous generosity. They gave the Spaniards warning of their hostile intentions; and as they knew that their invaders wanted provisions, and imagined perhaps, like the other Americans, that they had left their own country because it did not afford them subsistence, they sent to their camp a large supply of poultry and maize, desiring them to eat plentifully, because they scorned to attack an enemy enfeebled by hunger, and it would be an affront to their gods to offer them famished victims, as well as disagreeable to themselves to feed on such emaciated prey.

When they were taught by the first encounter with their new enemies, that it was not easy to execute this threat; when they perceived, in the subsequent engagements, that notwithstanding all the efforts of their own valor, of which they had a very high opinion, not one of the Spaniards was slain or taken, they began to conceive them to be a superior order of beings, against whom human power could not avail. In this extremity, they had recourse to their priests, requiring them to reveal the mysterious causes of such extraordinary events, and to declare what new means they should employ in order to repulse those formidable invaders. The priests, after many sacrifices and incantations, delivered this response: That these strangers were the offspring of the sun, procreated by his animating energy in the regions of the east; that, by day, while cherished with the influence of his parental beams, they were invincible; but by night, when his reviving heat was withdrawn, their vigor declined and faded like the herbs in the field, and they dwindled down into mortal men. Theories less plausible have gained credit with more enlightened nations, and have influenced their conduct. In consequence of this, the Tlascalans, with the implicit confidence of men who fancy themselves to be under the guidance of Heaven, acted in contradiction to one of their most established maxims in war, and ventured to attack the enemy, with a strong body, in the night time, in hopes of destroying them when enfeebled and

surprised. But Cortes had greater vigilance and discernment, than to be deceived by the rude stratagems of an Indian army. The sentinels at his outposts, observing some extraordinary movement among the Tlascalans, gave the alarm. In a moment the troops were under arms, and rallying out, dispersed the party with great slaughter, without allowing it to approach the camp. The Tlascalans convinced by sad experience that their priests had deluded them, and satisfied that they attempted in vain either to deceive or to vanquish their enemies, their fierceness abated, and they began to incline seriously to peace.

They were at a loss, however, in what manner to address the strangers, what idea to form of their character, and whether to consider them as beings of a gentle or of a malevolent nature. There were circumstances in their conduct which seemed to favor each opinion. On the one hand, as the Spaniards constantly dismissed the prisoners whom they took, not only without injury, but often with presents of European toys, and renewed their offers of peace after every victory; this lenity amazed people, who, according to the exterminating system of war known in America, were accustomed to sacrifice and devour without mercy all the captives taken in battle, and disposed them to entertain favorable sentiments of the humanity of their new enemies. But, on the other hand, as Cortes had seized fifty of their countrymen who brought provisions to his camp, and supposing them to be spies, had cut off their hands; this bloody spectacle, added to the terror occasioned by the fire-arms and horses, filled them with dreadful impressions of the ferocity of their invaders. [106] This uncertainty was apparent in the mode of addressing the Spaniards. "If," said they, "you are divinities of a cruel and savage nature, we present to you five slaves, that you may drink their blood and eat their flesh. If you are mild deities, accept an offering of incense and variegated plumes. If you are men, here is meat, and bread, and fruit to nourish you." The peace, which both parties now desired with equal ardor, was soon concluded. The Tlascalans yielded themselves as vassals to the crown of Castile, and engaged to assist Cortes in all his future operations. He took the republic under his protection, and promised to defend their persons and possessions from injury or violence.

This treaty was concluded at a seasonable juncture for the Spaniards. The fatigue of service among a small body of men, surrounded by such a multitude of enemies was incredible. Half the army was on duty every night, and even they whose turn it was to rest, slept always upon their arms, that they might be ready to run to their posts on a moment's warning. Many of them were wounded; a good number, and among these Cortes himself, labored under the distempers prevalent in hot climates, and several had died since they set out from Vera Cruz. Notwithstanding the supplies which they received from the Tlascalans, they were often in want of provisions, and so destitute of the necessities most requisite in dangerous service, that they had no salve to dress their wounds, but what was composed of the fat of the Indians whom they had slain. Worn out with such intolerable toil and hardships, many of the soldiers began to murmur, and when they reflected on the multitude and boldness of their enemies, more were ready to despair. It required the utmost exertion of Cortes's authority and address to check this spirit of despondency in its progress, and to reanimate his followers with their wonted sense of their own superiority over the enemies with whom they had to contend. The submission of the Tlascalans, and their own triumphant entry into the capital city, where they were received with the reverence paid to beings of a superior order, banished at once from the minds of the Spaniards all memory of past sufferings; dispelled every anxious thought with respect to their future operations, and fully satisfied them that there was not now any power in America able to withstand their arms.

Cortes remained twenty days in Tlascalca, in order to allow his troops a short interval of repose after such hard service. During that time he was employed in transactions and inquiries of great moment with respect to his future schemes. In his daily conferences with the Tlascalcan chiefs, he received information concerning every particular relative to the state of the Mexican empire, or to the qualities of its sovereign, which could be of use in regulating his conduct, whether he should be obliged to act as a friend or as an enemy. As he found that the antipathy of his new allies to the Mexican nation was no less implacable than had been represented, and perceived what benefit he might derive from the

aid of such powerful confederates, he employed all his powers of insinuation in order to gain their confidence. Nor was any extraordinary exertion of these necessary. The Tlascalans, with the levity of mind natural to unpolished men, were, of their own accord, disposed to run from the extreme of hatred to that of fondness. Every thing in the appearance and conduct of their guests was to them matter of wonder. [107] They gazed with admiration at whatever the Spaniards did, and, fancying them to be of heavenly origin, were eager not only to comply with their demands, but to anticipate their wishes. They offered, accordingly, to accompany Cortes in his march to Mexico, with all the forces of the republic, under the command of their most experienced captains.

But, after bestowing so much pains on cementing this union, all the beneficial fruits of it were on the point of being lost by a new effusion of that intemperate religious zeal with which Cortes was animated no less than the other adventurers of the age. They all considered themselves as instruments employed by Heaven to propagate the Christian faith, and the less they were qualified, either by their knowledge or morals, for such a function, they were more eager to discharge it. The profound veneration of the Tlascalans for the Spaniards having encouraged Cortes to explain to some of their chiefs the doctrines of the Christian religion, and to insist that they should abandon their own superstitious, and embrace the faith of their new friends, they, according to an idea universal among barbarous nations, readily acknowledged the truth and excellence of what he taught; but contended, that the *Teules* of Tlascala were divinities no less than the God in whom the Spaniards believed; and as that Being was entitled to the homage of Europeans, so they were bound to revere the same powers which their ancestors had worshipped. Cortes continued, nevertheless, to urge his demand in a tone of authority, mingling threats with his arguments, until the Tlascalans could bear it no longer, and conjured him never to mention this again, lest the gods should avenge on their heads the guilt of having listened to such a proposition. Cortes, astonished and enraged at their obstinacy, prepared to execute by force what he could not accomplish by persuasion, and was going to overturn their altars and cast down their idols with the same violent hand as at Zempoalla, if Father Bartholomew de Olmedo, chaplain to the expedition, had not checked his inconsiderate impetuosity. He represented the imprudence of such an attempt in a large city newly reconciled, and filled with people no less superstitious than warlike; he declared, that the proceeding at Zempoalla had always appeared to him precipitate and unjust; that religion was not to be propagated by the sword, or infidels to be converted by violence; that other weapons were to be employed in this ministry; patient instruction must enlighten the understanding, and pious example captivate the heart, before men could be induced to abandon error, and embrace the truth. Amidst scenes where a narrow minded bigotry appears in such close union with oppression and cruelty, sentiments so liberal and humane soothe the mind with unexpected pleasure; and at a time when the rights of conscience were little understood in the Christian world, and the idea of toleration unknown, one is astonished to find a Spanish monk of the sixteenth century among the first advocates against persecution, and in behalf of religious liberty. The remonstrances of an ecclesiastic, no less respectable for wisdom than virtue, had their proper weight with Cortes. He left the Tlascalans in the undisturbed exercise of their own rites, requiring only that they should desist from their horrid practice of offering human victims in sacrifice.

Cortes, as soon as his troops were fit for service, resolved to continue his march towards Mexico, notwithstanding the earnest dissuaves of the Tlascalans, who represented his destruction as unavoidable if he put himself in the power of a prince so faithless and cruel as Montezuma. As he was accompanied by six thousand Tlascalans, he had now the command of forces which resembled a regular army. They directed their course towards Cholula [Oct. 13]; Montezuma, who had at length consented to admit the Spaniards into his presence, having informed Cortes that he had given orders for his friendly reception there. Cholula was a considerable town, and though only five leagues distant from Tlascala, was formerly an independent state, but had been lately subjected to the Mexican empire. This was considered by all the people of New Spain as a holy place, the sanctuary and chief seat of their gods, to which pilgrims resorted from every province and a greater number of human victims were offered in its

principal temple than even in that of Mexico. Montezuma seems to have invited the Spaniards thither, either from some superstitious hope that the gods would not suffer this sacred mansion to be defiled, without pouring down their wrath upon those impious strangers, who ventured to insult their power in the place of its peculiar residence; or from a belief that he himself might there attempt to cut them off with more certain success, under the immediate protection of his divinities.

Cortes had been warned by the Tlascalans, before he set out on his march, to keep a watchful eye over the Cholulans. He himself, though received into the town with much seeming respect and cordiality, observed several circumstances in their conduct which excited suspicion. Two of the Tlascalans, who were encamped at some distance from the town, as the Cholulans refused to admit their ancient enemies within its precincts, having found means to enter in disguise, acquainted Cortes that they observed the women and children of the principal citizens retiring in great hurry every night; and that six children had been sacrificed in the chief temple, a rite which indicated the execution of some warlike enterprise to be approaching. At the same time, Marina the interpreter received information from an Indian woman of distinction, whose confidence she had gained, that the destruction of her friends was concerted; that a body of Mexican troops lay concealed near the town; that some of the streets were barricaded, and in others, pits or deep trenches were dug, and slightly covered over, as traps into which the horses might fall; that stones or missive weapons were collected on the tops of the temples, with which to overwhelm the infantry; that the fatal hour was now at hand, and their ruin unavoidable. Cortes, alarmed at this concurring evidence, secretly arrested three of the chief priests, and extorted from them a confession, that confirmed the intelligence which he had received. As not a moment was to be lost, he instantly resolved to prevent his enemies, and to inflict on them such dreadful vengeance as might strike Montezuma and his subjects with terror. For this purpose, the Spaniards and Zempoallans were drawn up in a large court, which had been allotted for their quarters near the centre of the town; the Tlascalans had orders to advance; the magistrates and several of the chief citizens were sent for, under various pretexts, and seized. On a signal given, the troops rushed out and fell upon the multitude, destitute of leaders, and so much astonished, that the weapons dropping from their hands, they stood motionless, and incapable of defence. While the Spaniards pressed them in front, the Tlascalans attacked them in the rear. The streets were filled with bloodshed and death. The temples, which afforded a retreat to the priests and some of the leading men, were set on fire, and they perished in the flames. This scene of horror continued two days; during which, the wretched inhabitants suffered all that the destructive rage of the Spaniards, or the implacable revenge of their Indian allies could inflict. At length the carnage ceased, after the slaughter of six thousand Cholulans, without the loss of a single Spaniard. Cortes then released the magistrates, and, reproaching them bitterly for their intended treachery, declared, that as justice was now appeased, he forgave the offence, but required them to recall the citizens who had fled, and re-establish order in the town. Such was the ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired over this superstitious race of men, and so deeply were they impressed with an opinion of their superior discernment, as well as power, that, in obedience to this command, the city was in a few days filled again with people, who, amidst the ruins of their sacred buildings, yielded respectful service to men whose hands were stained with the blood of their relations and fellow-citizens. [108]

From Cholula, Cortes advanced directly towards Mexico [Oct. 29], which was only twenty leagues distant. In every place through which he passed, he was received as a person possessed of sufficient power to deliver the empire from the oppression under which it groaned; and the caziques or governors communicated to him all the grievances which they felt under the tyrannical government of Montezuma, with that unreserved confidence which men naturally repose in superior beings. When Cortes first observed the seeds of discontent in the remote provinces of the empire, hope dawned upon his mind; but when he now discovered such symptoms of alienation from their monarch near the seat of government, he concluded that the vital parts of the constitution were affected, and conceived the most sanguine expectations of overturning a state whose natural strength was thus divided and impaired. While those reflections encouraged the ge-

neral to persist in his arduous undertaking, the soldiers were no less animated by observations more obvious to their capacity. In descending from the mountains of Chalco, across which the road lay, the vast plain of Mexico opened gradually to their view. When they first beheld this prospect, one of the most striking and beautiful on the face of the earth; when they observed fertile and cultivated fields stretching further than the eye could reach; when they saw a lake resembling the sea in extent, encompassed with large towns, and discovered the capital city rising upon an island in the middle, adorned with its temples and turrets; the scene so far exceeded their imagination, that some believed the fanciful descriptions of romance were realized, and that its enchanted palaces and gilded domes were presented to their sight; others could hardly persuade themselves that this wonderful spectacle was any thing more than a dream. [109] As they advanced, their doubts were removed, but their amazement increased. They were now fully satisfied that the country was rich beyond any conception which they had formed of it, and flattered themselves that at length they should obtain an ample recompense for all their services and sufferings.

Hitherto they had met with no enemy to oppose their progress, though several circumstances occurred which led them to suspect that some design was formed to surprise and cut them off. Many messengers arrived successively from Montezuma, permitting them one day to advance, requiring them on the next to retire, as his hopes or fears alternately prevailed; and so wonderful was this infatuation, which seems to be unaccountable on any supposition but that of a superstitious dread of the Spaniards, as beings of a superior nature, that Cortes was almost at the gates of the capital, before the monarch had determined whether to receive him as a friend, or to oppose him as an enemy. But as no sign of open hostility appeared, the Spaniards, without regarding the fluctuations of Montezuma's sentiments, continued their march along the causeway which led to Mexico through the lake, with great circumspection and the strictest discipline, though without seeming to suspect the prince whom they were about to visit.

When they drew near the city, about a thousand persons, who appeared to be of distinction, came forth to meet them, adorned with plumes and clad in mantles of fine cotton. Each of these in his order passed by Cortes, and saluted him according to the mode deemed most respectful and submissive in their country. They announced the approach of Montezuma himself, and soon after his harbingers came in sight. There appeared first two hundred persons in a uniform dress, with large plumes of feathers, alike in fashion, marching two and two, in deep silence, barefooted, with their eyes fixed on the ground. These were followed by a company of higher rank, in their most showy apparel, in the midst of whom was Montezuma, in a chair or litter richly ornamented with gold, and feathers of various colors. Four of his principal favorites carried him on their shoulders, others supported a canopy of curious workmanship over his head. Before him marched three officers with rods of gold in their hands, which they lifted up on high at certain intervals, and at that signal all the people bowed their heads, and hid their faces, as unworthy to look on so great a monarch. When he drew near, Cortes dismounted, advancing towards him with officious haste, and in a respectful posture. At the same time Montezuma alighted from his chair, and, leaning on the arms of two of his near relations, approached with a slow and stately pace, his attendants covering the streets with cotton cloths, that he might not touch the ground. Cortes accosted him with profound reverence, after the European fashion. He returned the salutation, according to the mode of his country, by touching the earth with his hand, and then kissing it. This ceremony, the customary expression of veneration from inferiors towards those who were above them in rank, appeared such amazing condescension in a proud monarch, who scarcely deigned to consider the rest of mankind as of the same species with himself, that all his subjects firmly believed those persons, before whom he humbled himself in this manner, to be something more than human. Accordingly, as they marched through the crowd, the Spaniards frequently, and with much satisfaction, heard themselves denominated *Teules*, or divinities. Nothing material passed in this first interview. Montezuma conducted Cortes to the quarters which he had prepared for his reception, and immediately took leave of him, with a politeness not unworthy of a court more refined. "You are now," says he, "with your brothers in your own house; refresh yourselves after your fatigue, and be happy until I return." The place allot-

ted to the Spaniards for their lodging, was a house built by the father of Montezuma. It was surrounded by a stone wall, with towers at proper distances, which served for defence as well as for ornament, and its apartments and courts were so large as to accommodate both the Spaniards and their Indian allies. The first care of Cortes was to take precautions for his security, by planting the artillery so as to command the different avenues which led to it, by appointing a large division of his troops to be always on guard, and by posting sentinels at proper stations, with injunctions to observe the same vigilant discipline as if they were in sight of an enemy's camp.

In the evening, Montezuma returned to visit his guests with the same pomp as in their first interview, and brought presents of such value, not only to Cortes and to his officers, but even to the private men, as proved the liberality of the monarch to be suitable to the opulence of his kingdom. A long conference ensued, in which Cortes learned what was the opinion of Montezuma with respect to the Spaniards. It was an established tradition, he told him, among the Mexicans, that their ancestors came originally from a remote region, and conquered the provinces now subject to his dominion; that after they were settled there, the great captain who conducted this colony returned to his own country, promising that at some future period his descendants should visit them, assume the government, and reform their constitution and laws; that from what he had heard and seen of Cortes and his followers, he was convinced that they were the very persons whose appearance the Mexican traditions and prophecies taught them to expect; that accordingly he had received them not as strangers, but as relations of the same blood and parentage, and desired that they might consider themselves as masters in his dominions, for both himself and his subjects should be ready to comply with their will, and even to prevent their wishes. Cortes made a reply in his usual style, with respect to the dignity and power of his sovereign, and his intention of sending him into that country; artfully endeavoring so to frame his discourse, that it might coincide as much as possible with the idea which Montezuma had formed concerning the origin of the Spaniards. Next morning, Cortes and some of his principal attendants were admitted to a public audience of the emperor. The three subsequent days were employed in viewing the city; the appearance of which, so far superior in the order of its buildings and the number of its inhabitants, to any place the Spaniards had beheld in America, and yet so little resembling the structure of a European city, filled them with surprise and admiration.

Mexico, or *Tenuchtilan*, as it was anciently called by the natives, is situated in a large plain, environed by mountains of such height that, though within the torrid zone, the temperature of its climate is mild and healthful. All the moisture which descends from the high grounds, is collected in several lakes, the two largest of which, of about ninety miles in circuit, communicate with each other. The waters of the one are fresh, those of the other brackish. On the banks of the latter, and on some small islands adjoining to them, the capital of Montezuma's empire was built. The access to the city was by artificial causeways or streets formed of stones and earth, about thirty feet in breadth. As the waters of the lake during the rainy season overflowed the flat country, these causeways were of considerable length. That of Tacuba, on the west, extended a mile and a half; that of Tepeaca, on the north-west, three miles; that of Cuoyacan, towards the south, six miles. On the east* there was no causeway, and the city could be approached only by canoes. In each of these causeways were openings at proper intervals, through which the waters flowed, and over these beams of timber were laid, which being covered with earth, the causeway or street had every where a uniform appearance. As the approaches to the city were singular, its construction was remarkable. Not only the temples of their gods, but the houses belonging to the monarch, and to persons of distinction, were of such dimensions, that, in comparison with any other buildings which hitherto had been discovered in America, they might be termed magnificent. The habitations of the common people were mean, resembling the huts of other Indians.

* I am indebted to M. Clavigero for correcting an error of importance in my description of Mexico. From the east, where Tezcuco was situated, there was no causeway, as I have observed, and yet by some institution on my part, or on that of the printer, in all the former editions, one of the causeways was said to lead to Tezcuco. M. Clavigero's measurement of the length of these causeways differs somewhat from that which I have adopted from F. Tombio. Clavig. u. p. 72.

But they were all placed in a regular manner, on the banks of the canals which passed through the city, in some of its districts, or on the sides of the streets which intersected it in other quarters. In several places were large openings or squares, one of which, allotted for the great market, is said to have been so spacious, that forty or fifty thousand persons carried on traffic there. In this city, the pride of the New World, and the noblest monument of the industry and art of man, while unacquainted with the use of iron, and destitute of aid from any domestic animal, the Spaniards, who are most moderate in their computations, reckon that there were at least sixty thousand inhabitants.

But how much soever the novelty of those objects might amaze or astonish the Spaniards, they felt the utmost solicitude with respect to their own situation. From a concurrence of circumstances, no less unexpected than favorable to their progress, they had been allowed to penetrate into the heart of a powerful kingdom, and were now lodged in its capital without having once met with open opposition from its monarch. The Tlascalans, however, had earnestly dissuaded them from placing such confidence in Montezuma, as to enter a city of such peculiar situation as Mexico, where that prince would have them at mercy, shut up as it were in a snare, from which it was impossible to escape. They assured them that the Mexican priests bad, in the name of the gods, counselled their sovereign, to admit the Spaniards into the capital, that he might cut them off there at one blow with perfect security. They now perceived too plainly, that the apprehensions of their allies were not destitute of foundation; that, by breaking the bridges placed at certain intervals on the causeways, or by destroying part of the causeways themselves, their retreat would be rendered impracticable, and they must remain cooped up in the centre of a hostile city, surrounded by multitudes sufficient to overwhelm them, and without a possibility of receiving aid from their allies. Montezuma had, indeed, received them with distinguished respect. But ought they to reckon upon this as real, or to consider it as feigned? Even if it were sincere, could they promise on its continuance? Their safety depended upon the will of a monarch in whose attachment they had no reason to confide; and an order flowing from his caprice, or a word uttered by him in passion, might decide irrevocably concerning their fate.

These reflections, so obvious as to occur to the meanest soldier, did not escape the vigilant sagacity of their general. Before he set out from Cholula, Cortes had received advice from Villa Rica, that Quallipoca, one of the Mexican generals on the frontiers, having assembled an army in order to attack some of the people whom the Spaniards had encouraged to throw off the Mexican yoke, Escalante had marched out with part of the garrison to support his allies; that an engagement had ensued, in which, though the Spaniards were victorious, Escalante with seven of his men, had been mortally wounded, his horse killed, and one Spaniard had been surrounded by the enemy and taken alive; that the head of this unfortunate captive, after being carried in triumph to different cities, in order to convince the people that their invaders were not immortal, had been sent to Mexico. Cortes, though alarmed with this intelligence, as an indication of Montezuma's hostile intentions, had continued his march. But as soon as he entered Mexico he became sensible, that, from an excess of confidence in the superior valor and discipline of his troops, as well as from the disadvantage of having nothing to guide him in an unknown country, but the defective intelligence which he had received from people with whom his mode of communication was very imperfect, he had pushed forward into a situation where it was difficult to continue, and from which it was dangerous to retire. Disgrace, and perhaps ruin, was the certain consequence of attempting the latter. The success of his enterprise depended upon supporting the high opinion which the people of New Spain had formed with respect to the irresistible power of his arms. Upon the first symptoms of timidity on his part, their veneration would cease, and Montezuma, whom fear alone restrained at present, would let loose upon him the whole force of his empire. At the same time, he knew that the countenance of his own sovereign was to be obtained only by a series of victories, and that nothing but the merit of extraordinary success could screen his conduct from the censure of irregularity. From all these considerations, it was necessary to maintain his station, and to extricate himself out of the difficulties in which one bold step had involved him, by venturing upon another still bolder. The situation was trying, but his mind was

equal to it; and after revolving the matter with deep attention, he fixed upon a plan no less extraordinary than daring. He determined to seize Montezuma in his palace, and to carry him as a prisoner to the Spanish quarters. From the superstitious veneration of the Mexicans for the person of their monarch, as well as their implicit submission to his will, he hoped, by having Montezuma in his power, to acquire the supreme direction of their affairs; or, at least, with such a sacred pledge in his hands, he made no doubt of being secure from any effort of their violence.

This he immediately proposed to his officers. The timid startled at a measure so audacious, and raised objections. The more intelligent and resolute, conscious that it was the only resource in which there appeared any prospect of safety, warmly approved of it, and brought over their companions so cordially to the same opinion, that it was agreed instantly to make the attempt. At his usual hour of visiting Montezuma, Cortes went to the palace, accompanied by Alvarado, Sandoval, Lugo, Velasquez de Leon, and Davila, five of his principal officers, and as many trusty soldiers. Thirty chosen men followed, not in regular order, but sauntering at some distance, as if they had no object but curiosity; small parties were posted at proper intervals, in all the streets leading from the Spanish quarters to the court; and the remainder of his troops, with the Tlascalan allies, were under arms ready to sally out on the first alarm. Cortes and his attendants were admitted without suspicion; the Mexicans retiring, as usual, out of respect. He addressed the monarch in a tone very different from that which he had employed in former conferences, reproaching him bitterly as the author of the violent assault made upon the Spaniards by one of his officers, and demanded public reparation for the loss which they had sustained by the death of some of their companions, as well as for the insult offered to the great prince whose servants they were. Montezuma, confounded at this unexpected accusation, and changing color, either from consciousness of guilt, or from feeling the indignity with which he was treated, asserted his own innocence with great earnestness, and, as a proof of it, gave orders instantly to bring Quallipoca and his accomplices prisoners to Mexico. Cortes replied with seeming complaisance, that a declaration so respectable left no doubt remaining in his own mind, but that something more was requisite to satisfy his followers, who would never be convinced that Montezuma did not harbor hostile intentions against them, unless as an evidence of his confidence and attachment, he removed from his own palace, and took up his residence in the Spanish quarters, where he should be served and honored as became a great monarch. The first mention of so strange a proposal bereaved Montezuma of speech, and almost of motion. At length indignation gave him utterance, and he haughtily answered, "That persons of his rank were not accustomed voluntarily to give up themselves as prisoners; and were he mean enough to do so, his subjects would not permit such an affront to be offered to their sovereign." Cortes, unwilling to employ force, endeavored alternately to soothe and to intimidate him. The altercation became warm; and having continued above three hours, Velasquez de Leon, an impetuous and gallant young man, exclaimed with impatience, "Why waste more time in vain! Let us either seize him instantly, or stab him to the heart." The threatening voice and fierce gestures with which these words were uttered, struck Montezuma. The Spaniards, he was sensible, had now proceeded so far, as left him no hope that they would recede. His own danger was imminent, the necessity unavoidable. He saw both, and abandoning himself to his fate, complied with their request.

His officers were called. He communicated to them his resolution. Though astonished and afflicted, they presumed not to question the will of their master, but carried him in silent pomp, all bathed in tears, to the Spanish quarters. When it was known that the strangers were conveying away the Emperor, the people broke out into the wildest transports of grief and rage, threatening the Spaniards with immediate destruction, as the punishment justly due to their impious audacity. But as soon as Montezuma appeared, with a seeming gayety of countenance, and waved his hand, the tumult was hushed; and upon his declaring it to be of his own choice that he went to reside for some time among his new friends, the multitude, taught to revere every intimation of their sovereign's pleasure, quietly dispersed.

Thus was a powerful prince seized by a few strangers in the midst of his capital, at noonday, and carried off

as a prisoner, without opposition or bloodshed. History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution; and were not all the circumstances of this extraordinary transaction authenticated by the most unquestionable evidence, they would appear so wild and extravagant as to go far beyond the bounds of that probability which must be preserved even in fictitious narrations.

Montezuma was received in the Spanish quarters with all the ceremonious respect which Cortes had promised. He was attended by his own domestics, and served with his usual state. His principal officers had free access to him, and he carried on every function of government as if he had been at perfect liberty. The Spaniards, however, watched him with the scrupulous vigilance which was natural in guarding such an important prize, [110] endeavoring at the same time to soothe and reconcile him to his situation by every external demonstration of regard and attachment. But from captive princes, the hour of humiliation and suffering is never far distant. Quallpopoca, his son, and five of the principal officers who served under him, were brought prisoners to the capital [Dec. 4], in consequence of the orders which Montezuma had issued. The Emperor gave them up to Cortes, that he might inquire into the nature of their crime, and determine their punishment. They were formally tried by a Spanish court martial; and though they had acted no other part than what became loyal subjects and brave men, in obeying the orders of their lawful sovereign, and in opposing the invaders of their country, they were condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of such atrocious deeds is seldom long suspended. The unhappy victims were instantly led forth. The pile on which they were laid was composed of the weapons collected in the royal magazine for the public defence. An innumerable multitude of Mexicans beheld, in silent astonishment, the double insult offered to the majesty of their empire, an officer of distinction committed to the flames by the authority of strangers for having done what he owed in duty to his natural sovereign; and the arms provided by the foresight of their ancestors for avenging public wrongs, consumed before their eyes.

But these were not the most shocking indignities which the Mexicans had to bear. The Spaniards, convinced that Quallpopoca would not have ventured to attack Escalante without orders from his master, were not satisfied with inflicting vengeance on the instrument employed in committing that crime while the author of it escaped with impunity. Just before Quallpopoca was led out to suffer, Cortes entered the apartment of Montezuma, followed by some of his officers, and a soldier, carrying a pair of fetters; and approaching the monarch with a stern countenance told him, that as the persons who were now to undergo the punishment which they merited, had charged him as the cause of the outrage committed, it was necessary that he likewise should make atonement for that guilt; then turning away abruptly, without waiting for a reply, commanded the soldier to clap the fetters on his legs. The orders were instantly executed. The disconsolate monarch, trained up with an idea that his person was sacred and inviolable, and considering this profanation of it as the prelude of immediate death, broke out into loud lamentations and complaints. His attendants, speechless with horror, fell at his feet, bathing them with their tears; and, bearing up the fetters in their hands, endeavored with officious tenderness to lighten their pressure. Nor did their grief and despondency abate, until Cortes returned from the execution, and with a cheerful countenance ordered the fetters to be taken off. As Montezuma's spirits had sunk with unmanly dejection, they now rose into indecent joy; and with an unbecoming transition, he passed at once from the anguish of despair to transports of gratitude and expressions of fondness towards his deliverer.

In those transactions, as represented by the Spanish historians, we search in vain for the qualities which distinguish other parts of Cortes's conduct. To usurp a jurisdiction which could not belong to a stranger, who assumed no higher character than that of an ambassador from a foreign prince, and, under color of it, to inflict a capital punishment on men whose conduct entitled them to esteem, appears an act of barbarous cruelty. To put the monarch of a great kingdom in irons, and, after such ignominious treatment, suddenly to release him, seems to be a display of power no less inconsiderate than wanton. According to the common relation, no account can be given either of the one action or the other but that Cortes, intoxicated with

success, and presuming on the ascendant which he had acquired over the minds of the Mexicans, thought nothing too bold for him to undertake, or too dangerous to execute. But, in one view, these proceedings, however repugnant to justice and humanity, may have flowed from that artful policy which regulated every part of Cortes's behavior towards the Mexicans. They had conceived the Spaniards to be an order of beings superior to men. It was of the utmost consequence to cherish this illusion, and to keep up the veneration which it inspired. Cortes wished that shedding the blood of a Spaniard should be deemed the most heinous of all crimes; and nothing appeared better calculated to establish this opinion than to condemn the first Mexicans who had ventured to commit it to a cruel death, and to oblige their monarch himself to submit to a mortifying indignity as an expiation for being accessory to a deed so atrocious. [111]

[1520.] The rigor with which Cortes punished the unhappy persons who first presumed to lay violent hands upon his followers, seems accordingly to have made all the impression that he desired. The spirit of Montezuma was not only overawed but subdued. During six months that Cortes remained in Mexico, the monarch continued in the Spanish quarters with an appearance of as entire satisfaction and tranquility as if he had resided there not from constraint, but through choice. His ministers and officers attended him as usual. He took cognisance of all affairs; every order was issued in his name. The external aspect of government appearing the same, and all its ancient forms being scrupulously observed, the people were so little sensible of any change, that they obeyed the mandates of their monarch with the same submissive reverence as ever. Such was the dread which both Montezuma and his subjects had of the Spaniards, or such the veneration in which they held them, that no attempt was made to deliver their sovereign from confinement; and though Cortes, relying on this ascendant which he had acquired over their minds, permitted him not only to visit his temples, but to make hunting excursions beyond the lake, a guard of a few Spaniards carried with it such a terror as to intimidate the multitude, and secure the captive monarch.

Thus, by the fortunate temerity of Cortes in seizing Montezuma, the Spaniards secured at once to themselves more extensive authority in the Mexican Empire than it was possible to have acquired in a long course of time by open force; and they exercised more absolute sway in the name of another, than they could have done in their own. The arts of polished nations, in subjecting such as are less improved, have been nearly the same in every period. The system of screening a foreign usurpation, under the sanction of authority derived from the natural rulers of a country, the device of employing the magistrates and forms already established as instruments to introduce a new dominion, of which we are apt to boast as sublime refinements in policy peculiar to the present age, were inventions of a more early period, and had been tried with success in the West long before they were practised in the East.

Cortes availed himself to the utmost of the powers which he possessed by being able to act in the name of Montezuma. He sent some Spaniards, whom he judged best qualified for such commissions, into different parts of the empire, accompanied by persons of distinction, whom Montezuma appointed to attend them, both as guides and protectors. They visited most of the provinces, viewed their soil and productions, surveyed with particular care the districts which yielded gold or silver, pitched upon several places as proper stations for future colonies, and endeavored to prepare the minds of the people for submitting to the Spanish yoke. While they were thus employed, Cortes, in the name and by the authority of Montezuma, degraded some of the principal officers in the empire, whose abilities or independent spirit excited his jealousy, and substituted in their place persons less capable or more obsequious.

One thing still was wanting to complete his security. He wished to have such command of the lake as might ensure him a retreat if, either from levity or disgust, the Mexicans should take arms against him, and break down the bridges or causeways. This, too, his own address, and the facility of Montezuma, enabled him to accomplish. Having frequently entertained his prisoner with pompous accounts of the European marine, and art of navigation, he awakened his curiosity to see those moving palaces which made their way through the water, without oars. Under pretext of gratifying this desire, Cortes persuaded Montezuma to appoint some of his subjects to fetch part of the naval stores which the Spaniards had deposited at Vera Cruz to Mexico, and

to employ others in cutting down and preparing timber. With their assistance, the Spanish carpenters soon completed two brigantines, which afforded a frivolous amusement to the monarch, and were considered by Cortes as a certain resource if he should be obliged to retire.

Encouraged by so many instances of the monarch's tame submission to his will, Cortes ventured to put it to a proof still more trying. He urged Montezuma to acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Castile, to hold his crown of him as superior, and to subject his dominions to the payment of an annual tribute. With this requisition, the last and most humbling that can be made to one possessed of sovereign authority, Montezuma was so obsequious as to comply. He called together the chief men of his empire, and in a solemn harangue, reminding them of the traditions and prophecies which led them to expect the arrival of a people sprung from the same stock with themselves, in order to take possession of the supreme power, he declared his belief that the Spaniards were this promised race; that therefore he recognised the right of their monarch to govern the Mexican empire; that he would lay his crown at his feet, and obey him as a tributary. While uttering these words, Montezuma discovered how deeply he was affected in making such a sacrifice. Tears and groans frequently interrupted his discourse. Overawed and broken as his spirit was, it still retained such a sense of dignity as to feel that pang which pierces the heart of princes when constrained to resign independent power. The first mention of such a resolution struck the assembly dumb with astonishment. This was followed by a sudden murmur of sorrow, mingled with indignation, which indicated some violent irruption of rage to be near at hand. This Cortes foresaw, and seasonably interposed to prevent it by declaring that his master had no intention to deprive Montezuma of the royal dignity, or to make any innovation upon the constitution and laws of the Mexican empire. This assurance, added to their dread of the Spanish power and to the authority of their monarch's example, extorted a reluctant consent from the assembly. [112] The act of submission and homage was executed with the formalities which the Spaniards were pleased to prescribe.

Montezuma, at the desire of Cortes, accompanied this profession of fealty and homage with a magnificent present to his new sovereign; and after his example his subjects brought in very liberal contributions. The Spaniards now collected all the treasures which had been either voluntarily bestowed upon them at different times by Montezuma, or had been extorted from his people under various pretexts; and having melted the gold and silver, the value of these, without including jewels and ornaments of various kinds, which were preserved on account of their curious workmanship, amounted to six hundred thousand pesos. The soldiers were impatient to have it divided, and Cortes complied with their desire. A fifth of the whole was first set apart as the tax due to the king. Another fifth was allotted to Cortes as commander in chief. The sums advanced by Velasquez, by Cortes, and by some of the officers, towards defraying the expense of fitting out the armament, were then deducted. The remainder was divided among the army, including the garrison at Vera Cruz, in proportion to their different ranks. After so many defalcations, the share of a private man did not exceed a hundred pesos. This sum fell so far below their sanguine expectations that some soldiers rejected it with scorn, and others murmured so loudly at this cruel disappointment of their hopes, that it required all the address of Cortes, and no small exertion of his liberality, to appease them. The complaints of the army were not altogether destitute of foundation. As the crown had contributed nothing towards the equipment or success of the armament, it was not without regret that the soldiers beheld it sweep away so great a proportion of the treasure purchased by their blood and toil. What fell to the share of the general appeared according to the ideas of wealth in the sixteenth century, an enormous sum. Some of Cortes's favorites had secretly appropriated to their own use several ornaments of gold, which neither paid the royal fifth, nor were brought into account as part of the common stock. It was, however, so manifestly the interest of Cortes at this period to make a large remittance to the king, that it is highly probable those concealments were not of great consequence.

The total sum amassed by the Spaniards bears no proportion to the ideas which might be formed, either by reflecting on the descriptions given by historians of the ancient splendor of Mexico, or by considering the

productions of its mines in modern times. But among the ancient Mexicans, gold and silver were not the standards by which the worth of other commodities was estimated; and destitute of the artificial value derived from this circumstance, were no further in request than as they furnished materials for ornaments and trinkets. These were either consecrated to the gods in their temples, or were worn as marks of distinction by their princes and some of their most eminent chiefs. As the consumption of the precious metals was inconsiderable, the demand for them was not such as to put either the ingenuity or industry of the Mexicans on the stretch in order to augment their store. They were altogether unacquainted with the art of working the rich mines with which their country abounded. What gold they had was gathered in the beds of the rivers, native, and ripened into a pure metallic state. The utmost effort of their labor in search of it was to wash the earth carried down by torrents from the mountains, and to pick out the grains of gold which subsided; and even this simple operation, according to the report of the persons whom Cortes appointed to survey the provinces where there was a prospect of finding mines, they performed very unskillfully. From all those causes, the whole mass of gold in possession of the Mexicans was not great. As silver is rarely found pure, and the Mexican art was too rude to conduct the process for refining it in a proper manner, the quantity of this metal was still less considerable. Thus, though the Spaniards had exerted all the power which they possessed in Mexico, and often with indecent rapacity, in order to gratify their predominant passion, and though Montezuma had fondly exhausted his treasures, in hopes of satiating their thirst for gold, the product of both, which probably included a great part of the bullion in the empire, did not rise in value above what has been mentioned. [113]

But however pliable Montezuma might be in other matters, with respect to one point he was inflexible. Though Cortes often urged him, with the impotent zeal of a missionary, to renounce his false gods, and to embrace the Christian faith, he always rejected the proposition with horror. Superstition, among the Mexicans, was formed into such a regular and complete system, that its institutions naturally took fast hold of the mind; and while the rude tribes in other parts of America were easily induced to relinquish a few notions and rites, so loose and arbitrary as hardly to merit the name of a public religion, the Mexicans adhered tenaciously to their mode of worship, which, however barbarous, was accompanied with such order and solemnity as to render it an object of the highest veneration. Cortes, finding all his attempts ineffectual to shake the constancy of Montezuma, was so much enraged at his obstinacy, that in a transport of zeal he led out his soldiers to throw down the idols in the grand temple by force. But the priests taking arms in defence of their altars, and the people crowding with great ardor to support them, Cortes's prudence overruled his zeal, and induced him to desist from his rash attempt, after dislodging the idols from one of the shrines, and placing in their stead an image of the Virgin Mary. [114]

From that moment the Mexicans, who had permitted the imprisonment of their sovereign, and suffered the exactions of strangers without a struggle began to meditate how they might expel or destroy the Spaniards, and thought themselves called upon to avenge their insulted deities. The priests and leading men held frequent consultations with Montezuma for this purpose. But as it might prove fatal to the captive monarch to attempt either the one or the other by violence, he was willing to try more gentle means. Having called Cortes into his presence, he observed, that now, as all the purposes of his embassy were fully accomplished, the gods had declared their will, and the people signified their desire, that he and his followers should instantly depart out of the empire. With this he required them to comply, or unavoidable destruction would fall suddenly on their heads. The tenor of this unexpected requisition, as well as the determined tone in which it was uttered, left Cortes no room to doubt, that it was the result of some deep scheme concerted between Montezuma and his subjects. He quickly perceived that he might derive more advantage from a seeming compliance with the monarch's inclinations, than from an ill-timed attempt to change or oppose it; and replied, with great composure, that he had already begun to prepare for returning to his own country; but as he had destroyed the vessels in which he arrived, some time was requisite for building other ships. This appeared reasonable. A number of Mexicans were sent to Vera Cruz to cut down timber, and some Spanish

carpenters were appointed to superintend the work. Cortes flattered himself that during this interval he might either find means to avert the threatened danger, or receive such reinforcements as would enable him to despise it.

Almost nine months were elapsed since Portocarrero and Montejo had sailed with his despatches to Spain; and he daily expected their return with a confirmation of his authority from the king. Without this, his condition was insecure and precarious; and after all the great things which he had done, it might be his doom to bear the name and suffer the punishment of a traitor. Rapid and extensive as his progress had been, he could not hope to complete the reduction of a great empire with so small a body of men, which by this time diseases of various kinds considerably thinned; nor could he apply for recruits to the Spanish settlements in the islands, until he received the royal approbation of his proceedings.

While he remained in this cruel situation, anxious about what was past, uncertain with respect to the future, and by the late declaration of Montezuma, oppressed with a new addition of cares, a Mexican courier arrived with an account of some ships having appeared on the coast. Cortes, with fond credulity, imagining that his messengers were returned from Spain, and that the completion of all his wishes and hopes was at hand, imparted the glad tidings to his companions, who received them with transports of mutual gratulation. Their joy was not of long continuance. A courier from Sandoval, whom Cortes had appointed to succeed Escalante in command of Vera Cruz, brought certain information that the armament was fitted out by Velasquez, governor of Cuba, and instead of bringing the aid which they expected, threatened them with immediate destruction.

The motives which prompted Velasquez to this violent measure are obvious. From the circumstances of Cortes's departure, it was impossible not to suspect his intention of throwing off all dependence upon him. His neglecting to transmit any account of his operations to Cuba, strengthened this suspicion, which was at last confirmed beyond doubt by the indiscretion of the officers whom Cortes sent to Spain. They, from some motive which is not clearly explained by the contemporary historians, touched at the island of Cuba, contrary to the peremptory orders of their general. By this means Velasquez not only learned that Cortes and his followers, after formally renouncing all connection with him, had established an independent colony in New Spain, and were soliciting the king to confirm their proceedings by his authority; but he obtained particular information concerning the opulence of the country, the valuable presents which Cortes had received, and the inviting prospects of success that opened to his view. Every passion which can agitate an ambitious mind; shame, at having been so grossly overreached; indignation, at being betrayed by the man whom he had selected as the object of his favor and confidence; grief, for having wasted his fortune to aggrandize an enemy; and despair of recovering so fair an opportunity of establishing his fame and extending his power, now raged in the bosom of Velasquez. All these, with united force, excited him to make an extraordinary effort in order to be avenged on the author of his wrongs, and to wrest from him his usurped authority and conquests. Nor did he want the appearance of a good title to justify such an attempt. The agent whom he sent to Spain with an account of Grijalva's voyage, had met with a most favorable reception; and from the specimens which he produced, such high expectations were formed concerning the opulence of New Spain, that Velasquez was authorized to prosecute the discovery of the country, and appointed governor of it during life, with more extensive power and privileges than had been granted to any adventurer from the time of Columbus. Elated by this distinguishing mark of favor, and warranted to consider Cortes not only as intruding upon his jurisdiction, but as disobedient to the royal mandate, he determined to vindicate his own rights, and the honor of his sovereign by force of arms. [115] His ardor in carrying on his preparations was such as might have been expected from the violence of the passions with which he was animated; and in a short time an armament was completed, consisting of eighteen ships which had on board fourscore horsemen, eight hundred foot soldiers, of which eighty were musketeers, and a hundred and twenty cross-bow men, together with a train of twelve pieces of cannon. As Velasquez's experience of the fatal consequence of committing to another what he ought to have executed himself, had not rendered him more enterprising, he vested the

command of this formidable body, which, in the infancy of the Spanish power in America, merits the appellation of an army, in Pamphilo de Narvaez, with instructions to seize Cortes and his principal officers, to send them prisoners to him, and then to complete the discovery and conquest of the country in his name.

After a prosperous voyage, Narvaez landed his men without opposition near St. Juan de Ulua [April]. Three soldiers, whom Cortes had sent to search for mines in that district, immediately joined him. By this accident he not only received information concerning the progress and situation of Cortes, but, as these soldiers had made some progress in the knowledge of the Mexican language, he acquired interpreters, by whose means he was enabled to hold some intercourse with the people of the country. But, according to the low cunning of deserters, they framed their intelligence with more attention to what they thought would be agreeable than to what they knew to be true; and represented the situation of Cortes to be so desperate, and the disaffection of his followers to be so general, as increased the natural confidence and presumption of Narvaez. His first operation, however, might have taught him not to rely on their partial accounts. Having sent to summon the governor of Vera Cruz to surrender, Guevara, a priest whom he employed in that service, made the requisition with such insolence, that Sandoval, an officer of high spirit, and zealously attached to Cortes, instead of complying with his demands, seized him and his attendants, and sent them in chains to Mexico.

Cortes received them not like enemies, but as friends, and, condemning the severity of Sandoval, set them immediately at liberty. By this well timed clemency, seconded by caresses and presents, he gained their confidence, and drew from them such particulars concerning the force and intentions of Narvaez, as gave him a view of the impending danger in its full extent. He had not to contend now with half naked Indians, no match for him in war, and still more inferior in the arts of policy, but to take the field against an army in courage and martial discipline equal to his own, in number far superior, acting under the sanction of royal authority, and commanded by an officer of known bravery. He was informed that Narvaez, more solicitous to gratify the resentment of Velasquez than attentive to the honor or interest of his country, had begun his intercourse with the natives, by representing him and his followers as fugitives and outlaws, guilty of rebellion against their own sovereign, and of injustice in invading the Mexican empire; and had declared that his chief object in visiting the country was to punish the Spaniards who had committed these crimes, and to rescue the Mexicans from oppression. He soon perceived that the same unfavorable representations of his character and actions had been conveyed to Montezuma, and that Narvaez had found means to assure him, that as the conduct of those who kept him under restraint was highly displeasing to the King his master, he had it in charge not only to rescue an injured monarch from confinement, but to reinstate him in the possession of his ancient power and independence. Animated with this prospect of being set free from subjection to strangers, the Mexicans in several provinces began openly to revolt from Cortes, and to regard Narvaez as a deliverer no less able than willing to save them. Montezuma himself kept up a secret intercourse with the new commander, and seemed to court him as a person superior in power and dignity to those Spaniards whom he had hitherto revered as the first of men. [116]

Such were the various aspects of danger and difficulty which presented themselves to the view of Cortes. No situation can be conceived more trying to the capacity and firmness of a general, or where the choice of the plan which ought to be adopted was more difficult. If he should wait the approach of Narvaez in Mexico, destruction seemed to be unavoidable; for, while the Spaniards pressed him from without, the inhabitants, whose turbulent spirit he could hardly restrain with all his authority and attention, would eagerly lay hold on such a favorable opportunity of avenging all their wrongs. If he should abandon the capital, set the captive monarch at liberty, and to march out to meet the enemy, he must at once forego the fruits of all his toils and victories, and relinquish advantages which could not be recovered without extraordinary efforts and infinite danger. If, instead of employing force, he should have recourse to conciliating measures, and attempt an accommodation with Narvaez; the natural haughtiness of that officer, augmented by consciousness of his present superiority, forbade him to cherish any sanguine hope of success. After revolving every

scheme with deep attention, Cortes fixed upon that which in execution was most hazardous, but, if successful, would prove most beneficial to himself and to his country; and with the decisive intrepidity suited to desperate situations, determined to make one bold effort for victory under every disadvantage, rather than sacrifice his own conquests and the Spanish interests in Mexico.

But though he foresaw that the contest must be terminated finally by arms, it would have been not only indecent but criminal to have marched against his countrymen, without attempting to adjust matters by an amicable negotiation. In this service he employed Olmedo, his chaplain, to whose character the function was well suited, and who possessed, besides, such prudence and address as qualified him to carry on the secret intrigues in which Cortes placed his chief confidence. Narvaez rejected with scorn every scheme of accommodation that Olmedo proposed, and was with difficulty restrained from laying violent hands on him and his attendants. He met, however, with a more favorable reception among the followers of Narvaez, to many of whom he delivered letters, either from Cortes or his officers, their ancient friends and companions. Cortes artfully accompanied these with presents of rings, chains of gold, and other trinkets of value, which inspired those needy adventurers with high ideas of the wealth that he had acquired, and with envy of their good fortune who were engaged in his service. Some, from hopes of becoming sharers in those rich spoils, declared for an immediate accommodation with Cortes. Others, from public spirit, labored to prevent a civil war, which, whatever party should prevail, must shake, and perhaps subvert the Spanish power in a country where it was so imperfectly established. Narvaez disregarded both, and by a public proclamation denounced Cortes and his adherents rebels and enemies to their country. Cortes, it is probable, was not much surprised at the untractable arrogance of Narvaez; and after having given such a proof of his own pacific disposition as might justify his recourse to other means, he determined to advance towards an enemy whom he had labored in vain to appease.

He left a hundred and fifty men in the capital. [May.] under the command of Pedro de Alvarado, an officer of distinguished courage, for whom the Mexicans had conceived a singular degree of respect. To the custody of this slender garrison he committed a great city, with all the wealth he had amassed, and what was of still greater importance, the person of the imprisoned monarch. His utmost art was employed in concealing from Montezuma the real cause of his march. He labored to persuade him, that the strangers who had lately arrived were his friends and fellow-subjects; and that, after a short interview with them, they would depart together, and return to their own country. The captive prince, unable to comprehend the designs of the Spaniard, or to reconcile what he now heard with the declarations of Narvaez, and afraid to discover any symptom of suspicion or distrust of Cortes, promised to remain quietly in the Spanish quarters, and to cultivate the same friendship with Alvarado which he had uniformly maintained with him. Cortes, with seeming confidence in this promise, but relying principally upon the injunctions which he had given Alvarado to guard his prisoner with the most scrupulous vigilance, set out from Mexico.

His strength, even after it was reinforced by the junction of Sandoval and the garrison of Vera Cruz, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. As he hoped for success chiefly from the rapidity of his motions, his troops were not encumbered either with baggage or artillery. But as he dreaded extremely the impression which the enemy might make with their cavalry, he had provided against this danger with the foresight and sagacity which distinguish a great commander. Having observed that the Indians in the province of Chinantla used spears of extraordinary length and force, he armed his soldiers with these, and accustomed them to that deep and compact arrangement which the use of this formidable weapon, the best perhaps that was ever invented for defence, enabled them to assume.

With this small but firm battalion, Cortes advanced towards Zempoalla, of which Narvaez had taken possession. During his march, he made repeated attempts towards some accommodation with his opponent. But Narvaez requiring that Cortes and his followers should instantly recognise his title to be governor of New Spain, in virtue of the powers which he derived from Velasquez; and Cortes refusing to submit to any authority which was not founded on a commission from

the Emperor himself, under whose immediate protection he and his adherents had placed their infant colony; all these attempts proved fruitless. The intercourse, however, which this occasioned between the two parties, proved of no small advantage to Cortes, as it afforded him an opportunity of gaining some of Narvaez's officers by liberal presents, of softening others by a semblance of moderation, and of dazzling all by the appearance of wealth among his troops, most of his soldiers having converted their share of the Mexican gold into chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which they displayed with military ostentation. Narvaez and a little junto of his creatures excepted, all the army leaned towards an accommodation with their countrymen. This discovery of their inclination irritated his violent temper almost to madness. In a transport of rage, he set a price upon the head of Cortes, and of his principal officers; and having learned that he was now advanced within a league of Zempoalla with his small body of men, he considered this as an insult which merited immediate chastisement, and marched out with all his troops to offer him battle.

But Cortes was a leader of greater abilities and experience than, on equal ground, to fight an enemy so far superior in number, and so much better appointed. Having taken his station on the opposite bank of the river de Canoas, where he knew that he could not be attacked, he beheld the approach of the enemy without concern, and disregarded this vain bravado. It was then the beginning of the wet season, and the rain had poured down, during a great part of the day, with a violence peculiar to the torrid zone. The followers of Narvaez, unaccustomed to the hardships of military service, murmured so much at being thus fruitlessly exposed, that, from their unsoldierlike impatience, as well as his own contempt of his adversary, their general permitted them to retire to Zempoalla. The very circumstance which induced them to quit the field, encouraged Cortes to form a scheme by which he hoped at once to terminate the war. He observed that his hardy veterans, though standing under the torrents which continued to fall without a single tent or any shelter whatsoever to cover them, were so far from repining at hardships which were become familiar to them, that they were still fresh and alert for service. He foresaw that the enemy would naturally give themselves up to repose after their fatigue, and that, judging of the conduct of others by their own effeminacy, they would deem themselves perfectly secure at a season so unfit for action. He resolved, therefore, to fall upon them in the dead of night, when the surprise and terror of this unexpected attack might more than compensate the inferiority of his numbers. His soldiers, sensible that no resource remained but in some desperate effort of courage, approved of the measure with such warmth, that Cortes, in a military oration which he addressed to them before they began their march, was more solicitous to temper than to inflame their ardor. He divided them into three parties. At the head of the first he placed Sandoval; intrusting this gallant officer with the most dangerous and important service, that of seizing the enemy's artillery, which was planted before the principal tower of the temple where Narvaez had fixed his head-quarters. Christoval de Olid commanded the second, with orders to assault the tower, and lay hold on the general. Cortes himself conducted the third and smallest division, which was to act as a body of reserve, and to support the other two as there should be occasion. Having passed the river de Canoas, which was much swelled with the rains, not without difficulty, the water reaching almost to their chins, they advanced in profound silence, without beat of drum, or sound of any warlike instrument; each man armed with his sword, his dagger, and his Chinantlan spear. Narvaez, remiss in proportion to his security, had posted only two sentinels to watch the motions of an enemy whom he had such good cause to dread. One of these was seized by the advanced guard of Cortes's troops; the other made his escape, and, hurrying to the town with all the precipitation of fear and zeal, gave such timely notice of the enemy's approach, that there was full leisure to have prepared for their reception. But, through the arrogance and infatuation of Narvaez, this important interval was lost. He imputed this alarm to the cowardice of the sentinel, and treated with derision the idea of being attacked by forces so unequal to his own. The shouts of Cortes's soldiers, rushing on to the assault, convinced him at last that the danger which he despised was real. The rapidity with which they advanced was such that only one cannon could be fired before Sandoval's party closed with the enemy, drove

them from their guns, and began to force their way up the steps of the tower. Narvaez, no less brave in action than presumptuous in conduct, armed himself in haste, and by his voice and example animated his men to the combat. Olid advanced to sustain his companions; and Cortes himself rushing to the front, conducted and added new vigor to the attack. The compact order in which this small body pressed on, and the impenetrable front which they presented with their long spears bore down all opposition before it. They had now reached the gate, and were struggling to burst it open, when a soldier having set fire to the reeds with which the tower was covered, compelled Narvaez to sally out. In the first encounter he was wounded in the eye with the spear, and, falling to the ground, was dragged down the steps, and in a moment clapped in fetters. The cry of victory resounded among the troops of Cortes. Those who had sallied out with their leader now maintained the conflict feebly, and began to surrender. Among the remainder of his soldiers, stationed in two smaller towers of the temple, terror and confusion prevailed. The darkness was so great, that they could not distinguish between their friends and foes. Their own artillery was pointed against them. Wherever they turned their eye, they beheld lights gleaming through the obscurity of the night, which, though proceeding only from a variety of shining insects that abound in moist and sultry climates, their affrighted imaginations represented as numerous bands of musketeers advancing with kindled matches to the attack. After a short resistance, the soldiers compelled their officers to capitulate, and before morning all laid down their arms, and submitted quietly to their conquerors.

This complete victory proved more acceptable, as it was gained almost without bloodshed, only two soldiers being killed on the side of Cortes, and two officers, with fifteen private men of the adverse faction. Cortes treated the vanquished not like enemies, but as countrymen and friends, and offered either to send them back directly to Cuba, or to take them into his service, as partners in his fortune, on equal terms with his own soldiers. This latter proposition, seconded by a seasonable distribution of some presents from Cortes, and liberal promises of more, opened prospects so agreeable to the romantic expectations which had invited them to engage in this service, that all, a few partisans of Narvaez excepted, closed with it, and vied with each other in professions of fidelity and attachment to a general, whose recent success had given them such a striking proof of his abilities for command. Thus, by a series of events no less fortunate than uncommon, Cortes not only escaped from perdition which seemed inevitable, but, when he had least reason to expect it, was placed at the head of a thousand Spaniards, ready to follow wherever he should lead them. Whoever reflects upon the facility with which this victory was obtained, or considers with what sudden and unanimous transition the followers of Narvaez ranged themselves under the standard of his rival, will be apt to ascribe both events as much to the intrigues as to the arms of Cortes, and cannot but suspect that the ruin of Narvaez was occasioned no less by the treachery of his own followers, than by the valor of the enemy.

But in one point the prudent conduct and good fortune of Cortes were equally conspicuous. If, by the rapidity of his operations after he began his march, he had not brought matters to such a speedy issue, even this decisive victory would have come too late to have saved his companions whom he left in Mexico. A few days after the discomfiture of Narvaez, a courier arrived with an account that the Mexicans had taken arms, and, having seized and destroyed the two brigantines which Cortes had built in order to secure the command of the lake, and attacked the Spaniards in their quarters, had killed several of them, and wounded more, had reduced to ashes their magazine of provisions, and carried on hostilities with such fury, that though Alvarado and his men defended themselves with undaunted resolution, they must either be soon cut off by famine, or sink under the multitude of their enemies. This revolt was excited by motives which rendered it still more alarming. On the departure of Cortes for Zempoalla, the Mexicans flattered themselves that the long-expected opportunity of restoring their sovereign to liberty, and of vindicating their country from the odious dominion of strangers, was at length arrived; that while the forces of their oppressors were divided, and the arms of one party turned against the other, they might triumph with greater facility over both. Consultations were held, and schemes formed with this intention. The Spaniards in Mexico, conscious of their

own feebleness, suspected and dreaded those machinations. Alvarado, though a gallant officer, possessed neither that extent of capacity nor dignity of manners, by which Cortes had acquired such an ascendancy over the minds of the Mexicans, as never allowed them to form a just estimate of his weakness or of their own strength. Alvarado knew no mode of supporting his authority but force. Instead of employing address to disconcert the plans or to soothe the spirits of the Mexicans, he waited the return of one of their solemn festivals. When the principal persons in the empire were dancing, according to custom, in the court of the great temple, he seized all the avenues which led to it; and allured partly by the rich ornaments which they wore in honor of their gods, and partly by the facility of cutting off at once the authors of that conspiracy which he dreaded, he fell upon them, unarmed and unsuspecting of any danger, and massacred a great number, none escaping but such as made their way over the battlements of the temple. An action so cruel and treacherous filled not only the city, but the whole empire with indignation and rage. All called aloud for vengeance; and regardless of the safety of their monarch, whose life was at the mercy of the Spaniards, or of their own danger in assaulting an enemy who had been so long the object of their terror, they committed all those acts of violence of which Cortes received an account.

To him the danger appeared so imminent as to admit neither of deliberation nor delay. He set out instantly with all his forces, and returned from Zempoalla with no less rapidity than he had advanced thither. At Tlascala he was joined by two thousand chosen warriors. On entering the Mexican territories, he found that disaffection to the Spaniards was not confined to the capital. The principal inhabitants had deserted the towns through which he passed; no person of note appearing to meet him with the usual respect; no provision was made for the subsistence of his troops; and though he was permitted to advance without opposition, the solitude and silence which reigned in every place, and the horror with which the people avoided all intercourse with him, discovered a deep rooted antipathy that excited the most just alarm. But implacable as the enmity of the Mexicans was, they were so unacquainted with the science of war, that they knew not how to take the proper measures either for their own safety or the destruction of the Spaniards. Uninstructed by their former error in admitting a formidable enemy into their capital, instead of breaking down the causeways and bridges, by which they might have enclosed Alvarado and his party, and have effectually stopped the career of Cortes, they again suffered him to march into the city [June 24] without molestation, and to take quiet possession of his ancient station.

The transports of joy with which Alvarado and his soldiers received their companions cannot be expressed. Both parties were so much elated, the one with their seasonable deliverance, and the other with the great exploits which they had achieved, that this intoxication of success seems to have reached Cortes himself; and he behaved on this occasion neither with his usual sagacity nor attention. He not only neglected to visit Montezuma, but embittered the insult by expressions full of contempt for that unfortunate prince and his people. The forces of which he had now the command appeared to him so irresistible that he might assume a higher tone, and lay aside the mask of moderation under which he had hitherto concealed his designs. Some Mexicans, who understood the Spanish language, heard the contemptuous words which Cortes uttered, and, reporting them to their countrymen, kindled their rage anew. They were now convinced that the intentions of the general were equally bloody with those of Alvarado, and that his original purpose in visiting their country had not been, as he pretended, to court the alliance of their sovereign, but to attempt the conquest of his dominions. They resumed their arms with the additional fury which this discovery inspired, attacked a considerable body of Spaniards who were marching towards the great square in which the public market was held, and compelled them to retire with some loss. Emboldened by this success, and delighted to find that their oppressors were not invincible, they advanced the next day with extraordinary martial pomp to assault the Spaniards in their quarters. Their number was formidable, and their undaunted courage still more so. Though the artillery pointed against their numerous battalions, crowded together in narrow streets, swept off multitudes at every discharge; though every blow of the Spanish weapons fell with mortal effect upon their naked bodies, the impetuosity of the assault did not abate. Fresh men rushed forward to occupy the

places of the slain, and, meeting with the same fate, were succeeded by others no less intrepid and eager for vengeance. The utmost efforts of Cortes abilities and experience, seconded by the disciplined valor of his troops, were hardly sufficient to defend the fortifications that surrounded the post where the Spaniards were stationed, into which the enemy were more than once on the point of forcing their way.

Cortes beheld with wonder the implacable ferocity of a people who seemed at first to submit tamely to the yoke, and had continued so long passive under it. The soldiers of Narvaez, who fondly imagined that they followed Cortes to share in the spoils of a conquered empire, were astonished to find that they were involved in a dangerous war with an enemy whose vigor was still unbroken, and loudly execrated their own weakness in giving such easy credit to the delusive promises of their new leader. But surprise and complaints were of no avail. Some immediate and extraordinary effort was necessary to extricate themselves out of their present situation. As soon as the approach of evening induced the Mexicans to retire in compliance with their national custom of ceasing from hostilities with the setting sun, Cortes began to prepare for a sally, next day, with such a considerable force as might either drive the enemy out of the city, or compel them to listen to terms of accommodation.

He conducted in person the troops destined for this important service. Every invention known in the European art of war, as well as every precaution suggested by his long acquaintance with the Indian mode of fighting were employed to ensure success. But he found an enemy prepared and determined to oppose him. The force of the Mexicans was greatly augmented by fresh troops, which poured in continually from the country, and their animosity was in no degree abated. They were led by their nobles, inflamed by the exhortations of their priests, and fought in defence of their temples and families, under the eye of their gods, and in presence of their wives and children. Notwithstanding their numbers, and enthusiastic contempt of danger and death, wherever the Spaniards could close with them, the superiority of their discipline and arms obliged the Mexicans to give way. But in narrow streets, and where many of the bridges of communication were broken down, the Spaniards could seldom come to a fair encounter with the enemy, and, as they advanced, were exposed to showers of arrows and stones from the tops of houses. After a day of incessant exertion, though vast numbers of the Mexicans fell, and part of the city was burnt, the Spaniards weary with the slaughter, and harassed by multitudes which successively relieved each other, were obliged at length to retire, with the mortification of having accomplished nothing so decisive as to compensate the unusual calamity of having twelve soldiers killed, and above sixty wounded. Another sally, made with greater force, was not more effectual, and in it the general himself was wounded in the hand.

Cortes now perceived, too late, the fatal error into which he had been betrayed by his own contempt of the Mexicans, and was satisfied that he could neither maintain his present station in the centre of a hostile city, nor retire from it without the most imminent danger. One resource still remained, to try what effect the interposition of Montezuma might have to soothe or overawe his subjects. When the Mexicans approached next morning to renew the assault, that unfortunate prince, at the mercy of the Spaniards, and reduced to the sad necessity of becoming the instrument of his own disgrace, and of the slavery of his people, [117] advanced to the battlements in his royal robes, and with all the pomp in which he used to appear on solemn occasions. At sight of their sovereign, whom they had long been accustomed to honor, and almost to revere as a god, the weapons dropped from their hands, every tongue was silent, all bowed their heads, and many prostrated themselves on the ground. Montezuma addressed them with every argument that could mitigate their rage, or persuade them to cease from hostilities. When he ended his discourse, a sullen murmur of disapprobation ran through the ranks; to this succeeded reproaches and threats; and the fury of the multitude rising in a moment above every restraint of decency or respect, flights of arrows and volleys of stones poured in so violently upon the ramparts, that before the Spanish soldiers, appointed to cover Montezuma with their bucklers, had time to lift them in his defence, two arrows wounded the unhappy monarch, and the blow of a stone on his temple struck him to the ground. On seeing him fall, the Mexicans were so much astonished, that with a transition not uncommon in popular tumults,

they passed in a moment from one extreme to the other, remorse succeeded to insult, and they fled with horror, as if the vengeance of heaven were pursuing the crime which they committed. The Spaniards without molestation carried Montezuma to his apartments, and Cortes hastened thither to console him under his misfortune. But the unhappy monarch now perceived how low he was sunk; and the haughty spirit which seemed to have been so long extinct, returning, he scorned to survive this last humiliation, and to protract an ignominious life, not only as the prisoner and tool of his enemies, but as the object of contempt or detestation among his subjects. In a transport of rage he tore the bandages from his wounds, and refused, with such obstinacy, to take any nourishment, that he soon ended his wretched days, rejecting with disdain all the solicitations of the Spaniards to embrace the Christian faith.

Upon the death of Montezuma, Cortes, having lost all hope of bringing the Mexicans to an accommodation, saw no prospect of safety but in attempting a retreat, and began to prepare for it. But a sudden motion of the Mexicans engaged him in new conflicts. They took possession of a high tower in the great temple which overlooked the Spanish quarters, and placing there a garrison of their principal warriors, not a Spaniard could stir without being exposed to their missile weapons. From this post it was necessary to dislodge them at any risk; and Juan de Escobar, with a numerous detachment of chosen soldiers, was ordered to make the attack. But Escobar, though a gallant officer, and at the head of troops accustomed to conquer, and who now fought under the eyes of their countrymen, was thrice repulsed. Cortes, sensible that not only the reputation but the safety of his army depended on the success of this assault, ordered a buckler to be tied to his arm, as he could not manage it with his wounded hand, and rushed with his drawn sword into the thickest of the combatants. Encouraged by the presence of their general, the Spaniards returned to the charge with such vigor, that they gradually forced their way up the steps, and drove the Mexicans to the platform at the top of the tower. There a dreadful carnage began; when two young Mexicans of high rank, observing Cortes as he animated his soldiers by his voice and example, resolved to sacrifice their own lives in order to cut off the author of all the calamities which desolated their country. They approached him in a suppliant posture, as if they had intended to lay down their arms, and seizing him in a moment, hurried him towards the battlements, over which they threw themselves headlong, in hopes of dragging him along to be dashed in pieces by the same fall. But Cortes, by his strength and agility, broke loose from their grasp, and the gallant youths perished in this generous though unsuccessful attempt to save their country.* As soon as the Spaniards became masters of the tower, they set fire to it, and, without farther molestation, continued the preparations for their retreat.

This became the more necessary, as the Mexicans were so much astonished at the last effort of the Spanish valor, that they began to change their whole system of hostility, and, instead of incessant attacks, endeavored, by barricading the streets and breaking down the causeways, to cut off the communication of the Spaniards with the continent, and thus to starve an enemy whom they could not subdue. The first point to be determined by Cortes and his followers, was, whether they should march out openly in the face of day, when they could discern every danger, and see how to regulate their own motions, as well as how to resist the assaults of the enemy; or, whether they should endeavor to retire secretly in the night! The latter was preferred, partly from hopes that their national superstition would restrain the Mexicans from venturing to attack them in the night, and partly from their own fond belief in the predictions of a private soldier, who having acquired universal credit by a smattering of learning, and his pretensions to astrology, boldly assured his countrymen of success, if they made their retreat in this manner. They began to move, towards midnight, in three divisions. Sandoval led the van; Pedro Alvarado and Velasquez de Leon had the conduct of the rear; and Cortes commanded in the centre, where he placed the prisoners, among whom were a son and two daughters of Montezuma, together with several Mexicans of distinction, the artillery, the baggage, and a portable bridge of timber in-

* M. Clavigero has censured me with asperity for relating this gallant action of the two Mexicans, and for supposing that there were battlements round the temple of Mexico. I related the attempt to destroy Cortes on the authority of Her. dec. 2. lib. x. c. 9. and of Torquemada lib. iv. c. 69. I followed them likewise in supposing the uppermost platform of the temple to be encompassed by a balustrade or rail.

tended to be laid over the breaches in the causeway. They marched in profound silence along the causeway which led to Tacuba, because it was shorter than any of the rest, and, lying most remote from the road towards Tlascala and the sea-coast, had been left more entire by the Mexicans. They reached the first breach in it without molestation, hoping that their retreat was undiscovered.

But the Mexicans, unperceived, had not only watched all their motions with attention, but had made proper dispositions for a most formidable attack. While the Spaniards were intent upon placing their bridge in the breach, and occupied in conducting their horses and artillery along it, they were suddenly alarmed with a tremendous sound of warlike instruments, and a general shout from an innumerable multitude of enemies; the lake was covered with canoes; flights of arrows and showers of stones poured in upon them from every quarter; the Mexicans rushing forward to the charge with fearless impetuosity, as if they hoped in that moment to be avenged for all their wrongs. Unfortunately the wooden bridge, by the weight of the artillery, was wedged so fast into the stones and mud, that it was impossible to remove it. Dismayed at this accident, the Spaniards advanced with precipitation towards the second breach. The Mexicans hemmed them in on every side; and though they defended themselves with their usual courage, yet crowded together as they were on a narrow causeway, their discipline and military skill were of little avail, nor did the obscurity of the night permit them to derive great advantage from their firearms, or the superiority of their other weapons. All Mexico was now in arms; and so eager were the people on the destruction of their oppressors, that they who were not near enough to annoy them in person, impatient of the delay, pressed forward with such ardor as drove on their countrymen in front with irresistible violence. Fresh warriors instantly filled the place of such as fell. The Spaniards, weary with slaughter, and unable to sustain the weight of the torrent that poured in upon them, began to give way. In a moment the confusion was universal: horse and foot, officers and soldiers, friends and enemies, were mingled together; and while all fought and many fell, they could hardly distinguish from what hand the blow came.

Cortes, with about a hundred foot soldiers and a few horse, forced his way over the two remaining breaches in the causeway, the bodies of the dead serving to fill up the chasms, and reached the main land. Having formed them as soon as they arrived, he returned with such as were yet capable of service to assist his friends in their retreat, and to encourage them, by his presence and example, to persevere in the efforts requisite to effect it. He met with part of his soldiers who had broke through the enemy, but found many more overwhelmed by the multitude of their aggressors, or perishing in the lake; and heard the piteous lamentations of others, whom the Mexicans, having taken alive, were carrying off in triumph to be sacrificed to the god of war. Before day, all who had escaped assembled at Tacuba. But when the morning dawned, and discovered to the view of Cortes his shattered battalion reduced to less than half its number, the survivors dejected, and most of them covered with wounds, the thoughts of what they had suffered, and the remembrance of so many faithful friends and gallant followers who had fallen in that night of sorrow,* pierced his soul with such anguish, that while he was forming their ranks, and issuing some necessary orders, his soldiers observed the tears trickling from his eyes, and remarked with much satisfaction, that while attentive to the duties of a general, he was not insensible to the feelings of a man.

In this fatal retreat many officers of distinction perished [118], and among these Velasquez de Leon, who having forsaken the party of his kinsman, the governor of Cuba, to follow the fortune of his companions, was, on that account, as well as for his superior merit, respected by them as the second person in the army. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, were lost; the greater part of the horses, and above two thousand Tlascalans, were killed, and only a very small portion of the treasure which they had amassed was saved. This, which had been always their chief object, proved a great cause of their calamity; for many of the soldiers having so overloaded themselves with bars of gold as rendered them unfit for action, and retarded their flight, fell ignominiously, the victims of their own inconsiderate avarice. Amidst so many disasters, it was some consolation to find that Aguilar and Marina,

whose function as interpreters was of such essential importance, had made their escape.

The first care of Cortes was to find some shelter for his wearied troops; for as the Mexicans infested them on every side, and the people of Tacuba began to take arms, he could not continue in his present station. He directed his march towards the rising ground, and having fortunately discovered a temple situated on an eminence, took possession of it. There he found not only the shelter for which he wished, but, what was no less wanted, some provisions to refresh his men; and though the enemy did not intermit their attacks throughout the day, they were with less difficulty prevented from making any impression. During this time Cortes was engaged in deep consultation with his officers, concerning the route which they ought to take in their retreat. They were now on the west side of the lake. Tlascala, the only place where they could hope for a friendly reception, lay about sixty-four miles to the east of Mexico; so that they were obliged to go round the north end of the lake before they could fall into the road which led thither. A Tlascalan soldier undertook to be their guide, and conducted them through a country in some places marshy, in others mountainous, in all ill cultivated and thinly peopled. They marched for six days with little respite, and under continual alarms, numerous bodies of the Mexicans hovering around them, sometimes harassing them at a distance with their missile weapons, and sometimes attacking them closely in front, in rear, in flank, with great boldness, as they now knew that they were not invincible. Nor were the fatigue and danger of those incessant conflicts the worst evils to which they were exposed. As the barren country through which they passed afforded hardly any provisions, they were reduced to feed on berries, roots, and the stalks of green maize; and at the very time that famine was depressing their spirits and wasting their strength, their situation required the most vigorous and unremitting exertions of courage and activity. Amidst those complicated distresses, one circumstance supported and animated the Spaniards. Their commander sustained this sad reverse of fortune with unshaken magnanimity. His presence of mind never forsook him; his sagacity foresaw every event, and his vigilance provided for it. He was foremost in every danger, and endured every hardship with cheerfulness. The difficulties with which he was surrounded seemed to call forth new talents; and his soldiers, though despairing themselves, continued to follow him with increasing confidence in his abilities.

On the sixth day they arrived near to Otumba, not far from the road between Mexico and Tlascala. Early next morning they began to advance towards it, flying parties of the enemy still hanging on their rear; and, amidst the insults with which they accompanied their hostilities, Marina remarked that they often exclaimed with exultation, "Go on, robbers; go to the place where you shall quickly meet with the vengeance due to your crimes." The meaning of this threat the Spaniards did not comprehend, until they reached the summit of an eminence before them. There a spacious valley opened to their view, covered with a vast army, extending as far as the eye could reach. The Mexicans, while with one body of their troops they harassed the Spaniards in their retreat, had assembled their principal force on the other side of the lake; and marching along the road which led directly to Tlascala, posted it in the plain of Otumba, through which they knew Cortes must pass. At the sight of this incredible multitude, which they could survey at once from the rising ground, the Spaniards were astonished, and even the boldest began to despair. But Cortes, without allowing leisure for their fears to acquire strength by reflection, after warning them briefly that no alternative now remained but to conquer or to die, led them instantly to the charge. The Mexicans waited their approach with unusual fortitude. Such however was the superiority of the Spanish discipline and arms, that the impression of this small body was irresistible; and whichever way its force was directed, it penetrated and dispersed their most numerous battalions. But while these gave way in one quarter, new combatants advanced from another, and the Spaniards, though successful in every attack, were ready to sink under those repeated efforts, without seeing any end of their toil, or any hope of victory. At that time Cortes observed the great standard of the empire, which was carried before the Mexican general, advancing; and fortunately recollecting to have heard, that on the fate of it depended the event of every battle, he assembled a few of his bravest officers, whose horses were still capable of service, and, placing himself at

their head, pushed forward towards the standard with an impetuosity which bore down every thing before it. A chosen body of nobles, who guarded the standard, made some resistance, but were soon broken. Cortes, with a stroke of his lance, wounded the Mexican general, and threw him on the ground. One of the Spanish officers, alighting, put an end to his life, and laid hold of the imperial standard. The moment that their leader fell, and the standard, towards which all directed their eyes, disappeared, a universal panic struck the Mexicans; and, as if the bond which held them together had been dissolved, every ensign was lowered, each soldier threw away his weapons, and all fled with precipitation to the mountains. The Spaniards unable to pursue them far, returned to collect the spoils of the field, which were so valuable as to be some compensation for the wealth which they had lost in Mexico; for in the enemy's army were most of their principal warriors dressed out in their richest ornaments as if they had been marching to assured victory. Next day [July 8], to their great joy, they entered the Tlascalan territories.

But amidst their satisfaction in having got beyond the precincts of a hostile country, they could not look forward without solicitude, as they were still uncertain what reception they might meet with from allies to whom they returned in a condition very different from that in which they had lately set out from their dominions. Happily for them, the enmity of the Tlascalans to the Mexican name was so inveterate, their desire to avenge the death of their countrymen so vehement, and the ascendancy which Cortes had acquired over the chiefs of the republic so complete, that, far from entertaining a thought of taking any advantage of the distressed situation in which they beheld the Spaniards, they received them with a tenderness and cordiality which quickly dissipated all their suspicions.

Some interval of tranquillity and indulgence was now absolutely necessary; not only that the Spaniards might give attention to the cure of their wounds, which had been too long neglected, but in order to recruit their strength, exhausted by such a long succession of fatigue and hardships. During this, Cortes learned that he and his companions were not the only Spaniards who had felt the effects of the Mexican enmity. A considerable detachment which was marching from Zempoalla towards the capital, had been cut off by the people of Tepeaca. A smaller party, returning from Tlascala to Vera Cruz, with the share of the Mexican gold allotted to the garrison, had been surprised and destroyed in the mountains. At a juncture when the life of every Spaniard was of importance, such losses were deeply felt. The schemes which Cortes was meditating rendered them peculiarly afflictive to him. While his enemies, and even many of his own followers, considered the disasters which had befallen him as fatal to the progress of his arms, and imagined that nothing now remained but speedily to abandon a country which he had invaded with unequal force, his mind, as eminent for perseverance as for enterprise, was still bent on accomplishing his original purpose, of subjecting the Mexican empire to the crown of Castile. Severe and unexpected as the check was which he had received, it did not appear to him a sufficient reason for relinquishing the conquests which he had already made, or against resuming his operations with better hopes of success. The colony at Vera Cruz was not only safe, but had remained unmolested. The people of Zempoalla and the adjacent districts had discovered no symptoms of defection. The Tlascalans continued faithful to their alliance. On their martial spirit, easily roused to arms, and inflamed with implacable hatred of the Mexicans, Cortes depended for powerful aid. He had still the command of a body of Spaniards, equal in number to that with which he had opened his way into the centre of the empire, and had taken possession of the capital; so that with the benefit of greater experience, as well as more perfect knowledge of the country, he did not despair of quickly recovering all that he had been deprived of by untoward events.

Full of this idea, he courted the Tlascalan chiefs with such attention, and distributed among them so liberally the rich spoils of Otumba, that he was secure of obtaining whatever he should require of the republic. He drew a small supply of ammunition and two or three field-pieces from his stores at Vera Cruz. He despatched an officer of confidence with four ships of Narvaez's fleet to Hispaniola and Jamaica, to engage adventurers, and to purchase horses, gunpowder, and other military stores. As he knew that it would be vain to attempt the reduction of Mexico, unless he could secure the command of the lake, he gave orders

* Noche triste is the name by which it is still distinguished in New Spain

to prepare in the mountains of Tlascala, materials for building twelve brigantines, so as they might be carried thither in pieces ready to be put together, and launched when he stood in need of their service.

But while, with provident attention, he was taking those necessary steps towards the execution of his measures, an obstacle arose in a quarter where it was least expected, but most formidable. The spirit of discontent and mutiny broke out in his own army. Many of Narvaez's followers were planters rather than soldiers; and had accompanied him to New Spain with sanguine hopes of obtaining settlements, but with little inclination to engage in the hardships and dangers of war. As the same motives had induced them to enter into their new engagements with Cortes, they no sooner became acquainted with the nature of the service, than they bitterly repented of their choice. Such of them as had the good fortune to survive the perilous adventures in which their own imprudence had involved them, happy in having made their escape, trembled at the thoughts of being exposed a second time to similar calamities. As soon as they discovered the intention of Cortes, they began secretly to murmur and cabal, and, waxing gradually more audacious, they, in a body offered a remonstrance to their general against the imprudence of attacking a powerful empire with his shattered forces, and formally required him to lead them back directly to Cuba. Though Cortes, long practised in the arts of command, employed arguments, entreaties, and presents to convince or to soothe them; though his own soldiers, animated with the spirit of their leader, warmly seconded his endeavors; he found their fears too violent and deep rooted to be removed, and the utmost he could effect was to prevail with them to defer their departure for some time, on a promise that he would, at a more proper juncture, dismiss such as should desire it.

That the malecontents might have no leisure to brood over the causes of their disaffection, he resolved instantly to call forth his troops into action. He proposed to chastise the people of Tepeaca for the outrage which they had committed; and as the detachment which they had cut off happened to be composed mostly of soldiers who had served under Narvaez, their companions, from the desire of vengeance, engaged the more willingly in this war. He took the command in person, [August] accompanied by a numerous body of Tlascalans, and in a space of a few weeks, after various encounters, with great slaughter of the Tepeacans, reduced that province to subjection. During several months, while he waited for the supplies of men and ammunition which he expected, and was carrying on his preparations for constructing the brigantines, he kept his troops constantly employed in various expeditions against the adjacent provinces, all of which were conducted with a uniform tenor of success. By these, his men became again accustomed to victory, and resumed their wonted sense of superiority; the Mexican power was weakened; the Tlascalcan warriors acquired the habit of acting in conjunction with the Spaniards; and the chiefs of the republic delighted to see their country enriched with the spoils of all the people around them; and astonished every day with fresh discoveries of the irresistible prowess of their allies, they declined no effort requisite to support them.

All those preparatory arrangements, however, though the most prudent and efficacious which the situation of Cortes allowed him to make, would have been of little avail without a reinforcement of Spanish soldiers. Of this he was so deeply sensible, that it was the chief object of his thoughts and wishes; and yet his only prospect of obtaining it from the return of the officer whom he had sent to the isles to solicit aid, was both distant and uncertain. But what neither his own sagacity nor power could have procured, he owed to a series of fortunate and unforeseen incidents. The governor of Cuba, to whom the success of Narvaez appeared an event of infallible certainty, having sent two small ships after him with new instructions, and a supply of men and military stores, the officer whom Cortes had appointed to command on the coast, artfully decoyed them into the harbor of Vera Cruz, seized the vessels, and easily persuaded the soldiers to follow the standard of a more able leader than him whom they were destined to join. Soon after, three ships of more considerable force came into the harbor separately. These belonged to an armament fitted out by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, who, being possessed with the rage of discovery and conquest which animated every Spaniard settled in America, had long aimed at intruding into some district of New Spain, and dividing with Cortes the glory and gain of annexing that empire to

the crown of Castile. They unadvisedly made their attempt on the northern provinces, where the country was poor, and the people fierce and warlike; and after a cruel succession of disasters, famine compelled them to venture into Vera Cruz, and cast themselves upon the mercy of their countrymen [Oct. 28]. Their fidelity was not proof against the splendid hopes and promises which had seduced other adventurers; and, as if the spirit of revolt had been contagious in New Spain, they likewise abandoned the master whom they were bound to serve, and enlisted under Cortes. Nor was it America alone that furnished such unexpected aid; a ship arrived from Spain, freighted by some private merchants with military stores, in hopes of a profitable market in a country, the fame of whose opulence began to spread over Europe. Cortes eagerly purchased a cargo which to him was invaluable, and the crew, following the general example, joined him at Tlascala.

From those various quarters, the army of Cortes was augmented with a hundred and eighty men, and twenty horses, a reinforcement too inconsiderable to produce any consequence which would have entitled it to have been mentioned in the history of other parts of the globe. But in that of America, where great revolutions were brought about by causes which seemed to bear no proportion to their effects, such small events rise into importance, because they were sufficient to decide with respect to the fate of kingdoms. Nor is it the least remarkable instance of the singular felicity conspicuous in many passages of Cortes's story, that the two persons chiefly instrumental in furnishing him with those seasonable supplies, should be an avowed enemy who aimed at his destruction, and an envious rival who wished to supplant him.

The first effect of the junction with his new followers was to enable him to dismiss such of Narvaez's soldiers as remained with reluctance in his service. After their departure, he still mustered five hundred and fifty infantry, of which fourscore were armed with muskets or crossbows, forty horsemen, and a train of nine field-pieces. At the head of these, accompanied by ten thousand Tlascalans and other friendly Indians, Cortes began his march towards Mexico, on the twenty-eighth of December, six months after his disastrous retreat from that city.

Nor did he advance to attack an enemy unprepared to receive him. Upon the death of Montezuma, the Mexican chiefs, in whom the right of electing the emperor was vested, had instantly raised his brother Quetzlavaca to the throne. His avowed and inveterate enemy to the Spaniards would have been sufficient to gain their suffrages, although he had been less distinguished for courage and capacity. He had an immediate opportunity of showing that he was worthy of their choice, by conducting in person those fierce attacks which compelled the Spaniards to abandon his capital; and as soon as their retreat afforded him any respite from action, he took measures for preventing their return to Mexico, with prudence equal to the spirit which he had displayed in driving them out of it. As from the vicinity of Tlascala, he could not be unacquainted with the motions and intentions of Cortes, he observed the storm that was gathering, and began early to provide against it. He repaired what the Spaniards had ruined in the city, and strengthened it with such new fortifications as the skill of his subjects was capable of erecting. Besides filling his magazines with the usual weapons of war, he gave directions to make long spears headed with the swords and daggers taken from the Spaniards, in order to annoy the cavalry. He summoned the people in every province of the empire to take arms against their oppressors, and as an encouragement to exert themselves with vigor, he promised them exemption from all the taxes which his predecessors had imposed. But what he labored with the greatest earnestness was, to deprive the Spaniards of the advantages which they derived from the friendship of the Tlascalans, by endeavoring to persuade that people to renounce all connexion with men who were not only avowed enemies of the gods whom they worshipped, but who would not fail to subject them at last to the same yoke which they were now inconsiderately lending their aid to impose upon others. These representations, no less striking than well founded, were urged so forcibly by his ambassadors, that it required all the address of Cortes to prevent their making a dangerous impression.

But while Quetzlavaca was arranging his plan of defence, with a degree of foresight uncommon in an American, his days were cut short by the small-pox. This distemper, which raged at that time in New Spain

with fatal malignity, was unknown in that quarter of the globe until it was introduced by the Europeans, and may be reckoned among the greatest calamities brought upon them by their invaders. In his stead the Mexicans raised to the throne Guatimozin, nephew and son-in-law of Montezuma, a young man of such high reputation for abilities and valor, that in this dangerous crisis, his countrymen, with one voice, called him to the supreme command.

1521.] As soon as Cortes entered the enemy's territories, he discovered various preparations to obstruct his progress. But his troops forced their way with little difficulty, and took possession of Tezcuco, the second city of the empire, situated on the banks of the lake about twenty miles from Mexico. Here he determined to establish his head-quarters, as the most proper station for launching his brigantines, as well as for making his approaches to the capital. In order to render his residence there more secure, he deposed the cazique, or chief, who was at the head of that community, under pretext of some defect in his title, and substituted in his place a person whom a faction of the nobles pointed out as the right heir of that dignity. Attached to him by this benefit, the cazique and his adherents served the Spaniards with inviolable fidelity.

As the preparations for constructing the brigantines advanced slowly under the unskilful hands of soldiers and Indians, whom Cortes was obliged to employ in assisting three or four carpenters who happened fortunately to be in his service; and as he had not yet received the reinforcement which he expected from Hispaniola, he was not in a condition to turn his arms directly against the capital. To have attacked at this period, a city so populous, so well prepared for defence, and in a situation of such peculiar strength, must have exposed his troops to inevitable destruction. Three months elapsed before the materials for the brigantines were finished, and before he heard any thing with respect to the success of the officer whom he had sent to Hispaniola. This, however, was not a season of inaction to Cortes. He attacked successively several of the towns situated around the lake; and though all the Mexican power was exerted to obstruct his operations, he either compelled them to submit to the Spanish crown, or reduced them to ruins. The inhabitants of other towns he endeavored to conciliate by more gentle means; and though he could not hold any intercourse with them but by the intervention of interpreters, yet, under all the disadvantages of that tedious and imperfect mode of communication he had acquired such thorough knowledge of the state of the country, as well as of the dispositions of the people, that he conducted his negotiations and intrigues with astonishing dexterity and success. Most of the cities adjacent to Mexico were originally the capitals of small independent states; and some of them having been but lately annexed to the Mexican empire, still retained the remembrance of their ancient liberty, and bore with impatience the rigorous yoke of their new masters. Cortes, having early observed symptoms of their disaffection, availed himself of this knowledge to gain their confidence and friendship. By offering with confidence to deliver them from the odious dominion of the Mexicans, and by liberal promises of more indulgent treatment if they would unite with him against their oppressors, he prevailed on the people of several considerable districts, not only to acknowledge the King of Castile as their sovereign, but to supply the Spanish camp with provisions, and to strengthen his army with auxiliary troops. Guatimozin, on the first appearance of defection among his subjects, exerted himself with vigor to prevent or to punish their revolt; but, in spite of his efforts, the spirit continued to spread. The Spaniards gradually acquired new allies, and with deep concern he beheld Cortes arming against his empire those very hands which ought to have been active in its defence, and ready to advance against the capital at the head of a numerous body of his own subjects.

While, by those various methods, Cortes was gradually circumscribing the Mexican power in such a manner that his prospect of overturning it seemed neither to be uncertain nor remote, all his schemes were well nigh defeated by a conspiracy no less unexpected than dangerous. The soldiers of Narvaez had never united perfectly with the original companions of Cortes, nor did they enter into his measures with the same cordial zeal. Upon every occasion that required any extraordinary effort of courage or of patience, their spirits were apt to sink; and now, on a near view of what they had to encounter, in attempting to reduce a city so inaccessible as Mexico, and defended by a numerous

army, the resolution even of those among them who had adhered to Cortes when he was deserted by their associates, began to fail. Their fears led them to presumptuous and unsoldierlike discussions concerning the propriety of their general's measures, and the improbability of their success. From these they proceeded to censure and invectives, and at last began to deliberate how they might provide for their own safety, of which they deemed their commander to be totally negligent. Antonia Villefagna, a private soldier, but bold, intriguing, and strongly attached to Velasquez, artfully fomented this growing spirit of disaffection. His quarters became the rendezvous of the malecontents, where, after many consultations, they could discover no method of checking Cortes in his career, but by assassinating him and his most considerable officers, and conferring the command upon some person who would relinquish his wild plans, and adopt measures more consistent with the general security. Despair inspired them with courage. The hour for perpetrating the crime, the persons whom they destined as victims, the officers to succeed them in command, were all named: and the conspirators signed an association, by which they bound themselves with most solemn oaths, to mutual fidelity. But on the evening before the appointed day, one of Cortes's ancient followers, who had been seduced into the conspiracy, touched with compunction at the imminent danger of a man whom he had long been accustomed to revere, or struck with horror at his own treachery, went privately to his general and revealed to him all that he knew. Cortes, though deeply alarmed, discerned at once what conduct was proper in a situation so critical. He repaired instantly to Villefagna's quarters, accompanied by some of his most trusty officers. The astonishment and confusion of the man at this unexpected visit anticipated the confession of his guilt. Cortes, while his attendants seized the traitor, snatched from his bosom a paper, containing the association, signed by the conspirators. Impatient to know how far the infection extended, he retired to read it, and found there names which filled him with surprise and sorrow. But aware how dangerous a strict scrutiny might prove at such a juncture, he confined his judicial inquiries to Villefagna alone. As the proofs of his guilt were manifest, he was condemned after a short trial, and next morning he was seen hanging before the door of the house in which he had lodged. Cortes called his troops together, and having explained to them the atrocious purpose of the conspirators, as well as the justice of the punishment inflicted on Villefagna, he added, with an appearance of satisfaction, that he was entirely ignorant with respect to all the circumstances of this dark transaction, as the traitor, when arrested, had suddenly torn and swallowed a paper which probably contained an account of it, and under the severest tortures possessed such constancy as to conceal the names of his accomplices. This artful declaration restored tranquillity to many a breast that was throbbing, while he spoke, with consciousness of guilt and dread of detection; and by this prudent moderation, Cortes had the advantage of having discovered, and of being able to observe such of his followers as were disaffected; while they, flattering themselves that their past crime was unknown, endeavored to avert any suspicion of it by redoubling their activity and zeal in his service.

Cortes did not allow them leisure to ruminate on what had happened; and as the most effectual means of preventing the return of a mutinous spirit, he determined to call forth his troops immediately to action. Fortunately, a proper occasion for this occurred without his seeming to court it. He received intelligence that the materials for building the brigantines were at length completely finished, and waited only for a body of Spaniards to conduct them to Tezeuco. The command of this convoy, consisting of two hundred foot soldiers, fifteen horsemen, and two field-pieces, he gave to Sandoval, who, by the vigilance, activity, and courage which he manifested on every occasion, was growing daily in his confidence, and in the estimation of his fellow-soldiers. The service was no less singular than important; the beams, the planks, the masts, the cordage, the sails, the ironwork, and all the infinite variety of articles requisite for the construction of thirteen brigantines, were to be carried sixty miles over land, through a mountainous country, by people who were unacquainted with the ministry of domestic animals, or the aid of machines to facilitate any work of labor. The Tlascalans furnished eight thousand *Tamenes*, an inferior order of men destined for servile tasks, to carry the materials on their shoulders, and appointed fifteen thousand warriors to accompany and defend them.

Sandoval made the disposition for their progress with great propriety, placing the *Tamenes* in the centre, one body of warriors in the front, another in the rear, with considerable parties to cover the flanks. To each of these he joined some Spaniards, not only to assist them in danger, but to accustom them to regularity and subordination. A body so numerous, and so much encumbered, advanced leisurely but in excellent order; and in some places, where it was confined by the woods or mountains, the line of march extended above six miles. Parties of Mexicans frequently appeared hovering around them on the high grounds; but perceiving no prospect of success in attacking an enemy continually on his guard, and prepared to receive them, they did not venture to molest him; and Sandoval had the glory of conducting safely to Tezeuco, a convoy on which all the future operations of his countrymen depended.

This was followed by another event of no less moment. Four ships arrived at Vera Cruz from Hispaniola, with two hundred soldiers, eighty horses, two battering cannon, and a considerable supply of ammunition and arms. Elevated with observing that all his preparatory schemes, either for recruiting his own army, or impairing the force of the enemy, had now produced their full effect, Cortes impatient to begin the siege in form, hastened the launching of the brigantines. To facilitate this, he had employed a vast number of Indians for two months, in deepening the small rivulet which runs by Tezeuco into the lake, and in forming it into a canal near two miles in length; [119] and though the Mexicans, aware of his intentions, as well as of the danger which threatened them, endeavored frequently to interrupt the laborers, or to burn the brigantines, the work was at last completed. On the twenty-eighth of April, all the Spanish troops, together with the auxiliary Indians, were drawn up on the banks of the canal; and with extraordinary military pomp, rendered more solemn by the celebration of the most sacred rites of religion, the brigantines were launched. As they fell down the canal in order, Father Olmedo blessed them, and gave each its name. Every eye followed them with wonder and hope, until they entered the lake, when they hoisted their sails and bore away before the wind. A general shout of joy was raised; all admiring that bold inventive genius, which, by means so extraordinary that their success almost exceeded belief, had acquired command of a fleet, without the aid of which Mexico would have continued to set the Spanish power and arms at defiance.

Cortes determined to attack the city from three different quarters; from Tepeaca on the north side of the lake, from Tabuca on the west, and from Cuyocan towards the south. These towns were situated on the principal causeways which led to the capital, and intended for their defence. He appointed Sandoval to command in the first, Pedro de Alvarado in the second, and Christoval de Olid in the third; allotting to each a numerous body of Indian auxiliaries, together with an equal division of Spaniards, who, by the junction of the troops from Hispaniola, amounting now to eighty-six horsemen, and eight hundred and eighteen foot soldiers; of whom one hundred and eighteen were armed with muskets or cross-bows. The train of artillery consisted of three battering cannon, and fifteen field-pieces. He reserved for himself, as the station of greatest importance and danger, the conduct of the brigantines, each armed with one of his small cannon, and manned with twenty-five Spaniards.

As Alvarado and Olid proceeded towards the posts assigned them [May 10], they broke down the aqueducts which the ingenuity of the Mexicans had erected for conveying water into the capital, and, by the distress to which this reduced the inhabitants, gave a beginning to the calamities which they were destined to suffer. Alvarado and Olid found the towns of which they were ordered to take possession deserted by their inhabitants, who had fled for safety to the capital, where Guatimozin had collected the chief force of his empire, as there alone he could hope to make a successful stand against the formidable enemies who were approaching to assault him.

The first effort of the Mexicans was to destroy the fleet of brigantines, the fatal effects of whose operations they foresaw and dreaded. Though the brigantines, after all the labor and merit of Cortes in forming them, were of considerable bulk, rudely constructed, and manned chiefly with landmen hardly possessed of skill enough to conduct them, they must have been objects of terror to a people unacquainted with any navigation but that of their lake, and possessed of no vessel larger than a canoe. Necessity, however, urged Guatimozin

to hazard the attack; and hoping to supply by numbers what he wanted in force, he assembled such a multitude of canoes as covered the face of the lake. They rowed on boldly to the charge, while the brigantines, retarded by a dead calm, could scarcely advance to meet them. But as the enemy drew near, a breeze suddenly sprung up; in a moment the sails were spread, the brigantines, with the utmost ease, broke through their feeble opponents, overset many canoes, and dissipated the whole armament with such slaughter, as convinced the Mexicans, that the progress of the Europeans in knowledge and arts rendered their superiority greater on this new element than they had hitherto found it by land.

From that time Cortes remained master of the lake, and the brigantines not only preserved a communication between the Spaniards in their different stations, though at considerable distance from each other, but were employed to cover the causeways on each side, and keep off the canoes when they attempted to annoy the troops as they advanced towards the city. Cortes formed the brigantines in three divisions, appointing one to cover each of the stations from which an attack was to be carried on against the city, with orders to second the operations of the officer who commanded there. From all the three stations he pushed on the attack against the city with equal vigor; but in a manner so very different from the conduct of sieges in regular war, that he himself seems afraid it would appear no less improper than singular to persons unacquainted with his situation. Each morning his troops assaulted the barricades which the enemy had erected on the causeways, forced their way over the trenches which they had dug, and through the canals where the bridges were broken down, and endeavored to penetrate into the heart of the city, in hopes of obtaining some decisive advantage which might force the enemy to surrender, and terminate the war at once; but when the obstinate valor of the Mexicans rendered the efforts of the day ineffectual, the Spaniards retired in the evening to their former quarters. Thus their toil and danger were in some measure continually renewed; the Mexicans repairing in the night what the Spaniards had destroyed through the day, and recovering the posts from which they had driven them. But necessity prescribed this slow and untoward mode of operation. The number of his troops were so small that Cortes durst not, with a handful of men, attempt to make a lodgment in a city where he might be surrounded and annoyed by such a multitude of enemies. The remembrance of what he had already suffered by the ill judged confidence with which he had ventured into such a dangerous situation, was still fresh in his mind. The Spaniards, exhausted with fatigue, were unable to guard the various posts which they daily gained; and though their camp was filled with Indian auxiliaries, they durst not devolve this charge upon them, because they were so little accustomed to discipline, that no confidence could be placed in their vigilance. Besides this, Cortes was extremely solicitous to preserve the city as much as possible from being destroyed, both because he destined it to be the capital of his conquests, and wished that it might remain as a monument of his glory. From all these considerations, he adhered obstinately, for a month after the siege was opened, to the system which he had adopted. The Mexicans, in their own defence, displayed valor which was hardly inferior to that with which the Spaniards attacked them. On land, on water, by night and by day, one furious conflict succeeded to another. Several Spaniards were killed, more wounded, and all were ready to sink under the toils of unintermitting service, which were rendered more intolerable by the injuries of the season, the periodical rains being now set in with their usual violence.

Astonished and disconcerted with the length and difficulties of the siege, Cortes determined to make one great effort to get possession of the city, before he relinquished the plan which he had hitherto followed, and had recourse to any other mode of attack. With this view he sent instructions to Alvarado and Sandoval to advance with their divisions to a general assault, and took the command in person [July 3] of that posted on the causeway of Cuyocan. Animated by his presence, and the expectation of some decisive event, the Spaniards pushed forward with irresistible impetuosity. They broke through one barricade after another, forced their way over the ditches and canals, and, having entered the city, gained ground incessantly in spite of the multitude and ferocity of their opponents. Cortes, though delighted with the rapidity of his progress, did not forget that he might still find it necessary to retreat; and, in order to secure it, appointed Julien de Alderete, a captain of chief note in the troops which

he had received from Hispaniola, to fill up the canals and gaps in the causeway as the main body advanced. That officer, deeming it inglorious to be thus employed, while his companions were in the heat of action and the career of victory, neglected the important charge committed to him, and hurried on, inconsiderately, to mingle with the combatants. The Mexicans, whose military attention and skill were daily improving, no sooner observed this than they carried an account of it to their monarch.

Guatimozin instantly discerned the consequence of the error which the Spaniards had committed, and, with admirable presence of mind, prepared to take advantage of it. He commanded the troops posted in the front to slacken their efforts, in order to allure the Spaniards to push forward, while he despatched a large body of chosen warriors through different streets, some by land, and others by water, towards the great breach in the causeway which had been left open. On a signal which he gave, the priests in the principal temples struck the great drums consecrated to the god of war. No sooner did the Mexicans hear its doleful solemn sound, calculated to inspire them with contempt of death, and enthusiastic ardor, than they rushed upon the enemy with frantic rage. The Spaniards, unable to resist men urged on no less by religious fury than hope of success, began to retire, at first leisurely, and with a good countenance; but as the enemy pressed on, and their own impatience to escape increased, the terror and confusion became so general, that when they arrived at the gap in the causeway, Spaniards and Tlascalans, horsemen and infantry, plunged in promiscuously, while the Mexicans rushed upon them fiercely from every side, their light canoes carrying them through shoals which the brigantines could not approach. In vain did Cortes attempt to stop and rally his flying troops; fear rendered them regardless of his entreaties or commands. Finding all his endeavors to renew the combat fruitless, his next care was to save some of those who had thrown themselves into the water; but while thus employed, with more attention to their situation than to his own, six Mexican captains suddenly laid hold of him, and were hurrying him off in triumph; and though two of his officers rescued him at the expense of their own lives, he received several dangerous wounds before he could break loose. Above sixty Spaniards perished in the rout; and what rendered the disaster more afflicting, forty of these fell alive into the hands of an enemy never known to show mercy to a captive.

The approach of night, though it delivered the defeated Spaniards from the attacks of the enemy, ushered in what was hardly less grievous, the noise of their barbarous triumph, and of the horrid festival with which they celebrated their victory. Every quarter of the city was illuminated; the great temple shone with such peculiar splendor, that the Spaniards could plainly see the people in motion, and the priests busy in hastening the preparations for the death of the prisoners. Through the gloom, they fancied that they discerned their companions by the whiteness of their skins, as they were stripped naked, and compelled to dance before the image of the god to whom they were to be offered. They heard the shrieks of those who were sacrificed, and thought that they could distinguish each unhappy victim by the well known sound of his voice. Imagination added to what they really saw or heard, and augmented its horror. The most unfeeling melted into tears of compassion, and the stoutest heart trembled at the dreadful spectacle which they beheld [120]

Cortes, who, besides all that he felt in common with his soldiers, was oppressed with the additional load of anxious reflections natural to a general on such an unexpected calamity, could not, like them, relieve his mind by giving vent to its anguish. He was obliged to assume an air of tranquillity, in order to revive the spirit and hopes of his followers. The juncture, indeed, required an extraordinary exertion of fortitude. The Mexicans, elated with their victory, sallied out next morning to attack him in his quarters. But they did not rely on the efforts of their own arms alone. They sent the heads of Spaniards whom they had sacrificed to the leading men in the adjacent provinces, and assured them that the god of war, appeased by the blood of their invaders, which had been shed so plentifully on his altars, had declared with an audible voice, that in eight days time those hated enemies should be finally destroyed, and peace and prosperity re-established in the empire.

A prediction uttered with such confidence, and in terms so void of ambiguity, gained universal credit among a people prone to superstition. The zeal of

the provinces, which had already declared against the Spaniards, augmented; and several which had hitherto remained inactive, took arms, with enthusiastic ardor, to execute the decree of the gods. The Indian auxiliaries who had joined Cortes, accustomed to venerate the same deities with the Mexicans, and to receive the responses of their priests with the same implicit faith, abandoned the Spaniards as a race of men devoted to certain destruction. Even the fidelity of the Tlascalans was shaken, and the Spanish troops were left almost alone in their stations. Cortes, finding that he attempted in vain to dispel the superstitious fears of his confederates by argument, took advantage, from the imprudence of those who had framed the prophecy in fixing its accomplishments so near at hand, to give a striking demonstration of its falsity. He suspended all military operations, during the period marked out by the oracle. Under cover of the brigantines, which kept the enemy at a distance, his troops lay in safety, and the fatal term expired without any disaster.

Many of his allies, ashamed of their own credulity, returned to their station. Other tribes, judging that the gods, who had now deceived the Mexicans, had decreed finally to withdraw their protection from them, joined his standard; and such was the levity of a simple people, moved by every slight impression, that in a short time after such a general defection of his confederates, Cortes saw himself, if we may believe his own account, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand Indians. Even with such a numerous army, he found it necessary to adopt a new and more wary system of operation. Instead of renewing his attempts to become master of the city at once, by such bold but dangerous efforts of valor as he had already tried, he made his advances gradually, and with every possible precaution against exposing his men to any calamity similar to that which they still bewailed. As the Spaniards pushed forward, the Indians regularly repaired the causeways behind them. As soon as they got possession of any part of the town, the houses were instantly levelled with the ground. Day by day, the Mexicans, forced to retire as their enemies gained ground, were hemmed in within more narrow limits. Guatimozin, though unable to stop the career of the enemy, continued to defend his capital with obstinate resolution, and disputed every inch of ground. The Spaniards not only varied their mode of attack, but, by orders of Cortes, changed the weapons with which they fought. They were again armed with the long Chinantlan spears which they had employed with such success against Narvaez; and, by the firm array in which this enabled them to range themselves, they repelled, with little danger, the loose assault of the Mexicans: incredible numbers of them fell in the conflicts which they renewed every day. While war wasted without, famine began to consume them within the city. The Spanish brigantines having the entire command of the lake, rendered it almost impossible to convey to the besieged any supply of provisions by water. The immense number of his Indian auxiliaries enabled Cortes to shut up the avenues to the city by land. The stores which Guatimozin had laid up were exhausted by the multitudes which had crowded into the capital to defend their sovereign and the temples of their gods. Not only the people, but persons of the highest rank, felt the utmost distresses of famine. What they suffered brought on infectious and mortal distempers, the last calamity that visits besieged cities, and which filled up the measure of their woes.

But, under the pressure of so many and such various evils, the spirit of Guatimozin remained firm and unsubdued. He rejected with scorn every overture of peace from Cortes; and, disdaining the idea of submitting to the oppressors of his country, determined not to survive its ruin. The Spaniards continued their progress. At length all the three divisions penetrated into the great square in the centre of the city, and made a secure lodgment there [July 27.] Three-fourths of the city were now reduced and laid in ruins. The remaining quarter was so closely pressed, that it could not long withstand assailants, who attacked it from their new station with superior advantage, and more assured expectation of success. The Mexican nobles, solicitous to save the life of a monarch whom they revered, prevailed on Guatimozin to retire from a place where resistance was now vain, that he might rouse the more distant provinces of the empire to arms, and maintain there a more successful struggle with the public enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of this measure, they endeavored to amuse Cortes with overtures of submission, that, while his attention was employed in adjusting the articles of pacification, Gua-

timozin might escape unperceived. But they made this attempt upon a leader of greater sagacity and discernment than to be deceived by their arts. Cortes, suspecting their intention, and aware of what moment it was to defeat it, appointed Sandoval; the officer on whose vigilance he could most perfectly rely, to take the command of the brigantina, with strict injunctions to watch every motion of the enemy. Sandoval, attentive to the charge, observing some large canoes crowded with people rowing across the lake with extraordinary rapidity, instantly gave the signal to chase. Garcia Holguin, who commanded the swiftest sailing brigantine, soon overtook them, and was preparing to fire on the foremost canoe, which seemed to carry some person whom all the rest followed and obeyed. At once the rowers dropped their oars, and all on board, throwing down their arms, conjured him with cries and tears to forbear, as the emperor was there. Holguin eagerly seized his prize; and Guatimozin, with a dignified composure, gave himself up into his hands, requesting only that no insult might be offered to the empress or his children. When conducted to Cortes, he appeared neither with the sullen fierceness of a barbarian, nor with the dejection of a suppliant. "I have done," said he, addressing himself to the Spanish general, "what became a monarch. I have defended my people to the last extremity. Nothing now remains but to die. Take this dagger," laying his hand on one which Cortes wore, "plant it in my breast, and put an end to a life which can no longer be of use."

As soon as the fate of their sovereign was known, the resistance of the Mexicans ceased; and Cortes took possession of that small part of the capital which yet remained undestroyed [Aug. 13]. Thus terminated the siege of Mexico, the most memorable event in the conquest of America. It continued seventy-five days, hardly one of which passed without some extraordinary effort of one party in the attack, or of the other in the defence of a city, on the fate of which both knew that the fortune of the empire depended. As the struggle here was more obstinate, it was likewise more equal than any between the inhabitants of the Old and New Worlds. The great abilities of Guatimozin, the number of his troops, the peculiar situation of his capital, so far counterbalanced the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and discipline, that they must have relinquished the enterprise if they had trusted for success to themselves alone. But Mexico was overturned by the jealousy of neighbors who dreaded its power, and by the revolt of subjects impatient to shake off its yoke. By their effectual aid, Cortes was enabled to accomplish what, without such support, he would hardly have ventured to attempt. How much soever this account of the reduction of Mexico may detract, on the one hand, from the marvellous relations of some Spanish writers, by ascribing that to simple and obvious causes which they attribute to the romantic valor of their countrymen, it adds, on the other, to the merit and abilities of Cortes, who, under every disadvantage, acquired such an ascendancy over unknown nations, as to render them instruments towards carrying his schemes into execution. [121]

The exultation of the Spaniards, on accomplishing this arduous enterprise, was at first excessive. But this was quickly damped by the cruel disappointment of those sanguine hopes which had animated them amidst so many hardships and dangers. Instead of the inexhaustible wealth which they expected from becoming masters of Montezuma's treasures, and the ornaments of so many temples, their rapaciousness could only collect an inconsiderable booty amidst ruins and desolation. Guatimozin, aware of his impending fate, had ordered what remained of the riches amassed by his ancestors to be thrown into the lake. The Indian auxiliaries, while the Spaniards were engaged in conflict with the enemy, had carried off the most valuable part of the spoil. The sum to be divided among the conquerors was so small that many of them disdained to accept of the pittance which fell to their share, and all murmured and exclaimed; some against Cortes and his confidants, whom they suspected of having secretly appropriated to their own use a large portion of the riches which should have been brought into the common stock; others, against Guatimozin, whom they accused of obstinacy in refusing to discover the place where he had hidden his treasure.

Arguments, entreaties, and promises were employed in order to soothe them, but with so little effect, that Cortes, from solicitude to check this growing spirit of discontent, gave way to a deed which stained the glory of all his great actions. Without regarding the former dignity of Guatimozin, or feeling any reverence

for those virtues which he had displayed, he subjected the unhappy monarch, together with his chief favorite, to torture, in order to force from them a discovery of the royal treasures, which it was supposed they had concealed. Guatimozin bore whatever the refined cruelty of his tormentors could inflict, with the invincible fortitude of an American warrior. His fellow-sufferer, overcome by the violence of the anguish, turned a dejected eye towards his master, which seemed to implore his permission to reveal all that he knew. But the high spirited prince, darting on him a look of authority mingled with scorn, checked his weakness by asking, "Am I now reposing on a bed of flowers?" Overawed by the reproach, the favorite persevered in his dutiful silence and expired. Cortes, ashamed of a scene so horrid, rescued the royal victim from the hands of his torturers, and prolonged a life reserved for new indignities and sufferings.

The fate of the capital, as both parties had foreseen, decided that of the empire. The provinces submitted one after another to the conquerors. Small detachments of Spaniards marching through them without interruption, penetrated in different quarters to the great Southern Ocean, which, according to the ideas of Columbus, they imagined would open a short as well as easy passage to the East Indies, and secure to the crown of Castile all the envied wealth of those fertile regions; and the active mind of Cortes began already to form schemes for attempting this important discovery.

He did not know, that during the progress of his victorious arms in Mexico, the very scheme, of which he began to form some idea, had been undertaken and accomplished. As this is one of the most splendid events in the history of the Spanish discoveries, and has been productive of effects peculiarly interesting to those extensive provinces which Cortes had now subjected to the crown of Castile, the account of its rise and progress merits a particular detail.

Ferdinand Magalhaens, or Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman of honorable birth, having served several years in the East India, with distinguished valor, under the famous Albuquerque, demanded the recompense which he thought due to his services, with the boldness natural to a high spirited soldier. But as his general would not grant his suit, and he expected greater justice from his sovereign, whom he knew to be a good judge and a generous rewarder of merit, he quitted India abruptly, and returned to Lisbon. In order to induce Emanuel to listen more favorably to his claim, he not only stated his past services, but offered to add to them by conducting his countrymen to the Molucca or Spice Islands, by holding a westerly course; which he contended would be both shorter and less hazardous than that which the Portuguese now followed by the Cape of Good Hope, through the immense extent of the Eastern Ocean. This was the original and favorite project of Columbus, and Magellan founded his hopes of success on the ideas of that great navigator, confirmed by many observations, the result of his own naval experience, as well as that of his countrymen in their intercourse with the East. But though the Portuguese monarchs had the merit of having first awakened and encouraged the spirit of discovery in that age, it was their destiny, in the course of a few years, to reject two grand schemes for this purpose, the execution of which would have been attended with a great accession of glory to themselves, and of power to their kingdom. In consequence of some ill founded prejudice against Magellan, or of some dark intrigue which contemporary historians have not explained, Emanuel would neither bestow the recompense which he claimed, nor approve of the scheme which he proposed; and dismissed him with a disdainful coldness intolerable to a man conscious of what he deserved, and animated with the sanguine hopes of success peculiar to those who are capable of forming or of conducting new and great undertakings. In a transport of resentment, [1517] Magellan formally renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Castile, where he expected that his talents would be more justly estimated. He endeavored to recommend himself by offering to execute, under the patronage of Spain, that scheme which he had laid before the court of Portugal, the accomplishment of which, he knew, would wound the monarch against whom he was exasperated in the most tender part. In order to establish the justness of his theory, he produced the same arguments which he had employed at Lisbon; acknowledging, at the same time, that the undertaking was both arduous and expensive, as it could not be attempted but with a squadron of considerable force, and vic-

tuated for at least two years. Fortunately, he applied to a minister who was not apt to be deterred either by the boldness of a design, or the expense of carrying it into execution. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the affairs of Spain, discerning at once what an increase of wealth and glory would accrue to his country by the success of Magellan's proposal, listened to it with a most favorable ear. Charles V., on his arrival in his Spanish dominions, entered into the measure with no less ardor, and orders were issued for equipping a proper squadron at the public charge, of which the command was given to Magellan, whom the king honored with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain general.

On the tenth of August, one thousand five hundred and nineteen, Magellan sailed from Seville with five ships, which, according to the ideas of the age, were deemed to be of considerable force, though the burden of the largest did not exceed one hundred and twenty tons. The crews of the whole amounted to two hundred and thirty-four men, among whom were some of the most skilful pilots in Spain, and several Portuguese sailors, in whose experience, as more extensive, Magellan placed still greater confidence. After touching at the Canaries, he stood directly south towards the equinoctial line along the coast of America, but was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet for that communication with the Southern Ocean which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river De la Plata till the twelfth of January, [1520.] That spacious opening through which its vast body of water pours into the Atlantic allured him to enter; but after sailing up it for some days, he concluded from the shallowness of the stream and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for strait was not situated there, and continued his course towards the south. On the thirty-first of March he arrived in the Port of St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter. In this uncomfortable station he lost one of his squadron; and the Spaniards suffered so much from the excessive rigor of the climate, that the crews of three of his ships, headed by their officers, rose in open mutiny, and insisted on relinquishing the visionary project of a desperate adventurer, and returning directly to Spain. This dangerous insurrection Magellan suppressed, by an effort of courage no less prompt than intrepid, and inflicted exemplary punishment on the ringleaders. With the remainder of his followers, overawed but not reconciled to his scheme, he continued his voyage towards the south, and at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs and remonstrances of the people under his command. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous channel, to which he gave his own name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and with tears of joy he returned thanks to Heaven for having thus far crowned his endeavors with success.

But he was still at a greater distance than he imagined from the object of his wishes. He sailed during three months and twenty days in a uniform direction towards the north-west without discovering land. In this voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, he suffered incredible distress. His stock of provisions was almost exhausted, the water became putrid, the men were reduced to the shortest allowance with which it was possible to sustain life, and the scurvy, the most dreadful of all the maladies with which sea-faring people are afflicted, began to spread among the crew. One circumstance alone afforded them some consolation; they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such favorable winds that Magellan bestowed on that ocean the name of *Pacific*, which it still retains. When reduced to such extremity that they must have sunk under their sufferings, they fell in with a cluster of small but fertile islands [March 6.] which afforded them refreshments in such abundance, that their health was soon re-established. From these isles, which he called *De los Ladrones*, he proceeded on his voyage, and soon made a more important discovery of the islands now known by the name of the *Philippines*. In one of these he got into an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of troops well armed; and while he fought at the head of his men with his usual valor, he fell [April 26] by the hands of those barbarians, together with several of his principal officers.

The expedition was prosecuted under other commanders. After visiting many of the smaller isles scattered in the eastern part of the Indian ocean, they

touched at the great Island of Borneo, [Nov. 8] and at length landed in Tidore, one of the Moluccas, to the astonishment of the Portuguese, who could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had arrived at that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves had discovered by sailing in an opposite direction. There, and in the adjacent isles, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of the precious spices, which are the distinguished production of those islands; and with that, as well as with specimens of the rich commodities yielded by the other countries which they had visited, the *Victory*, which, of the two ships that remained of the squadron, was most fit for a long voyage, set sail for Europe, [Jan. 1522] under the command of Juan Sebastian del Cano. He followed the course of the Portuguese, by the Cape of Good Hope, and after disasters and sufferings he arrived at St. Lucar on the seventh of September, one thousand five hundred and seventy-two, having sailed round the globe in the space of three years and twenty-eight days.

Though an untimely fate deprived Magellan of the satisfaction of accomplishing this great undertaking, his contemporaries, just to his memory and talents, ascribed to him not only the honor of having formed the plan, but of having surmounted almost every obstacle, to the completion of it; and in the present age his name is still ranked among the highest in the roll of eminent and successful navigators. The naval glory of Spain now eclipsed that of every other nation; and by a singular felicity she had the merit, in the course of a few years, of discovering a new continent almost as large as that part of the earth which was formerly known, and of ascertaining by experience the form and extent of the whole of the terraqueous globe.

The Spaniards were not satisfied with the glory of having first encompassed the earth; they expected to derive great commercial advantages from this new and boldst effort of their maritime skill. The men of science among them contended, that the Spice Islands, and several of the richest countries in the East, were so situated as to belong of right to the crown of Castile, in consequence of the partitions made by Alexander VI. The merchants, without attending to this discussion, engaged eagerly in that lucrative and alluring commerce, which was now open to them. The Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, while in Asia, they obstructed the trade of the Spaniards by force of arms. Charles V., not sufficiently instructed with respect to the importance of this valuable branch of commerce, or distracted by the multiplicity of his schemes and operations, did not afford his subjects proper protection. At last, the low state of his finances, exhausted by the efforts of his arms in every part of Europe, together with the dread of adding a new war with Portugal to those in which he was already engaged, induced him to make over his claim of the Moluccas to the Portuguese for three hundred and fifty thousand ducats. He reserved, however, to the crown of Castile the right of reviving its pretensions on repayment of that sum; but other objects engrossed his attention and that of his successors; and Spain was finally excluded from a branch of commerce in which it was engaging with sanguine expectations of profit.

Though the trade with the Moluccas was relinquished, the voyage of Magellan was followed by commercial effects of great moment to Spain. Philip II., in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-four, reduced those islands which he discovered in the Eastern ocean to subjection, and established settlements there; between which and the kingdom of New Spain a regular intercourse, the nature of which shall be explained in its proper place, is still carried on. I return now to the transactions in New Spain.

At the time that Cortes was acquiring such extensive territories for his native country, and preparing the way for future conquests, it was his singular fate not only to be destitute of any commission or authority from the sovereign whom he was serving with such successful zeal, but to be regarded as an undutiful and seditious subject. By the influence of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, his conduct in assuming the government of New Spain was declared to be an irregular usurpation, in contempt of the royal authority; and Christoval de Tapia received a commission, empowering him to supersede Cortes, to seize his person, to confiscate his effects, to make a strict scrutiny into his proceedings, and to transmit the result of all the inquiries carried on in New Spain to the Council of the Indies, of which

the Bishop of Burgos was president. A few weeks after the reduction of Mexico, Tapia landed at Vera Cruz with the royal mandate to strip its conqueror of his power, and treat him as a criminal. But Fonseca had chosen a very improper instrument to wreak his vengeance on Cortes. Tapia had neither the reputation nor the talents that suited the high command to which he was appointed. Cortes, while he publicly expressed the most respectful veneration for the emperor's authority, secretly took measures to defeat the effect of his commission; and having involved Tapia and his followers in a multiplicity of negotiations and conferences, in which he sometimes had recourse to threats, but more frequently employed bribes and promises, he at length prevailed upon that weak man to abandon a province which he was unworthy of governing.

But notwithstanding the fortunate dexterity with which he had eluded this danger, Cortes was so sensible of the precarious tenure by which he held his power, that he despatched deputies to Spain [May 15.] with a pompous account of the success of his arms, with further specimens of the productions of the country, and with rich presents to the emperor, as the earnest of future contributions from his new conquests; requesting, in recompense for all his services, the approbation of his proceedings, and that he might be entrusted with the government of those dominions, which his conduct and the valor of his followers had added to the crown of Castile. The juncture in which his deputies reached the court was favorable. The internal commotions in Spain, which had disquieted the beginning of Charles's reign, were just appeased. The ministers had leisure to turn their attention towards foreign affairs. The account of Cortes's victories filled his countrymen with admiration. The extent and value of his conquests became the object of vast and interesting hopes. Whatever stain he might have contracted, by the irregularity of the steps which he took in order to attain power, was so fully effaced by the splendor and merit of the great actions which this had enabled him to perform, that every heart revolted at the thought of inflicting any censure on a man whose services entitled him to the highest marks of distinction. The public voice declared warmly in favor of his pretensions; and Charles, arriving in Spain about this time, adopted the sentiments of his subjects with a youthful ardor. Notwithstanding the claims of Velasquez, and the partial representations of the Bishop of Burgos, the emperor appointed Cortes captain general and governor of New Spain, judging that no person was so capable of maintaining the royal authority, or of establishing good order both among his Spanish and Indian subjects, as the victorious leader whom the former had long been accustomed to obey, and the latter had been taught to fear and to respect.

Even before his jurisdiction received this legal sanction, Cortes ventured to exercise all the powers of a governor, and, by various arrangements, endeavored to render his conquest a secure and beneficial acquisition to his country. He determined to establish the seat of government in its ancient station, and to raise Mexico again from its ruins; and having conceived high ideas concerning the future grandeur of the state of which he was laying the foundation, he began to rebuild its capital on a plan which hath gradually formed the most magnificent city in the New World. At the same time, he employed skilful persons to search for mines, in different parts of the country, and opened some which were found to be richer than any which the Spaniards had hitherto discovered in America. He detached his principal officers into the remote provinces, and encouraged them to settle there, not only by bestowing upon them large tracts of land, but by granting them the same dominion over the Indians, and the same right to their service, which the Spaniards had assumed in the islands.

It was not however, without difficulty that the Mexican empire could be entirely reduced into the form of a Spanish colony. Enraged and rendered desperate by oppression, the natives often forgot the superiority of their enemies, and ran to arms in defence of their liberties. In every contest, however, the European valor and discipline prevailed. But fatally for the honor of their country, the Spaniards sullied the glory redounding from these repeated victories by their mode of treating the vanquished people. After taking Guatimozin, and becoming masters of his capital, they supposed that the king of Castile entered on possession of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to consider every effort of the Mexicans to assert their own independence, as the rebellion of vassals against

their sovereign, or the mutiny of slaves against their master. Under the sanction of those ill founded maxims, they violated every right that should be held sacred between hostile nations. After each insurrection, they reduced the common people, in the provinces which they subdued, to the most humiliating of all conditions, that of personal servitude. Their chiefs, supposed to be more criminal, were punished with greater severity, and put to death in the most ignominious or the most excruciating mode that the insolence or the cruelty of their conquerors could devise. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as disgrace the enterprising valor that conducted them to success. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques or leaders, and four hundred nobles were burnt at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity perpetrated in any sudden sally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It was the act of Sandoval, an officer whose name is entitled to the second rank in the annals of New Spain, and executed after a solemn consultation with Cortes; and to complete the horror of the scene, the children and relations of the wretched victims were assembled, and compelled to be spectators of their dying agonies. It seems hardly possible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of severity; but it was followed by another, which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly, as it gave them a most feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the small regard which their haughty masters retained for the ancient dignity and splendor of their state. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatimozin had formed a scheme to shake off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take arms, Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two persons of greatest eminence in the empire, to be hanged; and the Mexicans, with astonishment and horror, beheld this disgraceful punishment inflicted upon persons to whom they were accustomed to look up with reverence hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themselves. [122] The example of Cortes and his principal officers encouraged and justified persons of subordinate rank to venture upon committing greater excesses. Nuno de Guzman, in particular, stained an illustrious name by deeds of peculiar enormity and rigor, in various expeditions which he conducted.

One circumstance, however, saved the Mexicans from further consumption, perhaps from as complete as that which had depopulated the islands. The first conquerors did not attempt to search for the precious metals in the bowels of the earth. They were neither sufficiently wealthy to carry on the expensive works which are requisite for opening those deep recesses where nature has concealed the veins of gold and silver, nor sufficiently skilful to perform the ingenious operations by which those precious metals are separated from their respective ores. They were satisfied with the more simple method, practised by the Indians, of washing the earth carried down rivers and torrents from the mountains, and collecting the grains of native metal deposited there. The rich mines of New Spain, which have poured forth their treasures with such profusion on every quarter of the globe, were not discovered for several years after the conquest. By that time [1552], &c., a more orderly government and police were introduced into the colony; experience, derived from former errors, had suggested many useful and humane regulations for the protection and preservation of the Indians; and though it then became necessary to increase the number of those employed in the mines, and they were engaged in a species of labor more pernicious to the human constitution, they suffered less hardship or diminution than from the ill judged, but less extensive, schemes of the first conquerors.

While it was the lot of the Indians to suffer, their new masters seemed not to have derived any considerable wealth from their ill conducted researches. According to the usual fate of first settlers in new colonies, it was their lot to encounter danger and to struggle with difficulties; the fruits of their victories and toils were reserved for times of tranquillity, and reaped by successors of great industry, but of inferior merit. The early historians of America abound with accounts of the sufferings and of the poverty of its conquerors. In New Spain, their condition was rendered more grievous by a peculiar arrangement. When Charles V. advanced Cortes to the government of that country, he at the same time appointed certain commissioners to receive and administer the royal revenue there, with independent jurisdiction. These men, chosen from inferior

stations in various departments of public business at Madrid, were so much elevated with their promotion, that they thought they were called to act a part of the first consequence. But being accustomed to the minute formalities of office, and having contracted the narrow ideas suited to the sphere in which they had hitherto moved, they were astonished on arriving in Mexico [1524], at the high authority which Cortes exercised, and could not conceive that the mode of administration, in a country recently subdued and settled, must be different from what took place in one where tranquillity and regular government had been long established. In their letters, they represented Cortes as an ambitious tyrant, who, having usurped a jurisdiction superior to law, aspired at independence, and, by his exorbitant wealth and extensive influence, might accomplish those disloyal schemes which he apparently meditated. These insinuations made such deep impression upon the Spanish ministers most of whom had been formed to business under the jealous and rigid administration of Ferdinand, that unmindful of all Cortes's past services, and regardless of what he was then suffering in conducting that extraordinary expedition, in which he advanced from the lake of Mexico to the western extremities of Honduras, [123] they infused the same suspicions into the minds of their master, and prevailed on him to order a solemn inquest to be made into his conduct [1525], with powers to the licentiate Ponce de Leon, intrusted with that commission, to seize his person, if he should find that expedient, and send him prisoner to Spain.

The sudden death of Ponce de Leon, a few days after his arrival in New Spain, prevented the execution of this commission. But as the object of his appointment was known, the mind of Cortes was deeply wounded with this unexpected return for services which far exceeded whatever any subject of Spain had rendered to his sovereign. He endeavored, however, to maintain his station, and to recover the confidence of the court. But every person in office, who had arrived from Spain since the conquest, was a spy upon his conduct, and with malicious ingenuity gave an unfavorable representation of all his actions. The apprehensions of Charles and his ministers increased. A new commission of inquiry was issued [1528], with more extensive powers, and various precautions were taken in order to prevent or to punish him, if he should be so presumptuous as to attempt what was inconsistent with the fidelity of a subject. Cortes beheld the approaching crisis of his fortune with all the violent emotions natural to a haughty mind conscious of high desert, and receiving unworthy treatment. But though some of his desperate followers urged him to assert his own rights against his ungrateful country, and with a bold hand to seize that power which the courtiers meanly accused him of coveting, he retained such self-command, or was actuated with such sentiments of loyalty, as to reject their dangerous counsels, and to choose the only course in which he could secure his own dignity, without departing from his duty. He resolved not to expose himself to the ignominy of a trial in that country which had been the scene of his triumphs; but, without waiting for the arrival of his judges, to repair directly to Castile, and commit himself and his cause to the justice and generosity of his sovereign.

Cortes appeared in his native country with the splendor that suited the conqueror of a mighty kingdom. He brought with him a great part of his wealth, many jewels and ornaments of great value, several curious productions of the country, [124] and was attended by some Mexicans of the first rank, as well as by the most considerable of his own officers. His arrival in Spain removed at once every suspicion and fear that had been entertained with respect to his intentions. The emperor, having now nothing to apprehend from the designs of Cortes, received him like a person whom consciousness of his own innocence had brought into the presence of his master, and who was entitled, by the eminence of his services, to the highest marks of distinction and respect. The order of St. Jago, the title of Marquis del Valle de Guaxaca, the grant of an ample territory in New Spain, were successively bestowed upon him; and as his manners were correct and elegant, although he had passed the greater part of his life among rough adventurers, the emperor admitted him to the same familiar intercourse with himself, that was enjoyed by noblemen of the first rank.

But, amidst those external proofs of regard, symptoms of remaining distrust appeared. Though Cortes earnestly solicited to be reinstated in the government of New Spain, Charles, too sagacious to commit such an important charge to a man whom he had once sus-

pected, peremptorily refused to invest him again with powers which he might find it impossible to control. Cortes, though dignified with new titles, returned to Mexico [1530], with diminished authority. The military department, with powers to attempt new discoveries, was left in his hands; but the supreme direction of civil affairs was placed in a board called *The Audiencia of New Spain*. At a subsequent period, when, upon the increase of the colony, the exertion of authority more united and extensive became necessary, Antonio de Mendoza, a nobleman of high rank, was sent thither as *Viceroy*, to take the government into his hands.

This division of power in New Spain proved, as was unavoidable, the source of perpetual dissension, which embittered the life of Cortes, and thwarted all his schemes. As he had now no opportunity to display his active talents but in attempting new discoveries, he formed various schemes for that purpose, all of which bear impressions of a genius that delighted in what was bold and splendid. He early entertained an idea, that, either by steering through the Gulf of Florida along the east coast of North America, some strait would be found that communicated with the western ocean; or that, by examining the isthmus of Darien, some passage would be discovered between the North and South Seas. But having been disappointed in his expectations with respect to both, he now confined his views to such voyages of discovery as he could make from the ports of New Spain in the South Sea. There he fitted out successively several small squadrons, which either perished in the attempt, or returned without making any discovery of moment. Cortes, weary of intrusting the conduct of his operations to others, took the command of a new armament in person [1536]; and, after enduring incredible hardships, and encountering dangers of every species, he discovered the large peninsula of California, and surveyed the greater part of the gulf which separates it from New Spain. The discovery of a country of such extent would have reflected credit on a common adventurer; but it could add little new honor to the name of Cortes, and was far from satisfying the sanguine expectations which he had formed. Disgusted with ill success, to which he had not been accustomed, and weary of contesting with adversaries to whom he considered it as a disgrace to be opposed, he once more sought for redress in his native country [1540].

But his reception there was very different from that which gratitude, and even decency, ought to have secured for him. The merit of his ancient exploits was already, in a great measure, forgotten or eclipsed by the fame of recent and more valuable conquests in another quarter of America. No service of moment was now expected from a man of declining years, and who began to be unfortunate. The emperor behaved to him with cold civility; his ministers treated him sometimes with neglect, sometimes with insolence. His grievances received no redress; his claims were urged without effect; and after several years spent in fruitless application to ministers and judges, an occupation the most irksome and mortifying to a man of high spirit, who had moved in a sphere where he was more accustomed to command than to solicit, Cortes ended his days on the second of December, one thousand five hundred and forty-seven, in the sixty-second year of his age. His fate was the same with that of all the persons who distinguished themselves in the discovery or conquest of the New World. Envied by his contemporaries, and ill requited by the court which he served, he has been admired and celebrated by succeeding ages. Which has formed the most just estimate of his character, an impartial consideration of his actions must determine.

BOOK VI.

History of the conquest of Peru by Pizarro and of the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that country—Origin, progress, and effects of these.

[1523.] From the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open a communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with an eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings. [125]

Accordingly, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and resources were unequal to the attempt. As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of *Tierra Firme*, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

[1524.] But there were three persons settled in Panama, on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that, at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution of his scheme. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honorable family by a very low woman, and according to the cruel fate which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been so totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he seems to have destined him never to rise beyond the condition of his mother. In consequence of this ungenerous idea, he set him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aspiring mind of young Pizarro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he abruptly abandoned his charge, enlisted as a soldier, and after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening such a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early distinguished himself. With a temper of mind no less daring than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, patient under the greatest hardships, and unsubdued by any fatigue. Though so illiterate that he could not even read, he was soon considered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved successful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perseverance with ardor, and was as cautious in executing as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to assume a superior part in conducting the former, and in governing the latter.

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valor, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candor, natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastic, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and, by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorized by Pedrarias, the governor of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw so large a sum as his associates into the common stock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both acquired an increase of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice, was confirmed by the most solemn act of

religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and, reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his associates, of which they partook; and thus, in the name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.

The attempt was begun with a force more suited to the humble condition of the three associates than to the greatness of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Pizarro set sail from Panama [Nov. 14], with a single vessel of small burden and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, so little were the Spanish acquainted with the peculiarities of the climate in America, that the time which Pizarro chose for his departure was the most improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly adverse to the course which he proposed to steer. After beating about for seventy days, with much danger and incessant fatigue, Pizarro's progress towards the south-east was not greater than what a skilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched at several places on the coast of *Tierra Firme*, but found every where the same uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into swamps by an overflowing of rivers; the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and, above all, the distempers of a moist, sultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. [1525.] The undaunted resolution of their leader continued, however, for some time, to sustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promised to conduct them. At length he was obliged to abandon that inhospitable coast, and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro, having sailed from that port with seventy men, stood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his associates. Not finding them there, he landed his soldiers, who, in searching for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed at length by the Indians in a sharp conflict, in which their leader lost one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewise were compelled to re-embark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat, where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their sufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan [June 24], in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promising aspect, that dawn of better fortune was sufficient to determine such sanguine projectors not to abandon their scheme, notwithstanding all that they had suffered in prosecuting it. [126]

[1526.] Almagro repaired to Panama in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he and Pizarro had suffered gave his countrymen such an unfavorable idea of the service, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourscore men. Feeble as this reinforcement was, Almagro took the command of it, and, having joined Pizarro, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Embaraulds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkets of gold and silver.

But notwithstanding those favorable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the persons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who listened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durst not venture to invade a country so populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diseases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his associates returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful.

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, or less hardy, than their leaders, having secretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their sufferings and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavorable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of that settlement.

After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded an expedition, attended with such certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with those measures, which they could not prevent, and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprise that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of re-establishing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline. Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends, after a long absence, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander.

This small but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was further removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their associates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold solicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony, which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the public service, and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desert island. Overcome by those entreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprise, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

By this time, Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. [127] During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But, on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived; and, with a rapid transition not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high confidence succeeded to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardor. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, and, more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru. After touching at several villages near the shore, which they found to be nowise inviting, they landed at Tumbes, a place of some note about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the *Incas* or sovereigns of the country. There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled, and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World as to have the use of tame domestic animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of those precious metals, as left no room to doubt that they abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his

companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. [1527.] Having explored the country as far as requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their *Llamas* or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence. No adventurer of the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the history of the New World, where so many romantic displays of those virtues occur.

[1528.] Neither the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unreasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any settlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former plan of conduct. He still contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorize an expedition which he foresaw would be so alluring that it might ruin the province in which he presided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardor of the three associates; but they perceived that they could not carry their scheme into execution without the countenance of superior authority, and must solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pizarro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of bishop in the country which they proposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now so much exhausted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found some difficulty in borrowing the small sum requisite towards equipping him for the voyage.

Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court; and new as the scene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiation with an insinuating dexterity of address, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own sufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made such an impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader. Presuming on these dispositions in his favor, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he attained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbes. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed [July 26] governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and with full right to all the privileges and emoluments usually granted to adventurers in the New World. His jurisdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the success of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms, and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting to the crown of Castile the country of which the government was allotted him.

[1529.] Inconsiderable as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raise, his funds and credit were so low that he could hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers, who had it in charge to examine whether he had fulfilled the stipulations of his contract. Before his departure, however, he received some supply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory similar to that which he himself had finished.

He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himself, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions.

[1530.] On his arrival at Panama, Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negotiation, that he not only refused to act any longer in concert with a man by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honors to which he had a just claim, but labored to form a new association, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of adelantado, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted soldier, which had been violent, but was not implacable. Luque, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, cordially seconded Pizarro's endeavors. A reconciliation was effected, and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common expense of the associates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them.

Even after their reunion, and the utmost efforts of their interest, three small vessels, with a hundred and eighty soldiers, thirty-six of whom were horsemen, composed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in America had inspired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail with this contemptible force, [Feb. 1531,] to invade a great empire, Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though by the force of the winds and currents he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbes, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew. Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart far from the sea shore, both that he might easily effect a junction with the supplies which he expected from Panama, and secure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in several parts on the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthy, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives who he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diseases of various kinds brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, if even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with some appearances of wealth, and cultivation, which seemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached the province of Coaque [April 14]; and having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized their vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes. Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich

spoils, which he considered as the first fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly despatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to several persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayaquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had passed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with such obstinate valor, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the distempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention to spread the fame of his first success to Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua [1532], which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalcázar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had served in America. From Tumbez he proceeded to the river Piura [May 16], and in an advantageous station near the mouth of it he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the situation of its affairs at that juncture. Without some knowledge of these, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a suitable attention to them, it is impossible to account for the progress which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the causes of their subsequent success.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length, from north to south, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacific Ocean. Its breadth, from east to west, was much less considerable; being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was originally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were so little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular industry, without any fixed residence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bonds of social union, they are said to have roamed about naked in the forests, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than like men. After they had struggled for several ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in such a state, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared, on the banks of the lake Titicaca, a man and woman of majestic form, clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be children of the Sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and to reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, several of the dispersed savages united together, and, receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for such were the names of those extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union which, by multiplying the desires and uniting the efforts of the human species, excites industry and leads to improvement. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and to weave. By the labor of the one sex, subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After

securing the objects of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and habitations for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing such laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, which shall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of inanners. In public administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under their jurisdiction maintained with such a steady hand, that the society in which he presided soon assumed the aspect of a regular and well governed state.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas or Lords of Peru. At first its extent was small. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions extended, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over the new subjects which they acquired; the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks of obsequious homage and respect which approached almost to adoration.

But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarch seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character.

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-six, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacific virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a conquest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province which he had added to his dominions; and notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son by another of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with greater reputation and splendor than any of his predecessors, the designation of Huana Capac concerning the succession appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valor Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in a civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown,

he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in a battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors, though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whom it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information with respect to it they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and a usurper. Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom which he had invaded, that without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose that, after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accounted train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen [128], and a hundred and two foot soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days' march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer despatched by the Inca met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurance of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declaring that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favored the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapa-

erosness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacific intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupe, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. [129] From Motupe they advanced towards the mountains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition, and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and, as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he despatched his brother Ferdinand and Hernando Soto to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cacique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character that he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service, which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces, and the cross bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Early in the morning [Nov. 16], the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendor and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparations for this were so tedious that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so

slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient, and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro despatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition. At length the Inca approached. First of all appeared four hundred men, in a uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch adorned with plumes of various colors, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's vicergerent on earth, the transmission of his apostolic power by succession to the Popes, the donation made to the King of Castile by Pope Alexander of all the regions of the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope, and to submit to the King of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impudently refuse to obey this summons, he denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. "In this book," answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and, turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: "This," says he, "is silent; it tells me nothing;" and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out, "To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs." [130]

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial music struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effect of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro, seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate

of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca. [131]

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru; and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, labored to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their ruling passion, which indeed they were in nowise solicitous to conceal, and, by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty. He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of the gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch. The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect. [132]

Inconsiderable as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time [December,] received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers. The arrival of this long expected succor was not more agreeable to the Spaniards than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise [1533]. While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and, as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure greatly beyond that which Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favorable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality.

Meanwhile, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from

different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa assured the Spaniards that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabric reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred pesos to Pizarro and his followers. The festival of St. James [July 25], the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this enormous sum, and the manner of conducting it strongly marks the strange alliance of fanaticism with avarice, which I have more than once had occasion to point out as a striking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty, the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, as if they could have expected the guidance of heaven in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this division above eight thousand pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro himself, and his officers, received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

There is no example in history of such a sudden acquisition of wealth by military service, nor was ever a sum so great divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having received a recompense for their services far beyond their most sanguine hopes, were so impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to spend the remainder of their days in their native country in ease and opulence, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and persuaded that wherever they went the display of their riches would allure adventurers, less opulent but more hardy, to his standard, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his success, and the present destined for the emperor.

The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was further from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long service in the New World, he had imbibed those ideas and maxims of his fellow-soldiers, which led them to consider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor entitled to the rights of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuse his captive with such a prospect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquests of the New World.

Though Pizarro had seized the Inca in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an encumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered.

Almagro and his followers had made a demand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though

Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavored to soothe their leader by presents of great value, they still continued dissatisfied. They were apprehensive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing.

Pizarro himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and suspected Atahualpa of having issued orders for that purpose. These fears and suspicions were artfully increased by Philipillo, one of the Indians, whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he presumed, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendant of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavored to fill the ears of the Spaniards with such accounts of the Inca's secret designs and preparations, as might awaken their jealousy, and excite them to cut him off.

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philipillo labored to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of the governor he was always uneasy and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he showed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment Atahualpa considered him as a mean person less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death.

But in order to give some color of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice, did this strange court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles,

witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philipillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges pre-determined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient. They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate Atahualpa endeavored to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties that he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console and attempted to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake.

Happily for the credit of the Spanish nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it sent forth to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some tincture of the Castilian generosity and honor. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had set out for Spain, and Soto was sent on a separate command at a distance from Caxamalca, this odious transaction was not carried on without censure and opposition. Several officers, and among those some of the greatest reputation and most respectable families in the service, not only remonstrated but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of public faith, and a usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their laudable endeavors were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of such as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. History, however, records even the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause; and the Spanish writers, in relating events where the valor of their nation is more conspicuous than its humanity, have not failed to preserve the names of those who made this laudable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a more passive instrument in his hands than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huascar, as Inca. But neither possessed the authority which belonged to a sovereign of Peru. The violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown, first by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almost dissolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of strangers, and at last suffering an ignominious death, the people in several provinces, as if they had been set free from every restraint of law and decency, broke out into the most licentious excesses. So many descendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmost indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the state diminished with their number, but the accustomed reverence for that sacred race sensibly decreased. In consequence of this state of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aspired to independent authority, and usurped jurisdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quiro, seized the brother and children of his master, put them to a cruel death, and, disclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavored to establish a separate kingdom for himself.

The Spaniards with pleasure beheld the spirit of discord diffusing itself, and the vigor of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They considered those disorders as symptoms of a state hastening towards its dissolution. Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received such considerable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate so far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and soldiers to whom he had given their discharge after the partition

of the Inca's ransom, arrive at Panama, and display their riches in the view of their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction, from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. In spite of every check and regulation, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison in St Michael, under the command of Benalcázar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible slaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceed in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Spaniards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a great number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise, either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual. [133]

During the march to Cuzco, that son of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died; and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognised.

While his fellow-soldiers were thus employed, Benalcázar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name distinguished among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua put it in his power to gratify this passion. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement intrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the distance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru commanded by a skilful leader, the valor, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcázar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives now acquainted to their sorrow with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on.

Benalcázar was not the only Spanish leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatimala as a recompense for his valor, soon became disgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the bustle of military service. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this passion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he resolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of such distinction as to serve on horseback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without sufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the course of the river Guayaquil, and crossing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the most impracticable in all America, his troops endured such fatigue in forcing their way through forests and marshes on the low grounds, and suffered so much from excessive cold when they began to ascend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half their horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and worn out, as to be almost unfit for service. [134] There

they met with a body, not of Indians, but of Spaniards, drawn in hostile array against them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with some troops to oppose this formidable invader of his jurisdiction; and these were joined by Benalcázar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though surprised at the sight of enemies whom he did not expect, advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interposition of some moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period when Spaniards suspended their conquests to imbue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was postponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thousand pesos to defray the expense of his armament. Most of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its strength.

[1534.] By this time Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he imported [135] filled the kingdom with no less astonishment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years masters of Mexico. In recompense of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues, extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honors which he had so long desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himself did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman, and soon set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country.

Some account of his negotiations reached Peru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no sooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engrossing to himself all the honors and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate, was always present in both their thoughts. The former, conscious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveness; the latter feeling, that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged; and though avarice and ambition had induced them not only to dissemble their sentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no sooner did they obtain possession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rise to jealousy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependants, who, with the malicious art peculiar to such men, heightened their suspicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all those seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus assiduously cherished, each was so thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequence of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partisans, averted that evil for the present. A new reconciliation took place; the chief article of which was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili; and if he did not find in that province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, should yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement, though confirmed [June 12] with the same sacred solemnities as their first contract, was observed with as little fidelity.

Soon after he concluded this important transaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the sea coast; and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity undisturbed by any enemy, either Spaniard or Indian, he applied himself with that persevering ardor, which dis-

tinguishes his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extensive provinces subject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any disquisition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accustomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural sagacity supplied the want both of science and experience. He distributed the country into various districts; he appointed proper magistrates to preside in each; and established regulations concerning the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely simple, but well calculated to promote the public prosperity. But though, for the present, he adapted his plan to the infant state of his colony, his aspiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much solicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government. Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was situated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the sea, and much further from Quito, a province of whose value he had formed a high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. But in marching through the country, Pizarro had been struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbor in the Pacific Ocean, he founded a city which he destined to be the capital of his government, [Jan. 18, 1535.] He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone at that season when the church celebrates the festival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honor of Juana and Charles, the joint sovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the Spaniards in all legal and formal deeds; but it is better known to foreigners by that of Lima, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is situated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with such rapidity, that it soon assumed the form of a city, which, by a magnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues most admired by soldiers, boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had served long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigor of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished; and the survivors when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily constitution, as well as vigor of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more astonished at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire-arms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprise, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold; but were so far from thinking of making any settlement amidst such formidable neighbors, that in spite of all the experience and valor of their leader, the final issue of the expedition still remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution at Peru. The causes of this important event I shall endeavor to trace to their source.

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at

once, that, to men possessed with notions so extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of soldiers remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, for avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were to be intrusted with the execution of it. Among people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requisite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the secrecy and silence peculiar to Americans.

After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time in Cuzco [1536], he obtained permission from him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the great men of the empire were assembled. As soon as the Inca joined them, the standard of war was erected; and in a short time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards, living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which seemed to be tamely submissive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spanish writers) to two hundred thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavored to defend with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country, intercepted every messenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worst concerning the other, and imagined that they themselves were the only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Peru.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief efforts. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardor, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same unalloyed ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater sagacity, and a genius more susceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavored to imitate the former, and turned the latter against them. They armed a considerable body of their bravest warriors with the swords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. These they endeavored to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irresistible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on the horses which they had taken, and advanced briskly to the charge like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances in the rest. It was more by their numbers, however, than by those imperfect essays to imitate European arts and to employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards [136]. In spite of the valor, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital; and in their various efforts to drive him out of it, the Spaniards

lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some other persons of note. Worn out with the fatigue of incessant duty, distressed with want of provisions, and despairing of being able any longer to resist an enemy whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet survived, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name. While they were brooding over those desponding thoughts, which their officers labored in vain to dispel, Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

The accounts transmitted to Almagro concerning the general insurrection of the Peruvians, were such as would have induced him, without hesitation to relinquish the conquest of Chili, and hasten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this resolution he was confirmed by a motive less generous, but more interesting. By the same messenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he was equally solicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accomplish both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the sandy plains on the coast, he suffered from heat and drought, calamities of a new species hardly inferior to those in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the summits of the Andes.

1537.] His arrival at Cuzco was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal solicitude. The former, as he did not study to conceal his pretensions, were at a loss whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions against him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in contest between him and his countrymen, flattered themselves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himself, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his absence, and solicitous to learn the precise posture of affairs, advanced towards the capital slowly, and with great circumspection. Various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much address. At first he endeavored to gain the friendship of Almagro; and after many fruitless overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. But the Spanish discipline and valor maintained their wonted superiority. The Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head against the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took measures to obstruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, restrained both parties for some time from turning their arms against one another, while surrounded by common enemies who would rejoice in the mutual slaughter. Different schemes of accommodation were proposed. Each endeavored to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were disgusted with their harsh, domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the sentinels, or was admitted by them, and, investing the house where the two brothers resided, compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name.

Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of civil hostility; but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody. Francisco Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonso de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which at that period of the Spanish power in America must be deemed a considerable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with astonishment that they beheld their countrymen

posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promises, endeavored to seduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unshaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amused him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning, while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river by night [July 12], fell upon his camp by surprise, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers.

By the sudden route of this body, the contest between the two rivals must have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgoñez, an officer of great abilities, who having served under the Constable Bourbon, when he led the imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decisive measures, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he discerned at once the utility of the counsel, and though he had courage to have carried it into execution, suffered himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier of fortune grown old in service, and by scruples which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the blood of his opponents; and the dread of being deemed a rebel deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision: yet, with a timid delicacy, preposterous at such a juncture, he was so solicitous that his rival should be considered as the aggressor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach.

Pizarro was still unacquainted with all the interesting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity. But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the desire of revenge, preserved him from sinking into it. He took measures for both with his wonted sagacity. As he had the command of the seacoast, and expected considerable supplies both of men and military stores, it was no less his interest to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and to bring the contest to a speedy issue. He had recourse to arts which he had formerly practised with success; and Almagro was again weak enough to suffer himself to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences by some amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and shifting his ground as often as it suited his purpose, sometimes seeming to yield to every thing which his rival could desire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterously protracted the negotiation to such a length, that, though every day was precious to Almagro, several months elapsed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he consulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the soldiers to whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight. Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the governor scrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed that every point in controversy between Almagro and himself should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers whom Almagro purposed to send thither to represent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the design of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his sincerity, and concluded an agreement on these terms.

The moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his opera-





BATTLE BETWEEN PIZARRO AND ALMAGRO, NEAR CUSCO, APRIL 26, 1537.

tions by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every disguise which his concern for it had obliged him to assume. The treaty was forgotten; pacific and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field he openly declared, and not in the cabinet,—by arms and not by negotiation,—that it must now be determined who should be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations suited such a decisive resolution. Seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of these was given to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from the rivalry between their family and Almagro, but animated with the desire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent disgrace and sufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the south along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of hearkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defence of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reasons seem to have induced him to take this resolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

The Pizarros advanced without any obstruction, but what arose from the nature of the desert and horrid regions through which they marched. As soon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vast multitude of Indians assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field; so fell and implacable was the rancor which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacific counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity, and he was obliged to commit the leading his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendancy either over the spirit or affections of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage [April 26]. On the side of Almagro were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain. As the use of fire arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, hastily equipped for service, at their own expense, this small band of soldiers regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavored to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the route became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers of distinction were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants was few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavored to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance.

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World, there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendancy which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that, after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompense which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavored to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged the most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardor and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies.

Almagro himself remained for several months in custody, under all the anguish of suspense. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him; and though he had often braved death with undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The entreaties, says a Spanish historian, of a man so much beloved touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a stern eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him.

1533.] As, during the civil dissensions in Peru, all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause; and they related what had happened, with every circumstance, unfavorable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty, were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party hatred. Ferdinand Pizarro, who arrived soon after, and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavored to efface the impression which their accusation had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers, though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious that while the leaders, intrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the public good

must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the dissension of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution, the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effects extremely pernicious.

Nothing therefore remained, but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and inquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorized to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christoval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was intrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power than from any approbation of his measures; for, at the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years.

1540.] While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candor of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents, and favorites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valor and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompense due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces; and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which not only extended their knowledge of the country, but added considerably to the territories of Spain in the New World. Pedro de Valdivia reassumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. But of all the enterprises undertaken about this period, that of Gonzala Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in

Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen; with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men: but when they descended into the low country, their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. The immense plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marshes. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labor, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provisions, and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity, that they were soon far ahead of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent; and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon until it joined the ocean and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark; his crime is in some measure balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect. Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the coast, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean [137,] where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safely to the Spanish settlement in the island of Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so rich that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republic of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had

visited. Extravagant as these tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of *El Dorado*, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the world; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful, that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantic embellishment, deserves to be recorded not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the extensive countries that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon, where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had intrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions [1541]. At length he came up with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those which they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and swordbelts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards, perished in this wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were aboard the bark with Orellana, only four score got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him than those through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence. The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and, looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, [138] and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their activity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery. Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had re-

solution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or for contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. "Be in no pain," said he carelessly, "about my life: it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbor a thought against it." This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations with all the zeal which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of June, at mid-day, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house, in complete armor; and, drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out, "Long live the King, but let the tyrant die!" Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived; yet as he was just risen from table, and most of the domestics had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the stair-case before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the stair-case, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going! Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few drawing their swords followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry; and, supported by his half brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigor of a youthful combatant. "Courage" cried he, "companions! we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity." But the armor of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and, waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and, assembling the magistrates and principal citizens, compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, was pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro (and from the rapaciousness of his government in the latter years of his life the number of malecontents was considerable), declared without hesitation in favor of Almagro, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was so highly indebted, filled every impartial person with hor-

ror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretensions, led others to consider him as a usurper. The officers who commanded in some provinces refused to recognize his authority until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations were begun in order to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Those seeds of discord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigor and activity when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long and disastrous voyage, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbor in the province of Popayan; and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcázar, adelantado or lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but showed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address he soon assembled such a body of troops as not only set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity which became his character. By despatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honored with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to choose a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest as well as the most just.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of this spirit of disaffection to his cause; and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, [1542.] where the most considerable body of opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herada, the skilful guide of his youth and of his counsels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little sagacity, and executed with no address. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was descending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco, deceived his inexperienced adversary by a very simple stratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as a usurper.

Soon after Vaca de Castro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito; and erecting the royal standard before his own tent, he declared that, as governor, he would discharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though formed by the tenor of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacific profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the decision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision. They met at Chupaz, [Sept. 16.] about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancor of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair. Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaca de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro No. 10.

with a gallant spirit worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were conscious that they might be charged with being accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary severity to restrain the licentious spirit of soldiers so far removed from the seat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer the death of traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct.

During those violent convulsions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to re-establish tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect system of internal policy into all their settlements in the New World. It is manifest from all the events recorded in the history of America, that, rapid and extensive as the Spanish conquests there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occasional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the first armaments for discovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the busy reigns of Ferdinand and Charles V., the former the most intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the most ambitious, was encumbered with such a multiplicity of schemes, and involved in war with so many nations of Europe, that he had not leisure to attend to distant and less interesting objects. The care of prosecuting discovery, or of attempting conquest, was abandoned to individuals; and with such ardor did men push forward in this new career, on which novelty, the spirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in less than half a century almost the whole of that extensive empire which Spain now possesses in the New World, was subjected to its dominion. As the Spanish court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not entitled to claim much from their success. The sovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and silver, was reserved for the crown; every thing else was seized by the associates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded served to indemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themselves for the service, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which custom had introduced, as permanent establishments which their successful valor merited. In the infancy of those settlements, when their extent as well as their value was unknown, many irregularities escaped observation, and it was found necessary to connive at many excesses. The conquered people were frequently pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new masters in exorbitant shares, far exceeding the highest recompense due to their services. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their establishments upon any general or extensive plan of policy, attentive only to private interest, unwilling to forego present gain from the prospect of remote or public benefit, seem to have had no object but to amass sudden wealth, without regarding what might be the consequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length discovered to the Spanish court the importance of its American possessions, the necessity of new-modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requisite to substitute the institutions of regular government.

One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen settled in the islands, and employed themselves in searching for gold and silver with the same inconsiderate eagerness. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labor by masters, who in imposing tasks had no regard either

to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be susceptible of progressive improvement, would soon remain proprietor only of a vast uninhabited desert.

The emperor and his ministers were so sensible of this, and so solicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquisitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for securing to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treatment. But the distance of America from the seat of empire, the feebleness of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of soldiers unaccustomed to restraint, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any considerable influence. The evil continued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leisure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive consideration. He consulted not only with his ministers and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon several persons who had resided long in the New World to aid them with the result of their experience and observation. Fortunately for the people of America, among these was Bartholomew de las Casas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a mission from a Chapter of his order at Chiapa. Though since the miscarriage of his former schemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued shut up in his cloister, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was so far from abating, that, from an increased knowledge of their sufferings, its ardor had augmented. He seized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favorite maxims concerning the treatment of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay. With the decisive tone of one strongly prepossessed with the truth of his own system, he imputed all this to a single cause, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be freemen, and treating them as subjects, not as slaves. Nor did he confide for the success of this proposal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he composed his famous treatise concerning the destruction of America, in which he relates, with many horrid circumstances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated description, the devastation of every province which had been visited by the Spaniards.

The emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of so many actions shocking to humanity. But as his views extended far beyond those of Las Casas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the New World a valuable acquisition, and would be of little avail, unless he could circumscribe the power and usurpations of his own subjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were mostly persons of such mean birth, and of such an abject rank in society, as gave no distinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which some of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accustomed to see men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and rising to emulate or to surpass the ancient nobility in splendor. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of such enormous extent [139], that, if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the soil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

With this view he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies, concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the administration of justice; the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions: "That as the *repartimientos* or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are

empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent : That upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown : That the Indians shall henceforth be exempt from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labor in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries : That the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform : That all persons who are or have been in public offices, all ecclesiastics of every denomination, all hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown : That every person in Peru, who had any criminal concerns in the contest between Pizarro and Almagro should forfeit his lands and Indians."

All the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been intrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was so extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered ; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must depend upon the ministry and service of the Indians, whose native indolence and aversion to labor, no prospect of benefit or promise of reward could surmount ; that the moment the right of imposing a task, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their masters, every work of industry must cease, and all the sources from which wealth began to pour in upon Spain must be stopped for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and so much impressed at present with the view of the disorders which reigned in America, that he was willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws. That they might be carried into execution with greater vigor and authority, he authorized Francisco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as *Visitador*, or superintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nunez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of viceroy ; and in order to strengthen his administration, he established a court of royal audience in Lima [1543], in which four lawyers of eminence were to preside as judges.

The viceroy and superintendent sailed at the same time ; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not on some pretext be included under the other regulations, and suffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority under the steady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that, how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so thoroughly acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear ; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity entitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted such a relaxation of the rigor of the laws as re-established the colony in its former tranquillity.

In Peru the storm gathered with an aspect still more fierce and threatening, and was not so soon dispelled. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, further removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the sudden acquisition of wealth,

carried on all their operations with greater license and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the general subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of subordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would of themselves have appeared formidable restraints, to which they would have submitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation against the idea of complying with laws, by which they were to be stripped at once of all they had earned so hardly during many years of service and suffering. As the account of the new laws spread successively through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions. "Is this," cried they, "the recompense due to persons, who, without public aid, at their own expense, and by their own valor, have subjected to the crown of Castile territories of such immense extent and opulence ! Are these the rewards bestowed for having endured unparalleled distresses, for having encountered every species of danger in the service of their country ! Whose merit is so great, whose conduct has been so irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by some penal clause in regulations, conceived in terms as loose and comprehensive, as if it had been intended that all should be entangled in their snare ? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held some public office, and all, without distinction, have been constrained to take an active part in the contest between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property because they had done their duty ? Were the latter to be punished on account of what they could not avoid ! Shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers ? We are not able now," continued they, "to explore unknown regions in quest of more secure settlements ; our constitutions debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active service ; but still we possess vigor sufficient to assert our just rights, and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us."

By discourses of this sort, uttered with vehemence, and listened to with universal approbation, their passions were inflamed to such a pitch that they were prepared for the most violent measures ; and began to hold consultations in different places, how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the address of Vaca de Castro, who flattered them with hopes, that, as soon as the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavoring to procure some mitigation in the rigor of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the state of the country, or to the sentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to these, and even some concessions on the part of government, were now become requisite to compose the present ferment, and to soothe the colonists into submission, by inspiring them with confidence in their superiors. But without profound discernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, such a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy possessed none of these. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage ; the former harsh and uncompromising, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness or obstinacy, that, in his situation, they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed at Tumbez [March 4], Nunez Vela seems to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power : and regardless of whatever he observed or heard concerning the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigor. In all the towns through which he passed, the natives were declared to be free, every person in public office was deprived of his lands and servants, and as an example of obedience to others, he would not suffer a single Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and consternation went before him as he approached ; and

so little solicitous was he to prevent these from augmenting, that, on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign, not to dispense with his laws. This harsh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it still more intolerable, haughtiness in deportment, a tone of arrogance and decision in discourse, and an insolence of office grievous to men little accustomed to hold civil authority in high respect. Every attempt to procure a suspension or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy considered as flowing from a spirit of disaffection that tended to rebellion. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Castro was arrested ; and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit, in having prevented a general insurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common jail.

But however general the indignation was against such proceedings, it is probable the hand of authority would have been strong enough to suppress it, or to prevent it bursting out with open violence, if the malecontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their common protector, and offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no less daring. The behavior of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himself dwelt continually on his mind. Ferdinand a state prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent aboard his fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family—these thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and to assert the rights of his family, of which he now considered himself as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can easily surmount that veneration for his sovereign which seems to be interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms against the royal standard filled him with horror. He hesitated long, and was still unresolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming soon a victim himself to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervor of their zeal, they elected him procurator-general of the Spanish nation in Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonstrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorized him to march thither in arms [1544]. Under sanction of this nomination Pizarro took possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Gumanga, and set out for Lima as if he had been advancing against a public enemy. Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of such distinguished name, many persons of note resorted to his standard ; and a considerable part of the troops, raised by the viceroy to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body.

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almost certainty of success. The violence of the viceroy's administration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness between the viceroy and them began to appear. But as soon as they entered upon the exercise of their respective offices, both parties were so much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual disgust soon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every measure, set at liberty prisoners whom he had confined, justified the malecontents, and applauded their remonstrances. At a time when both departments of government should have united against the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for superiority. The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, universally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was seized in his palace [Sept. 18], and carried to a

desert island on the coast, to be kept there until he could be sent home to Spain.

The judges, in consequence of this, having assumed the supreme direction of affairs into their own hands, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition. It was made, probably, with no such attention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, seems to have held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service. The imprisonment of the viceroy, the usurpation of the judges, together with the universal confusion and anarchy consequent upon events so singular and unexpected, opened new and vast prospects to Pizarro. He now beheld the supreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to push on towards the object which fortune presented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his resolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Instead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spanish settlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and Captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commission to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppose him, such a request carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingness to relinquish power, or from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated, or seemed to hesitate, about complying with what he demanded. Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day with extraordinary pomp, to take possession of his new dignity.

Oct. 28.] But amidst the disorder and turbulence which accompanied this total dissolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, set loose from the ordinary restraints of law and authority, acted with such capricious irregularity, that events no less extraordinary than unexpected followed in rapid succession. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him. The viceroy having been put on board a vessel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez one of their own number; as soon as they were out at sea, Alvarez, either touched with remorse, or moved by fear, knelt down to his prisoner, declared him from that moment to be free, and that he himself, and every person in the ship, would obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot of the vessel to shape his course towards Tumbez, and as soon as he landed there, erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons of note, to whom the contagion of the seditious spirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, instantly avowed their resolution to support his authority. The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the jealousy natural to usurpers, and who punished every appearance of disaffection with unforgiving severity, soon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced some leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering such strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was considered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant-governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy.

1545.] Pizarro, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to assert the authority, to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy as the enemy who was nearest as well as most formidable. As he was *master of the public revenues* in Peru, and most of the

military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face them, retreated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march, through a wild, mountainous country, suffered hardships, and encountered difficulties, which no troops but those accustomed to serve in America could have endured or surmounted. [140] The viceroy had scarcely reached Quito, when the vanguard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourscore, was as hardy and active as any young soldier under his command. Nugnez Vela, instantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and, with a rapidity more resembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to pursue; but, finding it impossible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he despatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, who was growing formidable in the southern provinces of the empire, and he himself remained there to make head against the viceroy.

By his own activity, and the assistance of Benalcázar, Nugnez Vela soon assembled four hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidst all his disasters, the same elevation of mind, and the same high sense of his own dignity, he rejected with disdain the advice of some of his followers who urged him to make overtures of accommodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the sword that a contest with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito [1546.] Pizarro relying on the superior number, and still more on the discipline and valor of his troops, advanced resolutely to meet him [Jan. 18]. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the possession of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the issue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans pushed forward with such regular and well directed force, that they soon began to make impression on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the route of his followers became general. They were hotly pursued. His head was cut off, and placed on the public gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops assembled by Centeno were dispersed soon after by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for several months concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to those of Chili, submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South Sea, but had taken possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the only avenue of communication between Spain and Peru, that was used at that period.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito; and during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success. But amidst this dissipation, their chief and his confidants were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much solicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in council than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle course; that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he calculated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. "You have usurped," said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion, "the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to the viceroy. You have marched in hostile array against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity; or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favor of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any consequence inviolably to your interest, by liberal grants of land and Indians, or by instituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honor similar to

those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and distinctions resembling those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the officers in your service, suited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavor to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya or daughter of the Sun next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in support of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send at such a distance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he possessed in demonstrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raised to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aspiring valor and personal merit.

Pizarro listened attentively to both, and could not conceal the satisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they presented to his view. But, happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are capable of forming and executing such daring schemes, as cannot be accomplished without overturning the established order of society, and violating those maxims of duty which men are accustomed to hold sacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Instead of aspiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose he sent an officer of distinction thither, to give such a representation of his conduct, and of the state of the country, as might induce the emperor and his ministers, either from inclination or from necessity, to continue him in his present station.

While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part which he should take, consultations were held in Spain, with no less solicitude, concerning the measures which ought to be pursued in order to re-establish the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the last excesses of outrage to which the malecontents had proceeded in that country, the court had received an account of the insurrection against the viceroy, of his imprisonment, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution so alarming called for an immediate interposition of the emperor's abilities and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war against the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the most interesting and arduous enterprises in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the disorders in Peru devolved upon his son Philip, and the counsellors whom Charles had appointed to assist him in the government of Spain during his absence. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with exemplary rigor. But when the fervor of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obstacles to the execution of this measure presented themselves. The veteran bands of infantry, the strength and glory of the Spanish armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhausted of men and money by a long series of wars, in which she had been involved by the restless ambition of two successive monarchs, could not easily equip an armament of sufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To transport any respectable body of troops to a country so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible. While Pizarro continued master of the South Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, across regions of prodigious extent, desolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hostile tribes, would be attended with insurmountable danger and hardships. The passage to the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan was so tedious, so uncertain, and so little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a course of navigation so remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquish the system which the ardor of their loyalty had first suggested, and to attempt by lenient measures what could not be effected by force. It was manifest from Pizarro's solicitude to represent his conduct in a favorable

light to the emperor, that notwithstanding the excesses of which he had been guilty, he still retained sentiments of veneration for his sovereign. By a proper application to these, together with some such concessions as should discover a spirit of moderation and forbearance in government, there was still room to hope that he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might so far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his usurped authority.

The success, however, of this negotiation, no less delicate than it was important, depended entirely on the abilities and address of the person to whom it should be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various persons, the Spanish ministers fixed with unanimity of choice upon Pedro de la Gasca, a priest in no higher station than that of counsellor to the Inquisition. Though in no public office, he had been occasionally employed by government in affairs of trust and consequence, and had conducted them with no less skill than success; displaying a gentle and insinuating temper, accompanied with much firmness; probity, superior to any feeling of private interest; and a cautious circumspection in concerting measures, followed by such vigor in executing them as is rarely found in alliance with the other. These qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter containing expressions of good will and confidence, no less honorable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate, did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his sovereign. But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refused a bishopric which was offered to him in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of President of the Court of Audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no salary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expense of supporting his family should be defrayed by the public; and as he was to go like a minister of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domestics, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden.

But while he discovered such disinterested moderation with respect to whatever related personally to himself, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He insisted, as he was to be employed in a country so remote from the seat of government, where he could not have recourse to his sovereign for new instructions on every emergency; and as the whole success of his negotiations must depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be invested with unlimited authority; that his jurisdiction must reach to all persons and to all causes; that he must be empowered to pardon, to punish, or to reward, as circumstances and the behavior of different men might require; that in case of resistance from the malecontents, he might be authorized to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpose, and to call for assistance from the governors of all the Spanish settlements in America. These powers, though manifestly conducive to the great objects of his mission, appeared to the Spanish ministers to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a subject, and they refused to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As, from the nature of his employment, Gasca must be intrusted with discretionary power in several points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumscribed in any one particular, Charles scrupled not to invest him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly satisfied with this fresh proof of his master's confidence, Gasca hastened his departure, and, without either money or troops, set out to quell a formidable rebellion.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios [July 27], he found Hernan Mexia, an officer of note posted there, by order of Pizarro, with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca appeared in such pacific guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced to Panama, and

met with a similar reception from Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had intrusted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet stationed there. In both places he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by their sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance; that he came to redress all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon past offences, and to re-establish order and justice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candor, gained credit to his declarations. The veneration due to a person clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commission, began to revive among men accustomed for some time to nothing more respectable than a usurped jurisdiction. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, to each of whom Gasca applied separately, were gained over to his interest, and waited only for some decent occasion of declaring openly in his favor.

This the violence of Pizarro soon afforded them. As soon as he heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the same time, an account of the nature of his commission, and was informed of his offers not only to render every Spaniard in Peru easy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion, but secure with respect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he instantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercising any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly preposterous. He sent a new deputation to Spain to justify this conduct, and to insist, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during life, as the only means of preserving tranquillity there. The persons intrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a present of fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off, either by assassination or poison.

Many circumstances concurred in pushing on Pizarro to those wild measures. Having been once accustomed to supreme command, he could not bear the thoughts descending to a private station. Conscious of his own merit, he suspected that the emperor studied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidants, no less guilty, entertained the same apprehensions. The approach of Gasca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above six thousand Spaniards settled in Peru; and at the head of these he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain should refuse to grant what he required. But he knew not that a spirit of defection had already begun to spread among those whom he trusted most. Hinojosa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to be his instrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly recognised the title of the president to the supreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

1547.] Irritated almost to madness by events so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; and in order to give some color of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account. Wild and even ridiculous as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand

men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Gasca, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagená, and other settlements on the continent; and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru [April]. Their appearance excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service by setting ashore in different places persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the pacific intentions, as well as mild temper, of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust. Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, assembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valor, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops.

Pizarro, though astonished at beholding one enemy approaching by sea, and another by land, at a time when he trusted to a union of all Peru in his favor, was of a spirit more undaunted, or more accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, than to be disconcerted or appalled. As the danger from Centeno's operations was the most urgent, he instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for all his soldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminished, by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake of Titicaca, he could not muster more than four hundred soldiers. But these he justly considered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious, like himself, of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness, and without any hope but in the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack Centeno's troops, [Oct. 20.] though double to his own in number. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru. At length the intrepid valor of Pizarro, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense, [141] and the treatment of the vanquished cruel. By this signal success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established; and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increased daily in number.

But events happened in other parts of Peru, which more than counterbalanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard, and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town. About the same time, Gasca landed at Tumbes with five hundred men. Encouraged by his presence, every settlement in the low country declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now perfectly reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro; all the rest of the empire, from Quito, southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the president. As his numbers augmented fast, Gasca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behavior still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed on every occasion, his ardent wish of terminating the contest without bloodshed. More solicitous to reclaim than to punish, he upbraided no man for past offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a sense of their duty. Though desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco. There he remained for some months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them

to the discipline of a camp, before he led them against a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the success which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several of his officers, and even Carvajal himself, [142] gave it as their advice, to close with the president's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws. Gasca, having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in the blood of his countrymen, began to move towards Cuzco [Dec. 29] at the head of sixteen hundred men.

Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without opposition, [1548] and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation as rendered escape impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye and profound knowledge in the art of war conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward slowly to the charge, [April 9.] the appearance of each was singular. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer, and almost all the private men, were clothed in stuffs of silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number of ecclesiastics, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

When both armies were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, Carvajal, and some leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers, who still faithfully adhered to him, "What remains for us to do!"—"Let us rush," replied one of them, "upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans." Dejected with such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers. Carvajal, endeavoring to escape, was overtaken and seized.

Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied, "One can die but once." During the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate; but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement.

In the minute details which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which indicate such an uncommon state of manners as to merit particular attention.

Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order in society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of des-

perate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one man acted as a hired soldier, that follows his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valor. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortunes, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their sword, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped, by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth.

But though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at immense expense. Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardor of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raise a thousand men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. Gasca expended in levying the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesos. The distribution of property, bestowed as the reward of services, was still more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompense of his perfidy and address, in persuading the court of royal audience to give the sanction of its authority to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Hinojosa, who by his early defection from Pizarro, and surrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pesos of yearly value. While such rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But though less patient under the fatigue and hardships of service, they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valor.

Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures, expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hands of the executioner was not much inferior to what fell in the field; [143] and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honor, which ought to be held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the sense of shame were totally lost. During their dissensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray

the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroys Nuguez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to intrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans, in sight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only where men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and where immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy, and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

On the death of Pizarro, the malecontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly re-established. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find immediately such employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to bestow proper gratifications upon those to whose loyalty and valor he had been indebted for his success. The former of these was in some measure accomplished, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the river De la Plata. The reputation of these leaders, together with the hopes of acquiring wealth, and of rising to consequence in some unexplored country, alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconsiderable portion of that mutinous spirit which Gasca dreaded.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The *repartimientos*, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be distributed, in consequence of the death or forfeiture of the former possessors, exceeded two millions of pesos of yearly rent. Gasca, when now absolute master of this immense property, retained the same disinterested sentiments which he had originally professed, and refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own services, and estimated the recompense which he thought due to him, the pretensions of each were so extravagant that it was impossible to satisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention; and that he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merit of their several claims with accuracy, he retired, with the archbishop of Lima and a single secretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days in allotting to each a district of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamor and rage, which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he set out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

The indignation excited by publishing the decree of partition [Aug. 24] was not less than Gasca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, rage, and all the other passions which most vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honor and their interest are deeply affected, conspired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military insolence. Calumny, threats, and curses, were poured out openly upon the president. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice. Among soldiers prompt to action, such seditious discourse would have been soon followed by deeds no less violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards some discontented leaders, expecting them to stand forth in redress of their wrongs. By some vigorous interpositions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present.

BOOK VII.

1549.] Gasca, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed, rather than extinguished, labored with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malecontents, by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising *repartimientos*, when they fell vacant, to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the public security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavored to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by re-establishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labor. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain [Feb. 1, 1550]. As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thousand pesos of public money, which the economy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expenses of the war.

He was received in his native country with universal admiration of his abilities and of his virtue. Both were, indeed, highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or public funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him, he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave laws to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful sovereign. But the praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem; and being promoted to the bishopric of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honored by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

Notwithstanding all Gasca's wise regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country where the authority of government had been almost forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and misrule, where there were disappointed leaders ripe for revolt, and seditious soldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raise combustion. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient storms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this history. These commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration; and by carrying off the corrupted humors which had given rise to the disorders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy. During their fierce contests, several of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the struggle, gradually cleared the country of a number of turbulent spirits, by executing, proscribing, or banishing their opponents. Men less enterprising, less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established as firmly there as in other Spanish colonies.

View of the institutions and manners of the Mexicans and Peruvians—Civilized states in comparison of other Americans—Recent origin of the Mexicans—Facts which prove their progress in civilization—View of their policy in its various branches—of their arts—Facts which indicate a small progress in civilization—What opinion should be formed on comparing those contradictory facts—Genius of their religion—Peruvian monarchy more ancient—its policy founded on religion—Singular effects of this—Peculiar state of property among the Peruvians—Their public works and arts—roads—bridges—buildings—Their unwarlike spirit—View of other dominions of Spain in America—Chilba and Sonora—California—Yucatan and Honduras—Chili—Tucuman—Kingdom of Tierra Firme—New Kingdom of Granada.

As the conquest of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the most splendid and interesting period in the history of America, a view of their political institutions, and a description of their national manners, will exhibit the human species to the contemplation of intelligent observers in a very singular stage of its progress. [144]

When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states. Instead of small, independent, hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, the empire of laws in some measure established, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts essential to life brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as are ornamental beginning to appear.

But if the comparison be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conspicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with those nations which merit the name of civilized. The people of both the great empires in America, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the useful metals, and the progress which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconsiderable. The Mexicans had gone no further than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a species of small dogs, and rabbits. By this feeble essay of ingenuity, the means of subsistence were rendered somewhat more plentiful and secure than when men depend solely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to subdue the more robust animals, or of deriving any aid from their ministry in carrying on works of labor. The Peruvians seem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domestic except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears some resemblance to a deer, and some to a camel, and is of a size somewhat larger than a sheep. Under the protection of man, this species multiplied greatly. Its wool furnished the Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility. It was never used for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its service, if we may judge by incidents which occur in the early Spanish writers, was not very extensive among the Peruvians in their original state.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civilization, the discovery of the useful metals, and the acquisition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as steps of capital importance in their progress. In our continent, long after men had attained both, society continued in that state which is denominated barbarous. Even with all that command over nature which these confer, many ages elapse before industry becomes so regular as to render subsistence secure, before the arts which supply the wants and furnish the accommodations of life are brought to any considerable degree of perfection, and before any idea is conceived of various institutions requisite in a well ordered society. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestic animals, labored under disadvantages which must have greatly retarded their progress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their operations so feeble, that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

After this general observation concerning the most singular and distinguishing circumstances in the state of both the great empires in America, I shall endeavor

to give such a view of the constitution of the interior police of each as may enable us to ascertain their place in the political scale, to allot them their proper station between the rude tribes in the New World, and the polished states of the ancient, and to determine how far they had risen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Mexico was first subjected to the Spanish crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumstance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we must rely with respect to the condition and customs of the savage tribes in America, may be applied likewise to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leisure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural history with new observations. They undertook their expedition in quest of one object, and seemed hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or, if during some short interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceased, and the ardor of plunder was suspended, the institutions and manners of the people whom they invaded, drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate soldiers were conducted with so little sagacity and precision, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order established in the Mexican monarchy are superficial, confused, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occasionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form some idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obscurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the superstition of those who succeeded them. As the memory of past events was preserved among the Mexicans by figures painted on skins, on cotton cloths, on a kind of pasteboard, or on the bark of trees, the early missionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning, and struck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry, which ought to be destroyed in order to facilitate the conversion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict issued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, as many records of the ancient Mexican story as could be collected were committed to the flames. In consequence of this fanatical zeal of the monks who first visited New Spain (which their successors soon began to lament), whatever knowledge of remote events such rude monuments contained was almost entirely lost, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from some fragments of their historical paintings that escaped the barbarous researches of Zummaraga. From the experience of all nations it is manifest, that the memory of past transactions can neither be long preserved, nor be transmitted with any fidelity, by tradition. The Mexican paintings which are supposed to have served as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus, amidst the uncertainty of the former, and the obscurity of the latter, we must glean what intelligence can be collected from the scanty materials scattered in the Spanish writers.*

* In the first edition, I observed that in consequence of the destruction of the ancient Mexican paintings, occasioned by the zeal of Zummaraga, whatever knowledge they might have conveyed was entirely lost. Every candid reader must have perceived that the expression was inaccurate; as in a few lines afterwards I mention some ancient paintings to be still extant. M. Clavier, not satisfied with laying hold of this inaccuracy, which I corrected in the subsequent editions, labors to render it more glaring by the manner in which he quotes the remaining part of the sentence. He reprehends, with great asperity the account which I gave of the scanty materials for writing the ancient history of Mexico. Vol. I. Account of Writers, p. xxvi. Vol. II. 380. My words, however, are almost the same with those of Torquemada, who seems to have been better acquainted with the ancient monuments of the Mexicans than any Spanish author whose works I have seen. Lib. xiv. c. 6. M. Clavier himself gives a description of the destruction of ancient paintings in almost the same terms I have used; and mentions as an additional reason of their being so small a number of ancient paintings known to the Spaniards, that the natives have become so solicitous to preserve and conceal them, that it is "dilectum, if not impossible, to make them part with one of them." Vol. I. 407. II. 194. No point can be more ascertained than that few of the Mexican historical paintings have been preserved. Though several Spaniards have carried on inquiries into the antiquities of the Mexican empire, no engravings from Mexican paintings have been communicated to the public, except those by Purchas, Gemelli Carreri, and Lorenzana. It affords me some satisfaction, that in the course of my researches I have discovered two collections of Mexican paintings which were unknown to former inquirers. The cut which I published is an exact copy of the original, and gives no high idea of the progress which the Mexicans had made in the art of painting. I cannot conjecture what could induce M. Clavier to express some dissatisfaction with me for having published it without the same colors it has in the original painting, p. xlix. He might have recollected, that neither Purchas, nor Gemelli Carreri, nor Loren-

According to the account of the Mexicans themselves, their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally possessed, rather than peopled, by small independent tribes, whose mode of life and manners resembled those of the rudest savages which we have described. But about a period corresponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Christian era, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-west, and settled in different provinces of *Anahuac*, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of social life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to the great lake near the centre of the country. After residing there about fifty years, they founded a town, since distinguished by the name of *Mexico*, which, from humble beginnings, soon grew to be the most considerable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace, and conducted in war, by such as were entitled to pre-eminence by their wisdom or their valor. But among them, as in other states whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centered at last in a single person; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch in order who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Such is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progress of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very short. From the first migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the establishment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years according to one account, or a hundred and ninety-seven according to another computation, had elapsed. If, on one hand, we suppose the Mexican state to have been of higher antiquity, and to have subsisted during such a length of time as the Spanish accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who possessed the art of recording events by pictures, and who considered it as an essential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the historical songs which celebrated the exploits of their ancestors, the knowledge of past transactions should be so slender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own system with respect to the antiquities of their nation, it is no less difficult to account either for that improved state of society, or for the extensive dominion to which their empire had attained when first visited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every circumstance is favorable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a strong presumption of some exaggeration in the splendid descriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that history decides with regard to the state or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting those which must regulate our opinion in the present inquiry, some occur that suggest an idea of considerable progress in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which seem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the savage tribes around it. Both shall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which side the evidence preponderates.

In the Mexican empire, the right of private property was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. Among several savage tribes, we have seen,

zana, thought it necessary to color the prints which they have published, and they have never been censured on that account. He may rest assured, that though the colors in the paintings in the Imperial Library are remarkably bright, they are laid on without art, and without "any of that regard to light and shade, or the rules of perspective," which M. Clavigero requires. Vol. II. 378. If the public express any desire to have the seven paintings still in my possession engraved, I am ready to communicate them. The print published by Gemelli Careri, of the route of the ancient Mexicans when they travelled towards the lake on which they built the capital of their empire, (Churchill, Vol. IV. p. 451.) is the most finished monument of art brought from the New World, and yet a very slight inspection of it will satisfy every one, that the annals of a nation conveyed in this manner must be very meagre and imperfect.

that the idea of a title to the separate and exclusive possession of any object was hardly known; and that among all it was extremely limited and ill defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between property in land and property in goods had taken place. Both might be transferred from one person to another by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land. This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labor of the whole; its produce was deposited in a common storehouse, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the *Calpulle*, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families. In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the public security.

Another striking circumstance, which distinguishes the Mexican empire from those nations in America we have already described, is the number and greatness of its cities. While society continues in a rude state, the wants of men are so few, and they stand so little in need of mutual assistance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their industry at the same time is so imperfect, that it cannot secure subsistence for any considerable number of families settled in one spot. They live dispersed, at this period, from choice, as well as from necessity, or at the utmost assemble in small hamlets on the banks of the river which supplies them with food, or on the border of some plain left open by nature, or cleared by their own labor. The Spaniards, accustomed to this mode of habitation among all the savage tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, were astonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives residing in towns of such extent as resembled those of Europe. In the first fervor of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the second or third size, to the cities of greatest note in their own country. When, afterwards, they visited in succession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itself, their amazement increased so much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populousness bordering on what is incredible. Even when there is leisure for observation, and no interest that leads to deceive, conjectural estimates of the number of people in cities are extremely loose, and usually much exaggerated. It is not surprising, then, that Cortes and his companions, little accustomed to such computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and have raised their descriptions considerably above truth. For this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their calculations of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they have done; but still they will appear to be cities of such consequence as are not to be found but among people who have made some considerable progress in the arts of social life. [145] From their accounts, we can hardly suppose Mexico, the capital of the empire, to have contained fewer than sixty thousand inhabitants.

The separation of professions among the Mexicans is a symptom of improvement no less remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of society, are so few and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. The savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skillful than his own. Time must have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art became so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education was requisite towards forming the artificer to expertness in contrivance and workmanship. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch

out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Among the Mexicans, this separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a considerable extent. The functions of the mason, the weaver, the goldsmith, the painter, and of several other crafts, were carried on by different persons. Each was regularly instructed in his calling. To it alone his industry was confined, and by assiduous application to one object, together with the persevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artisans attained to a degree of neatness and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the stated markets held in the cities, not only were their mutual wants supplied, in such orderly intercourse as characterizes an improved state of society, but their industry was daily rendered persevering and inventive.

The distinction of ranks established in the Mexican empire, is the next circumstance that merits attention. In surveying the savage tribes of America, we observed, that consciousness of equality, and impatience of subordination, are sentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a superior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition resulting from the inequality of it is unknown. Birth or titles confer no pre-eminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that distinction can be acquired. The form of society was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayaques*, nearly resembled in condition those peasants who, under various denominations, were considered during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labor attached to the soil. The *Mayaques* could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform several kinds of servile work. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigor of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed of so little value, that a person who killed one of these slaves was not subjected to any punishment. Even those considered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honor belonged. Some of these titles, like their lands, descended from father to son in perpetual succession. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of personal distinction. The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extensive power and supreme dignity. Thus the distinction of ranks was completely established, in a line of regular subordination, reaching from the highest to the lowest member of the community. Each of these knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign, they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience of their sovereign, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and, as his slaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This respect, due from inferiors to those above them in rank, was prescribed with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtesy. The style and appellations used in the intercourse between equals would have been so unbecoming in the mouth of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an insult. [146] It is only in societies, which time and the institution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find such an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and such nice attention paid to their various rights.

The spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to subordination, was prepared for submitting to monarchical government. But the description of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are so inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their constitution with any precision. Sometimes they represent the monarchs of Mexico as absolute, deciding according to

their pleasure with respect to every operation of the state. On other occasions, we discover the traces of established customs and laws, framed in order to circumscribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which seemed to be opposed as barriers against its encroachments. This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves. The chiefs, or nobles of the first rank, submitted to the yoke with such reluctance that, from impatience to shake it off, and hope of recovering their rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power against their domestic oppressor. It is not then under the dominion of Montezuma, but under the government of his predecessors, that we can discover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it seems to have subsisted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be distinguished by the name of nobility, formed the chief and most respectable order in the state. They were of various ranks, as has been already observed, and their honors were acquired and transmitted in different manners. Their number seems to have been great. According to an author accustomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of this order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thousand people; and subordinate to these, there were about three thousand nobles of a lower class. The territories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were hardly inferior in extent to those of the Mexican monarch. Each of these possessed complete territorial jurisdiction, and levied taxes from their own vassals. But all followed the standard of Mexico in war, serving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and most of them paid tribute to its monarch as their superior lord.

In tracing those great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy, in its most rigid form, rises to view, and we discern its three distinguishing characteristics, a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into the lowest state of subjection, and a king intrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World in the same manner as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to excess of their own rights, they guarded with the most vigilant anxiety against the encroachments of their sovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the king should not determine concerning any point of general importance without the approbation of a council composed of the prime nobility. Unless he obtained their consent, he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he dispose of the most considerable branch of the public revenue at pleasure; it was appropriated to certain purposes from which it could not be diverted by the royal authority alone. In order to secure full effect to those constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election. The right of election seems to have been originally vested in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to six electors, of whom the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From respect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon some person sprung from it. But as the activity and valor of their prince were of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a strict adherence to the order of birth, collateral of mature age or of distinguished merit were often preferred to those who were nearer the throne in direct descent. To this maxim in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for such a succession of able and warlike princes, as raised their empire in a short period to that extraordinary height of power which it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

While the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarch continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exercised with little ostentation. But as their authority became more extensive, the splendor of their government augmented. It was in this last state that the Spaniards beheld it; and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attend-

ants, the order, the silence, and the reverence with which they served him; the extent of his royal mansion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the ostentation with which his grandeur was displayed, whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him, seem to resemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power; they manifested it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal administration and police of their dominions. Complete jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vassals, was vested in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department; and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire with a degree of order and equity resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized.

Their attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the public markets. These duties were considerable, but not arbitrary or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind; and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the public storehouses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during war, with food, with clothes, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their stated labor the crown lands were cultivated, public works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair. [147]

The improved state of government among the Mexicans is conspicuous, not only in points essential to the being of a well ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with respect to police. The institution which I have already mentioned, of public couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water, with no less ingenuity than labor, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts or conduits, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the causeways. [148] The appointment of a number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrol as watchmen during the night, discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

The progress of the Mexicans in various arts is considered as the most decisive proof of their superior refinement. Cortes and the early Spanish authors describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not surpass or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship. They represented men, animals, and other objects, by such a disposition of various colored feathers, as is said to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and silver have been described to be of a fabric no less curious. But in forming any idea from general descriptions, concerning the state of arts among nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the same with our own, we view them with a critical and often with a jealous eye. Whereas when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and, in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from those descriptions, but from considering such specimens of their arts as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning that degree of merit. As the ship in which Cortes sent to Charles V. the most curious productions of the Mexican artisans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they first pillaged the empire, was taken by a french corsair, the remains of their ingenuity are less numerous than those of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be still extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and silver, as well as various utensils employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boasted efforts of their art are unworthy representations of common objects, or very coarse images of the human and some other forms, destitute of grace and propriety. [149] The justness of these observations is confirmed by inspecting the wooden prints and copper plates of their paintings, which have been published by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every representation of animated nature, is extremely rude and awkward. The hardest Egyptian style, stiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The scrawls of children delineate objects almost as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them when considered as the records of their country, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they become curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection slowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame, wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their sovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to posterity; the first method of accomplishing this, which seems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the best manner they could, figures representing the action, of which they were solicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called *picture writing*, we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some uncouth figures which represent

* As a specimen of the spirit and style in which M. Clavigero makes his structures upon my History of America, I shall publish his remarks upon this passage. "Thus far Robertson; to whom we answer, first, That there is no reason to believe that those rude works were really Mexican; secondly, That neither do we know whether those persons in whose judgment he confides, may be persons fit to merit our faith, because we have observed that Robertson trusts frequently to the testimony of Gage, Correal, Baguez, and other such authors, who are entirely undeserving of credit. Thirdly, It is more probable that the arms of copper, believed by those intelligent judges to be certainly Oriental, are really Mexican." Vol. II. 301.—When an author, not entirely destitute of integrity or discernment, and who has some solicitude about his own character, asserts that he received his information concerning any particular point from persons "on whose judgment and taste he can rely;" a very slender degree of candor, one should think, might induce the reader to believe that he does not endeavor to impose upon the public by an appeal to testimony altogether unworthy of credit. My information concerning the Mexican works of art, deposited in the king of Spain's cabinet, was received from the late Lord Grantham, ambassador extraordinary from the court of London to that of Madrid, and from Mr. Archdeacon Wadsworth, chaplain to the embassy; and it was upon their authority that I pronounced the coat of armor, mentioned in the note, to be of Oriental fabric. As they were both at Madrid in their public character, when the first edition of the History of America was published, I thought it improper at that time to mention their names. Did their decision concerning a matter of taste, or their testimony concerning a point of fact, stand in need of confirmation, I might produce the evidence of an intelligent traveller, who, in describing the royal cabinet of Madrid, takes notice that it contains "specimens of Mexican and Peruvian utensils, vases, &c. in earthenware, wrought both in taste and execution." Dilton's Travels through Spain, p. 77. As Gage composed his Survey of New Spain with all the zeal and animosity of a new convert, I have paid little regard to his testimony with respect to points relating to religion. But as he resided in several provinces in New Spain, which travellers seldom visit, and as he seems to have observed their manners and laws with an intelligent eye, I have availed myself of his information with respect to matters where religious opinion could have little influence. Correal I have seldom quoted, and never rested upon his evidence alone. The station in which Baguez was employed in America, as well as the credit given to his veracity, by printing his *Reyno Jesuitico* among the large collection of documents published (as I believe by authority) at Madrid, A.D. 1767, justifies me for appealing to his authority.

the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the scalps and captives which he brought home. To those simple annals he trusts for renown, and soothes himself with hope that by their means he shall receive praise from the warriors of future times.

Compared with those awkward essays of their savage countrymen, the paintings of the Mexicans may be considered as works of composition and design. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording transactions than that of delineating the objects which they wished to represent. But they could exhibit a more complex series of events in progressive order, and describe, by a proper disposition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his accession to his death; the progress of an infant's education from its birth until it attain to the years of maturity; the different recompenses and marks of distinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some singular specimens of this picture writing have been preserved, which are justly considered as the most curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The most valuable of these was published by Purchas in sixty-six plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The second is a tribute roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions, domestic, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To both is annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent, which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The style of painting in all these is the same. They represent things, not words. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may therefore be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was from its nature a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any society, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form; and as long as picture writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have roused and sharpened invention; and the human mind, holding the same course in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the same successive steps, first, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphic; next to the allegorical symbol; then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was discovered, capable of expressing all the various combinations of sound employed in speech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we accordingly perceive that this progress was begun among them. Upon an attentive inspection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may observe some approach to the plain or simple hieroglyphic, where some principal part or circumstance in the subject is made to stand for the whole. In the annals of their kings, published by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly represented in the same manner by a rude delineation of a house; but in order to point out the particular towns which submitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, sometimes natural objects, and sometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll published by the Archbishop of Toledo, the house which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. The Mexicans seem even to have made some advances beyond this, towards the use of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphic. In order to describe a monarch who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he subdued. But it is only in one instance, the notation of numbers, that we discern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or *signs of convention*, for this purpose. By means of these, they computed the years of their kings' reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treasury. The figure of a circle represented unit; and in small numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by a peculiar mark; and they had such as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thousand. The short duration of their empire

prevented the Mexicans from advancing further in that long course which conducts men from the labor of delineating real objects, to the simplicity and ease of alphabetic writing. Their records, notwithstanding some dawn of such ideas as might have led to a more perfect style, can be considered as little more than a species of picture-writing, so far improved as to mark their superiority over the savage tribes of America; but still so defective as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the first stage in that progress which must be completed before any people can be ranked among polished nations. [150]

Their mode of computing time may be considered as a more decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, consisting of twenty days; amounting in all to three hundred and sixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days, they termed *supernumerary* or *vras*; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime.* This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof, that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts.

Such are the most striking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people considerably refined. But from other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that their character, and many of their institutions, did not differ greatly from those of the other inhabitants of America.

Like the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were incessantly engaged in war, and the motives which prompted them to hostility seem to have been the same. They fought in order to gratify their vengeance by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners; and it was by the number of these that they estimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ransomed or spared. All were sacrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the same barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions it arose to even wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the streets, boasting of their own valor, and exulting over their enemies. Even in their civil institutions we discover traces of that barbarous disposition which their system of war inspired. The four chief counsellors of the empire were distinguished by titles, which could have been assumed only by a people who delighted in blood. [151] This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlascalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other states at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their prisoners with the same cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in social union, and live under the influence of equal laws and regular policy, their manners soften, sentiments of humanity arise, and the rights of the species come to be understood. The fierceness of war abates, and even while engaged in hostility, men remember what they owe one to another. The savage fights to destroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor spares, the latter has acquired sensibility which tempers his rage. To this sensibility the Mexicans seem to have been perfect strangers; and among them war was carried on with so much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but suspect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites were not less bloody than those of the most savage tribes. On the death of any distinguished personage, especially of the emperor, a certain number of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world; and those unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb.

Though their agriculture was more extensive than that of the roving tribes who trusted chiefly to their bow for food, it seems not to have supplied them with such subsistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry. The Spaniards appear not to have been struck with any superiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigor. Both, according to their observation, were of such a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the

* The Mexican mode of computing time, and every other particular relating to their chronology, have been considerably elucidated by M. Clavigero, vol. i. 288, vol. ii. 295, &c. The observations and theories of the Mexicans concerning those subjects discover a greater progress in speculative science than we find among any people in the New World.

strength of one Spaniard exceeded that of several Indians. This they imputed to their scanty diet, on poor fare, sufficient to preserve life, but not to give firmness to their constitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with respect to any people furnished plentifully with the necessaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring subsistence for his small body of soldiers, who were often constrained to live on the spontaneous productions of the earth, seems to confirm the remark of the Spanish writers, and gives no high idea of the state of cultivation in the Mexican empire.

A practice that was universal in New Spain appears to favor this opinion. The Mexican women gave suck to their children for several years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their husbands. This precaution against a burdensome increase of progeny, though necessary, as I have already observed, among savages, who from the hardships of their condition, and the precariousness of their subsistence, find it impossible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be supposed to have continued among a people who lived at ease and in abundance.

The vast extent of the Mexican empire, which has been considered, and with justice, as the most decisive proof of a considerable progress in regular government and police, is one of those facts in the history of the New World which seems to have been admitted without due examination or sufficient evidence. The Spanish historians, in order to magnify the valor of their countrymen, are accustomed to represent the dominion of Montezuma as stretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the Northern to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was possessed by the *Otomies*, a fierce uncivilized people, who seem to have been the residue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and west of Mexico, were occupied by the *Chichimecas*, and other tribes of hunters. None of these recognised the Mexican monarch as their superior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were several cities and provinces which had never submitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlascala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hostile republic. Cholula, though still nearer, had been subjected only a short time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the distance of thirty leagues from Mexico, seems to have been a separate state, governed by its own laws. Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican name. By these hostile powers the Mexican empire was circumscribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the description of the Spanish historians, should be considerably moderated.

In consequence of this independence of several states in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any considerable intercourse between its various provinces. Even in the interior country not far distant from the capital, there seems to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one district with another; and when the Spaniards first attempted to penetrate into its several provinces, they had to open their way through forests and marshes. Cortes, in his adventurous march from Mexico to Honduras, in 1525, met with obstructions, and endured hardships little inferior to those with which he must have struggled in the most uncivilized regions of America. In some places he could hardly force a passage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others he found so little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Such facts correspond ill with the pompous description which the Spanish writers give of Mexican police and industry, and convey an idea of a country nearly similar to that possessed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a trading or a war path, as they are called in North America, led from one settlement to another; but generally there appeared no sign of any established communication, few marks of industry, and fewer monuments of art.

A proof of this imperfection in their commercial intercourse no less striking is their want of money, or some universal standard by which to estimate the value of commodities. The discovery of this is among the steps of greatest consequence in the progress of nations. Until it has been made, all their transactions must be so awkward, so operose, and so limited, that we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of such a commercial standard is of such high antiquity in our hemis-

phers, and rises so far beyond the era of æthentic history, as to appear almost coeval with the existence of society. The precious metals seem to have been early employed for this purpose; and from their permanent value, their divisibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to serve as a common standard than any other substance of which nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where these metals abound most, the use of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial intercourse was carried on by barter; and their ignorance of any common standard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes so much towards the comfort of life, may be justly mentioned as an evidence of the infant state of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting some general instrument of commerce began to be felt and some efforts were making towards supplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatness of their cities gave rise to a more extended commerce than in any other part of America, had begun to employ a common standard of value which rendered smaller transactions much more easy. As chocolate was the favorite drink of persons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is composed, were of such universal consumption, that, in their stated markets, these were willingly received in return for commodities of small price. Thus they came to be considered as the instrument of commerce and the value of what one wished to dispose of was estimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This seems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for supplying that want should be admitted, on the other, as an evidence no less satisfying of some progress which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization beyond the savage tribes around them.

In such a rude state were many of the Mexican provinces when first visited by their conquerors. Even their cities, extensive and populous as they were, seem more fit to be the habitation of men just emerging from barbarity, than the residence of a polished people. The description of Tlascala nearly resembles that of an Indian village. A number of low straggling huts, scattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and stone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, so low that it could not be entered upright. In Mexico, though from the peculiarity of its situation, the disposition of the houses was more orderly, the structure of the greater part was equally mean. Nor does the fabric of their temples, and other public edifices, appear to have been such as entitled them to the high praise bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. As far as one can gather from their obscure and inaccurate descriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a flight of a hundred and fourteen steps, was a solid mass of earth of a square form, faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extended ninety feet; and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity, and two altars on which the victims were sacrificed. All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly resembled that of Mexico. [152] Such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and simple could have occurred to a nation in its first efforts towards erecting any great work.

Greater skill and ingenuity were displayed, if we may believe the Spanish historians, in the houses of the emperor, and in those of the principal nobility. There some elegance of design was visible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings corresponding to such descriptions had ever existed in the Mexican cities, it is probable that some remains of them would still be visible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the siege of Mexico, we can indeed easily account for the total destruction of whatever had any appearance of splendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapsed since the conquest of New Spain, it seems altogether incredible that in a period so short, every vestige of this boasted elegance and grandeur should have disappeared; and that in the other cities, particularly in those which did not suffer by the destructive hand of the conquer-

ors, there are not any ruins which can be considered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

Even in a village of the rudest Indians, there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling houses. Such as are destined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all assemble on occasions of public festivity, may be called stately edifices, when compared with the rest. As among the Mexicans the distinction of ranks was established, and property was unequally divided, the number of distinguished structures in their towns would of course be greater than in other parts of America. But these seem not to have been either so solid or magnificent as to merit the pompous epithets which some Spanish authors employ in describing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger scale, they were erected with the same slight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings. [153] And Time, in a space much less than two hundred and fifty years, may have swept away all remains of them [154].

From this enumeration of facts, it seems, upon the whole, to be evident, that the state of society in Mexico was considerably advanced beyond that of the savage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no less manifest that, with respect to many particulars, the Spanish accounts of their progress appear to be highly embellished. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile source of deception in describing the manners and arts of savage nations, or of such as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phrases appropriated to the institutions and refinements of polished life. When the leader of a small tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the name of King or Emperor, the place of his residence can receive no other name than that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they must be called his court. Under such appellations they acquire, in our estimation, an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illusion spreads; and giving a false color to every part of the narrative, the imagination is so much carried away with the resemblance, that it becomes difficult to discern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they first touched on the Mexican coast, were so much struck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far superior to those of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquainted, that they fancied they had at length discovered a civilized people in the New World. This comparison between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbors, they appear to have kept constantly in view; and observing with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employ, in describing their imperfect policy and infant arts, such terms as are applicable to the institutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both these circumstances concur in detracting from the credit due to the descriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spanish writers. By drawing a parallel between them and those of people so much less civilized, they raised their own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians, and improved upon it. The colors with which De Solis delineates the character and describes the actions of Montezuma, the splendor of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the same that he must have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and institutions of a highly polished people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spanish writers has added some embellishment to their descriptions, this will not justify the decisive and peremptory tone with which several authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy, and laws, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few historical facts that can be ascertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in support of the material articles in the description of the Mexican constitution and manners. Eye-witnesses relate what they beheld. Men who had resided among the Mexicans, both before and after the conquest, describe institutions and customs which were familiar to them. Persons of professions so different that objects must have presented themselves to their view under every various aspect; soldiers, priests, and lawyers, all concur in their testimony. Had Cortes ventured to impose upon his sovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in exposing it.

But according to the just remark of an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned, the history of America, this supposition is in itself as improbable as the attempt would have been a dacious. Who, among the destroyers of this great empire, was so enlightened by science, or so attentive to the progress and operations of men in social life, as to frame a fictitious system of policy so well combined and so consistent, as that which they delineate in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many institutions in legislation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a regular establishment of posts for conveying intelligence to the sovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The same observation will apply to what the Spaniards relate with respect to the structure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws established for the administration of justice, or securing the happiness of the community. Whoever is accustomed to contemplate the progress of nations will often, at very early stages of it, discover a premature and unexpected dawn of those ideas which gave rise to institutions that are the pride and ornament of its most advanced period. Even in a state as imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of some sagacious observer, excited or aided by circumstances unknown to us, may have introduced institutions which are seldom found but in societies highly refined. But it is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World should have formed in any one instance a conception of customs and laws beyond the standard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes had been capable of this, what inducement had those by whom he was superseded to continue the deception? Why should Cortes, or Motolinea, or Acosta, have amused their sovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

In one particular, however, the guides whom we must follow have represented the Mexicans to be more barbarous, perhaps, than they really were. Their religious tenets and the rites of their worship are described by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no considerable place in the thoughts of a savage, whose conceptions of any superior power are obscure, and his sacred rites few as well as simple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular system, with its complete train of priests, temples, victims, and festivals. This, of itself, is a clear proof that the state of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no conclusion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners to refine, adhere to systems of superstition founded on the crude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may, however, form a most just conclusion with respect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under detestable forms, which created horror. The figures of serpents, of tigers, and of other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inspired their votaries. Fasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appease the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed the most acceptable. Thus religious belief mingling with the implacable spirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and sacrificed with rites no less solemn than cruel. [155] The heart and head were the portion consecrated to the gods; the warrior, by whose prowess the prisoner had been seized, carried off the body to feast upon it with his friends. Under the impression of ideas so dreary and terrible, and accustomed daily to scenes of bloodshed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man must harden and be steel'd to every sentiment of humanity. The spirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling; and the genius of their religion so far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that notwithstanding their progress in both, their manners, instead of softening, became more fierce. To what circumstances it was owing that superstition assumed

such a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not sufficient knowledge of their history to determine. But its influence is visible, and produced an effect that is singular in the history of the human species. The manners of the people in the New World, who had made the greatest progress in the arts of policy, were, in several respects, the most ferocious, and the barbarity of some of their customs exceeded even those of the savage state.

The empire of Peru boasts of a higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve successive monarchs. But the knowledge of their ancient story, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain. [156] Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the use of letters is known, the era where the authenticity of history commences is much posterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continued every where to be long subservient to the common business and wants of life, before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down historical knowledge, in any full continued stream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is said to have subsisted.

The *Quipos*, or knots on cords of different colors, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta, which Garcilasso de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colors different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for public use. But as these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. By the Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, more knowledge of remote transactions seems to have been conveyed than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had the latter been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with other monuments of Peruvian ingenuity, in the wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilasso de la Vega, for the honor of that race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his researches, and the superior advantages with which he earned them on, opened no source of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In his *Royal Commentaries*, he confines himself to illustrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and institutions of Peru; and his illustrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

Very little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story as authentic, but a few facts so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to these, and endeavoring to separate them from what appears to be fabulous or of doubtful authority, I have labored to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

The people of Peru, as I have already observed, had not advanced beyond the rudest form of savage life, when Manco Capac, and his consort Mama Ocello, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraordinary personages were, whether they imported their system of legislation and knowledge of arts from some country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas so far superior to those of the people whom they addressed, are circumstances with respect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no

information. Manco Capac and his consort, taking advantage of the propensity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their instructions in his name, and by authority from him. The multitude listened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians ascribe to those founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his consort, their ancestors gradually acquired some knowledge of those arts, and some relish for that industry, which render subsistence secure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Those blessings were originally confined within narrow precincts; but in process of time, the successors of Manco Capac extended their dominion over all the regions that stretch to the west of the Andes from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions.

The most singular and striking circumstance in the Peruvian government is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make such a feeble impression on the mind of a savage, that their effect upon his sentiments and manners is hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a considerable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was to be held sacred; and in order to preserve it distinct, without being polluted by any mixture of less noble blood, the sons of Manco Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such a pure descent. To those *Children of the Sun*, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated.

From those ideas two consequences resulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to control a monarch who is believed to be under the guidance of Heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greatest power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders, as an emblem of their servitude, and willingness to bear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their subjects, force was not requisite to second their commands. Every officer intrusted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian manners, he might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal *borla*, an ornament of the head peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his disposal.

Another consequence of establishing government in Peru on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were punished capitally. They were not considered as transgressions of human laws, but as insults offered to the Deity. Each, without any distinction between such as were slight and such as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Consistently to the same ideas, punishment followed the trespass with inevitable certainty, because an offence against Heaven was deemed such a high enormity as could not be pardoned. Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unsuspicious faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders was extremely small. Veneration for monarchs en-

lightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

The system of superstition, on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as co-operating with him, were entitled to secondary honors. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exists in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a more severe and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. The Peruvians had not, indeed, made such progress in observation or inquiry, as to have attained just conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the world.

But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its universal and vivifying energy, is the best emblem of Divine beneficence, the rites and observances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They sacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, some of the animals which were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They presented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father, the Sun, would be delighted with such horrid victims [157] Thus the Peruvians, unacquainted with those barbarous rites which extinguish sensibility, and suppress the feelings of nature at the sight of human sufferings, were formed by the spirit of the superstition which they had adopted, to a national character more gentle than that of any people in America.

The influence of this superstition operated in the same manner upon their civil institutions, and tended to correct in them whatever was adverse to gentleness of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the most absolute of all despotisms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depressed by the idea of a forced subjection to the will of a superior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with Divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The sovereign, conscious that the submissive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly descent, was continually reminded of a distinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was supposed to represent. In consequence of those impressions, there hardly occurs in the traditional history of Peru, any instance of rebellion against the reigning prince, and among twelve successive monarchs there was not one tyrant.

Even the wars in which the Incas engaged were carried on with a spirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like savages, to destroy and to exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirsty divinities with human sacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished, and to diffuse the knowledge of their own institutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the insults and tortures which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they subdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects. This practice, so repugnant to American ferocity, and resembling the humanity of the most polished nations, must be ascribed, like other peculiarities which we have observed in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, considering the homage paid to any other object than to the heavenly powers which they adored as impious, were fond of gaining proselytes to their favorite system. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, and

placed there as trophies of the superior power of the divinity who was the protector of their empire. The people were treated with lenity, and instructed in the religious tenets of their new masters, that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

The state of property in Peru was no less singular than that of religion, and contributed, likewise, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and the product of it was applied to the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the public rites of religion. The second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. Neither individuals, however, nor communities had a right of exclusive property in the portion set apart for their use. They possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labor. By this singular distribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea of a common interest, and of mutual subserviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connexion with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of the members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as to create a stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse than subsisted under any form of society established in America. From this resulted gentle manners and mild virtues unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

But, though the institutions of the Incas were so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of *Yanaconas*, were held in a state of servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of freemen. Like the *Tamenes* of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery. Next to them, in rank, were such of the people as were free, but distinguished by no official or hereditary honors. Above them were raised those whom the Spaniards call *Orejones*, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war held every office of power or trust. And the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high descent and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the *Orejones*, as these were elevated above the people.

Such a form of society, from the union of its members, as well as from the distinction in their ranks, was favorable to progress in the arts. But the Spaniards, having been acquainted with the improved state of various arts in Mexico several years before they discovered Peru, were not so much struck with what they observed in the latter country, and describe the appearances of ingenuity there with less warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheless, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the necessary arts of life, and in such as have some title to the name of elegant.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of those dismal scenes of distress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt; for the product of the lands consecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Incas, being deposited in the *Tambos*, or public storehouses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity. As the extent of cultivation was determined with such provident attention to the demands of the

state, the invention and industry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and soil. All the vast rivers that flow from the Andes take their course eastward to the Atlantic Ocean. Peru is watered only by some streams which rush down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is sandy and barren, and never refreshed with rain. In order to render such an unpromising region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had recourse to various expedients. By means of artificial canals, conducted with much patience and considerable art from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields. [158] They enriched the soil by manuring it with the dung of sea fowls, of which they found an inexhaustible store on all the islands scattered along the coasts. In describing the customs of any nation thoroughly civilized, such practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable; but in the history of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as singular proofs of industry and of art. The use of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mstock of hard wood. Nor was this labor deemed so degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both sexes joined in performing this necessary work. Even the children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function by denominating it their triumph over the earth.

The superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewise, in the construction of their houses and public buildings. In the extensive plains which stretch along the Pacific Ocean, where the sky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild, their houses were very properly of a fabric extremely slight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitude of seasons is known, and their rigor felt, houses were constructed with greater solidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the sun, without any windows, and the door low and straight. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may seem to be of which they were formed, they were so durable that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestic state of the other American nations has vanished from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by such of the Spanish writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them, while in some measure entire, might have appeared highly exaggerated, if the ruins which still remain did not vouch the truth of their relations. These ruins of sacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonstrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who must have subsisted, during a period of some extent, in a state of no inconsiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimensions; some of a moderate size, many of immense extent, all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the style of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected together as to form one great structure above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the same singular taste in building is conspicuous as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the use of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks which they employed in building to any considerable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they seem to have made their greatest effort towards magnificence, did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or stones were joined with so much nicety, that the seams can hardly be discerned. [159] The apartments, as far as the distribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill disposed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a single window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largest dimensions must either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by some other means. But with all these, and many other imperfections that might be mentioned in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which still remain must be considered as stupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and con-

vey to us a high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

These, however, were not the noblest or most useful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted stretch above fifteen hundred miles, are entitled to still higher praise. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the sea coast. From the language of admiration in which some of the early writers express their astonishment when they first viewed those roads, and from the more pompous description of later writers, who labor to support some favorite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power; but in a country where there was no tame animal except the llama, which was never used for draught, and but little as a beast of burden, where the high roads were seldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labor or art was requisite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth, and in many places so slightly formed, that time has effaced every vestige of the course in which they ran. In the low country, little more seems to have been done than to plant trees or to fix posts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous task. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preservation of the road it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper distances, *Tambos*, or storehouses, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progress through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its course may still be traced. Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this description, divested of every circumstance of manifest exaggeration or of suspicious aspect, it must be considered as a striking proof of an extraordinary progress in improvement and policy. To the savage tribes of America, the idea of facilitating communication with places at a distance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the most civilized countries in Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national policy to form such roads as render intercourse commodious. It was a capital object of Roman policy to open a communication with all the provinces of their extensive empire by means of those roads which are justly considered as one of the noblest monuments both of their wisdom and their power. But during the long reign of barbarism, the Roman roads were neglected or destroyed; and at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared with the great roads formed by the Incas.

The formation of those roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the rest of America. In its course from south to north, the road of the Incas was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. From the rapidity of their course, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation, these were not fordable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for passing them. The Peruvians from their unacquaintance with the use of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not construct bridges either of stone or timber. But necessity, the parent of invention, suggested a device which supplied that defect. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable withs, or osiers, with which their country abounds; six of these cables they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together by interweaving smaller ropes so close as to form a compact piece of net-work, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security. [160] Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to assist passengers. In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in *balzas*, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no further in naval skill than the use of the paddle or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raise a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their *balzas* not only went nimbly before the

wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity.—Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined solely to objects of essential utility. They had made some progress in arts, which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the same manner with the Mexicans, by searching in the channels of rivers, or washing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure silver, they exerted no inconsiderable degree of skill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of sinking a shaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the sides of mountains, and emptied such veins as did not dip suddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the surface, they dug pits to such a depth, that the person who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baskets. They had discovered the art of smelting and refining this, either by the simple application of fire, or, where the ore was more stubborn or impregnated with foreign substances, by placing it in small ovens or furnaces, on high grounds, so artificially constructed that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this simple device, the purer ores were smelted with facility, and the quantity of silver in Peru was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it. Several of those vessels and trinkets are said to have merited no small degree of estimation, on account of the neatness of the workmanship as well as the intrinsic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had scarcely any conception of the former, most of the silver vessels and trinkets were melted down, and rated according to the weight and fineness of the metal in the division of the spoil.

In other works of mere curiosity or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many specimens of those have been dug out of the *Guacas*, or mounds of earth, with which the Peruvians covered the bodies of the dead. Among these are mirrors of various dimensions, of hard shining stones highly polished; vessels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets, and other instruments, some destined for war, and others for labor. Some were of flint, some of copper, hardened to such a degree by an unknown process, as to supply the place of iron on several occasions. Had the use of those tools, formed of copper, been general, the progress of the Peruvians in the arts might have been such as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was so rare, or the operation by which it was hardened so tedious, that their instruments of copper were few, and so extremely small, that they seem to have been employed only in slighter works. But even to such a circumscribed use of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other people of America in various arts. The same observation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with respect to the arts of the Mexicans. From several specimens of Peruvian utensils and ornaments, which are deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid, and from some preserved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reason to believe that the workmanship is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on account of its intrinsic neatness and elegance; and that the Peruvians, though the most improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

But notwithstanding so many particulars, which seemed to indicate a high degree of improvement in Peru, other circumstances occur that suggest the idea of a society still in the first stages of its transition from barbarism to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name, of a city. Every where else the people lived mostly in detached habitations, dispersed over the country, or, at the utmost, settled together in small villages. But until men are brought to assemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated in such close union as to enjoy frequent intercourse, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the spirit, or assume the manners of social life. In a country of immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement either of the necessary or more refined arts, must have been so slow, and carried on under such disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed further.

In consequence of this state of imperfect union, the separation of professions in Peru was not so complete as among the Mexicans. The less closely men associate, the more simple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and most necessary use in life do not, in such a state, become so complex or difficult as to render it requisite that men should be trained to them by any particular course of education. All the arts, accordingly, which were of daily and indispensable utility, were exercised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. None but the artists employed in works of mere curiosity, or ornament, constituted a separate order of men, or were distinguished from other citizens.

From the want of cities in Peru, another consequence followed. There was little commercial intercourse among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coeval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community settle in considerable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen must depend for subsistence on the labor of those who cultivate the ground. They, in return, must receive some equivalent. Thus mutual intercourse is established, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, stated markets were held, and whatever could supply any want or desire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the singular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were settled, there was hardly any species of commerce carried on between different provinces and the community was less acquainted with that active intercourse, which is at once a bond of union and an incentive to improvement.

But the unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was the most remarkable as well as the most fatal defect in their character. The greater part of the rude nations of America opposed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or success. The Mexicans maintained the struggle in defence of their liberties, with such persevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was subdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favorable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional history of the Peruvians represents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies, which they led to victory and conquest, few symptoms of such a martial spirit appear in any of their operations subsequent to the invasion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of those institutions which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly softness; perhaps the constant serenity and mildness of the climate may have enervated the vigor of their frame; perhaps some principles in their government, unknown to us, was the occasion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain; and there is not an instance in history of any people so little advanced in refinement, so totally destitute of military enterprise. This character has descended to their posterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America. Their feeble spirits, relaxed in lifeless inaction, seem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, besides these capital defects in the political state of Peru, some detached circumstances and facts occur in the Spanish writers, which discover a considerable remainder of barbarity in their manners. A cruel custom, that prevailed in some of the most savage tribes, subsisted among the Peruvians. On the death of the Incas, and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants were put to death, and interred around their *Guacas*, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with the same respect. On the death of Huana Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb. In one particular their manners appear to have been more barbarous than those of most rude tribes. Though acquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize and other vegetables for food, they devoured both flesh and fish perfectly raw, and astonished the Spaniards with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people.

But though Mexico and Peru are the possessions of Spain in the New World, which, on account both of their ancient and present state, have attracted the greatest attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconsiderable either in extent or value. The

greater part of them was reduced to subjection during the first part of the sixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their small armaments either in Hispaniola or in Old Spain; and were we to follow each leader in his progress, we should discover the same daring courage, the same persevering ardor, the same capacious desire for wealth, and the same capacity for enduring and surmounting every thing in order to attain it, which distinguished the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conquests. But, instead of entering into a detail, which, from the similarity of the transactions, would appear almost a repetition of what has been already related, I shall satisfy myself with such a view of those provinces of the Spanish empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers an adequate idea of its greatness, fertility, and opulence.

I begin with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies of whose history and institutions I have given some account, and shall then briefly describe the other districts of Spanish America. The jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over several provinces which were not subject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Chimaloa and Sonora that stretch along the east side of the Vermilion Sea, or Gulf of California, as well as the immense kingdoms of New Navarre, and New Mexico, which bend towards the west and north, did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Montezuma, or his predecessors. These regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced some to a greater, others to a less degree of subjection to the Spanish yoke. They extend through the most delightful part of the temperate zone; their soil is, in general, remarkable fertile; and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are most perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacific ocean, or with the Gulf of Mexico, and are watered by rivers which not only enrich them, but may become subservient to commerce. The number of Spaniards settled in these vast countries is indeed extremely small. They may be said to have subdued rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient establishments in America shall continue to increase, they may gradually spread over those provinces, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take full possession.

One circumstance may contribute to the speedy population of some districts. Very rich mines both of gold and silver have been discovered in many of the regions which I have mentioned. Wherever these are opened, and worked with success, a multitude of people resort. In order to supply them with the necessities of life, cultivation must be increased, artisans of various kinds must assemble, and industry as well as wealth will be gradually diffused. Many examples of this have occurred in different parts of America since they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have suddenly arisen amidst uninhabitable wilds and mountains; and the working of mines though far from being the most proper object towards which the attention of an infant society should be turned, may become the means both of promoting useful activity, and of augmenting the number of people. A recent and singular instance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards settled in the provinces of Chimaloa and Sonora had been long disturbed by the depredations of some fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, the incursions of those savages became so frequent and so destructive, that the Spanish inhabitants, in despair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for such a body of troops as might enable them to drive those formidable invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treasury of Mexico was so much exhausted by the large sums drawn from it, in order to support the late war against Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The respect due to his virtues accomplished what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants of New Spain to advance about two hundred thousand pesos for defraying the expenses of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years chiefly by the difficulty of pursuing the fugitives over the mountains, and through defiles which were almost impassable, it terminated, in the year 1771, in the final submission of the tribes which had been so long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the course of this service, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they seem not to have penetrated before that time, and

discovered mines of such value as was astonishing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cineguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which, at the depth of only sixteen inches, they found gold in grains of such a size, that some of them weighed nine marks, and in such quantities, that in a short time, with a few laborers, they collected a thousand marks of gold in grains, even without taking time to wash the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be so rich, that persons of skill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of pesos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thousand persons were settled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magistrates, and the inspection of several ecclesiastics. As several other mines, not inferior in richness to that of Cineguilla, have been discovered, both in Sonora and Cinaloa, [161] it is probable that these neglected and thinly inhabited provinces may soon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spanish empire of America.

The peninsula of California, on the other side of the Vermillion Sea, seems to have been less known to the ancient Mexicans than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was discovered by Cortes in the year 1536. During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most charts it was represented as an island, not as a peninsula. [162] Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from its situation, must be very desirable, the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it. Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and they labored to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the same maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there. Several public spirited citizens endeavored to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have since raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country was favorable; he found the pearl fishery on its coast to be valuable, and he discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable that, if the population of these provinces shall increase in the manner which I have supposed, California may, by degrees, receive from them such a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the desolate and useless districts of the Spanish empire.

On the east of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras was comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be said to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. These large provinces, stretching from the bay of Campeach beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not, like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their soil, or the richness of their mines; but they produce in greater abundance than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying some colors, is so far preferable to any other material, that the consumption of it in Europe is considerable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded upon the Spaniards in those provinces, or attempted to obtain any share in this branch of trade. But after the conquest of Jamaica by the English, it soon appeared that a formidable rival was now seated in the neighborhood of the Spanish territories. One of the first objects which tempted the English settled in that island, was the great profit arising from the logwood trade, and the facility of wresting some portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the first attempt at Cape Catoche, the south-east promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there carried on a gainful traffic. When most of the trees near the coast in that place were felled, they removed to the island of Trist,

in the bay of Campeachy, and in later times their principal station has been in the bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavored by negotiation, remonstrances, and open force, to prevent the English from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after struggling against it for more than a century, the disasters of the last war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant consent to tolerate this settlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories. The pain which this humbling concession occasioned seems to have prompted the Spaniards to devise a method of rendering it of little consequence, more effectual than all the efforts of negotiation or violence. The logwood produced on the west coast of Yucatan, where the soil is drier, is in quality far superior to that which grows on the marshy grounds where the English are settled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty, such vigor has been given to this branch of commerce, and the logwood which the English bring to market has sunk so much in value, that their trade to the bay of Honduras has gradually declined [163] since it obtained a legal sanction; and, it is probable, will soon be finally abandoned. In that event, Yucatan and Honduras will become possessions of considerable importance to Spain.

Still further east than Honduras lie the two provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which likewise belong to the viceroyalty of New Spain; but both have been so much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of such small value, that they merit no particular attention.

The most important province depending on the viceroyalty of Peru is Chili. The Incas had established their dominion in some of its northern districts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high spirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the conquest of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death Pedro de Valdivia resumed the design. Both met with fierce opposition. The former relinquished the enterprise in the manner I have mentioned. The latter, after having given many displays both of courage and military skill, was cut off, together with a considerable body of troops under his command. Francisca de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, by his spirited conduct checked the natives in their career, and saved the remainder of the Spaniards from destruction. By degrees all the champaign country along the coast was subjected to the Spanish dominion. The mountainous country is still possessed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbors to the Spaniards; with whom during the course of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain an almost perpetual hostility, suspended only by a few intervals of insecure peace.

That part of Chili, then, which may properly be deemed a Spanish province, is a narrow district extended along the coast from the desert of Atacamas to the island of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the most delicious in the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being screened on the east by the Andes, and refreshed from the west by cooling sea breezes. The temperature of the air is so mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the southern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the soil corresponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The most valuable of these, corn, wine, and oil, abound in Chili as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attained to full maturity there. The animals of our hemisphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger size than those of Spain. Its breed of horses surpasses, both in beauty and spirit, the famous Andalusian race, from which they sprung. Nor has nature exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead, have been discovered in various parts of it.

A country distinguished by so many blessings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favorite station of the Spaniards, and must have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Instead of this, a great part of it remains uncultivated. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thousand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of Negroes and people of a mixed race. The most fertile

soil in America lies uncultivated, and some of its most promising mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themselves of advantages which seemed to court their acceptance may appear, the causes of it can be traced. The only intercourse of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto Bello. All the produce of these colonies was shipped in the ports of Callao or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence across the isthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother countries were conveyed from Panama to the same harbors. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili passed through the hands of merchants settled in Peru. These had of course a profit on each; and in both transactions the Chilese felt their own subordination; and having no direct intercourse with the parent state, they depended upon another province for the disposal of their productions, as well as for the supply of their wants. Under such discouragements, population could not increase, and industry was destitute of one chief incitement. But now that Spain, from motives which I shall mention hereafter, has adopted a new system, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea by ships which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourse is opened between Chili and the mother country. The gold, the silver, and the other commodities of the province, will be exchanged in its own harbors for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may speedily rise into that importance among the Spanish settlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacific Ocean. It may supply them with wine, with cattle, with horses, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new system has been established only a few years, those effects of it begin already to be observed. If it shall be adhered to with any steadiness for half a century, one may venture to foretell that population, industry, and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progress.

To the east of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the viceroyalty of Peru. These regions of immense extent stretch in length from north to south above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thousand. This country, which is larger than most European kingdoms, naturally forms itself into two great divisions, one on the north and the other on the south of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous missions of the Jesuits, and several other districts. But as disputes have long subsisted between the courts of Spain and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be soon finally ascertained, either amicably or by the decision of the sword, I choose to reserve my account of this northern division, until I enter upon the history of Portuguese America, with which it is intimately connected; and in relating it, I shall be able, from authentic materials supplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate description of the operations and views of the Jesuits, in rearing that singular fabric of policy in America, which has drawn so much attention, and has been so imperfectly understood. The latter division of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos Ayres, and to these I shall at present confine my observations.

The Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a succession of cruel disasters befell them in their early attempts to establish their dominion in it, they were encouraged to persist in the design, at first by the hopes of discovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the necessity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from settling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich possessions in Peru. But except at Buenos Ayres, they have made no settlement of any consequence in all the vast space which I have mentioned. There are indeed, scattered over it, a few places on which they have bestowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavored to add some dignity, by erecting them into bishoprics; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumstance, however, which was not originally foreseen, has contributed to render this district, though thinly peopled, of considerable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the south of the Plata, instead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one extensive open plain, almost without a tree. The soil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many streams descending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual

verdure. In this rich pasturage, the horses and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almost exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by supplying it with cattle, horses, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no less beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both, the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious situation for carrying on contraband trade has been the chief source of its prosperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient system, with respect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay so much out of the course of Spanish navigation, that interlopers, almost without any risk of being either observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in such quantities, that they not only supplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eastern districts of Peru. When the Portuguese in Brazil extended their settlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanish territories with still more facility, and in greater abundance. This illegal traffic, however detrimental to the parent state, contributed to the increase of the settlement which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of the alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which shall be described in the subsequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

All the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom of Tierra Firme, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantic, from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, situated in the interior country. With a short view of these I shall close this part of my work.

To the east of Veragua, the last province subject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the isthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent that the Spaniards first began to plant colonies, they have made no considerable progress in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthy, and contains no mines of great value, the Spaniards would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbor of Porto Bello on the one sea, and that of Panama on the other. These have been called the keys to the communication between the north and south sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies. In consequence of this advantage, Panama has become a considerable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiousness of its climate has prevented Porto Bello from increasing in the same proportion. As the intercourse with the settlements in the Pacific Ocean is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto Bello and Panama will decline, when no longer nourished and enriched by that commerce to which they were indebted for their prosperity, and even their existence.

The provinces of Cartagena and Santa Martha stretch to the eastward of the isthmus of Darien. The country still continues mountainous, but its valleys begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia subjected this part of America to the crown of Spain about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of course ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs, and some precious stones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbor of Cartagena, the safest and best fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a situation so favorable, commerce soon began to flourish. As early as the year 1544, it seems to have been a town of some note. But when Cartagena was chosen as the port in which the galleons should first begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was so much favored by this arrangement, that it soon became one of the most populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reason to apprehend that it has reached its highest point of exaltation, and that it will be so far affected by the change in the Spanish system of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the desirable visits of the galleons, as to feel at least a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there will soon find or create employment for itself, and may be turned with advantage into some new channel. Its harbor is

so safe, and so conveniently situated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been so long accustomed to convey these into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will still retain this branch of trade, and Cartagena continue to be a city of great importance.

The provinces contiguous to Santa Martha on the east, was first visited by Alonso de Ojeda, in the year 1499; and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having observed some huts in an Indian village, built upon piles, in order to raise them above the stagnated water which covered the plain, were led to bestow upon it the name of Venezuela, or little Venice, by their usual propensity to find a resemblance between what they discovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made some attempts to settle there, but with little success. The final reduction of the province was accomplished by means very different from those to which Spain was indebted for its other acquisitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of such variety and extent, that his revenues were not sufficient to defray the expense of carrying them into execution. Among other expedients for supplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large sums from the Velsers of Augsburg, the most opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for these, or in hopes, perhaps, of obtaining a new loan, he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an hereditary fief from the crown of Castile, on condition that within a limited time they should render themselves masters of the country, and establish a colony there. Under the direction of such persons, it might have been expected that a settlement would have been established on maxims very different from those of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage such useful industry, as mercantile proprietors might have known to be the most certain source of prosperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan to some of those soldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the sixteenth century. These adventurers, impatient to amass riches, that they might speedily abandon a station which they soon discovered to be very uncomfortable, instead of planting a colony in order to cultivate and improve the country, wandered from district to district in search of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppressing them by the imposition of intolerable tasks. In the course of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in comparison with which those of the Spaniards were moderate, desolated the province so completely, that it could hardly afford them subsistence, and the Velsers relinquished a property from which the inconsiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage. When the wretched remainder of the Germans deserted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took possession of it; but notwithstanding many natural advantages, it is one of their most languishing and unproductive settlements.

The provinces of Caracas and Cumana are the last of the Spanish territories on this coast; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company in which an exclusive right of trade with them has been vested, I shall hereafter have occasion to consider their state and productions.

The New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of great extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, two of the bravest and most accomplished officers employed in the conquest of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the south; the latter made his invasion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were further advanced in improvement than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians, they defended themselves with great resolution and good conduct. The abilities and perseverance of Benalcazar and Quesada surmounted all opposition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spanish province.

The New Kingdom of Granada is so far elevated above the level of the sea that, though it approaches almost to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its valleys is not inferior to that of the richest districts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious stones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the soil near the surface, and separated from it by repeated washing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by

Negro slaves; for though the chill subterranean air has been discovered, by experience, to be so fatal to them, that they cannot be employed with advantage in the deep silver mines, they are more capable of performing the other species of labor than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that service, which has wasted their race so rapidly in other parts of America, the country is still remarkably populous. Some districts yield gold with a profusion no less wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in large pebbles, or grains, which manifest the abundance in which it is produced. On a rising ground near Pauplona, single laborers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thousand pesos. A late governor of Santa Fe brought with him to Spain a lump of pure gold, estimated to be worth seven hundred and forty pounds sterling. This, which is perhaps the largest and finest specimen ever found in the New World, is now deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold usually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of considerable amount. Its towns are populous and flourishing. The number of inhabitants in almost every part of the country daily increases. Cultivation and industry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to prosper. A considerable trade is carried on with Cartagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalene to that city. On another quarter, the New Kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantic by the river Orinoco; but the country which stretches along its banks towards the east, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

BOOK VIII.

View of the interior government, commerce, &c. of the Spanish colonies—Depopulation of America—first effects of their settlements—not the consequence of any system of policy—not to be imputed to religion—Number of Indians still remaining—Fundamental maxims on which the Spanish system of colonization is founded—Condition of different orders of men in their colonies—Chapetones—Creoles—Negroes—Indians—Ecclesiastical state and policy—Character of secular and regular clergy—Small progress of Christianity among the natives—Mines, chief object of their attention—Mode of working these—their produce—Effects of encouraging this species of industry—Other commodities of Spanish America—First effects of this new commerce with America on Spain—Why the Spanish colonies have not been as beneficial to the parent state as those of other nations—Errors in the Spanish system of regulating this commerce—confined to one port—carried on by annual fleets—Contraband trade—Decline of Spain both in population and wealth—Remedies proposed—View of the wise regulations of the Bourbon princes—A new and more liberal system introduced—beneficial effects of this—probable consequences—Trade between New Spain and the Philippines—Revenue of Spain from America—whence it arises—to what it amounts.

AFTER tracing the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was established over almost all the vast regions in the New World still subject to their dominion. The effect of their settlements upon the countries of which they took possession, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior structure and policy of these, together with the influence of their progressive improvement upon the parent state, and upon the commercial intercourse of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention.

The first visible consequence of the establishments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally astonishing and deplorable. I have already, on different occasions, mentioned the disastrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemisphere commenced, both in the islands and in several parts of the continent, and have touched upon various causes of their rapid consumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had resolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many perished in the unequal contest, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greatest desolation followed after the sword was sheathed, and the conquerors were settled in tranquillity. It was in the islands, and in those provinces of the continent which stretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spanish dominion were first and most sensibly felt. All these were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by such as had made but small progress in cultivation and industry. When they were compelled by their new masters to take up a fixed res-

dence, and to apply to regular labor; when tasks were imposed upon them disproportioned to their strength, and were enacted with unrelenting severity, they possessed not vigor either of mind or of body to sustain this unusual load of oppression. Dejection and despair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine destroyed more. In all those extensive regions, the original race of inhabitants wasted away; in some it was totally extinguished. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people distinguished their opposition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, still greater numbers perished under the hardships of attending the Spanish armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the incessant toil of carrying their baggage, provisions, and military stores.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards was so destructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconsiderate policy with which they established their new settlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals: the latter was a permanent evil, which, with gradual consumption, wasted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a district from which he might expect an instantaneous recompense for all his services. Soldiers, accustomed to the carelessness and dissipation of a military life, had neither industry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its slow but certain returns. Instead of settling in the valleys occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the soil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they chose to fix their stations in some of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in Peru. To search for mines of gold and silver was the chief object of their activity. The prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually presents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprise and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favorite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the service of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were accordingly compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This sudden transition from the sultry climate of the valleys to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; exorbitant labor, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accustomed, and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity. In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small-pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives, the number of people both in New Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible. [164]

Such are the most considerable events and causes which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve the possession of America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and, by converting a great part of the country into a desert, endeavored to secure their own dominion over it. [165] But nations seldom extend their views to objects so remote, or lay their plans so deep; and for the honor of humanity we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed such an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs, far from acting upon any such system of destruction, were uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the Christian faith, together with the desire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the consolations of religion, to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than ostensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavored to fulfil her pious purpose, and manifested the most tender concern to secure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown. [166] Her successors adopted the same ideas;

and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed, in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppression of their Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased: and from ardor to accomplish this, they enacted, and endeavored to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controlled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider and treat them as slaves. The governors themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and, instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the indigent and often unprincipled adventurers, whose fortune it was to be the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

With still greater injustice have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholic religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiastics of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolaters and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had set the mark of servitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavored to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interposition the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigor of their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as secular, are still considered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed. [167]

But, notwithstanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very considerable number of the native race still remains both in Mexico and Peru, especially in those parts which were not exposed to the first fury of the Spanish arms, or desolated by the first efforts of their industry, still more ruinous. In Guatimala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which stretch along the South Sea, the race of Indians is still numerous. Their settlements in some places are so populous as to merit the name of cities. [168] In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at least two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but such as still forms a body of people superior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this extensive country. [169] In Peru several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians. In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their settlements are almost the only persons who

practise the mechanic arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accustomed to a fixed residence, and to a certain degree of regular industry, less violence was requisite in bringing them to some conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards settled among the savage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitless, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of restraint, and disdaining labor as a mark of servility, they either abandoned their original seats, and sought for independence in mountains and forests inaccessible to their oppressors, or perished when reduced to a state repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the districts adjacent to Carthagea, to Panama, and to Buena Ayres, the desolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico and Peru of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession.

But the establishments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state, equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogatives far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to control, either in concerting or in executing their measures. In every wide-extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the sovereign authority such, that its resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with sufficient force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs when they were called to deliberate concerning the mode of establishing their dominions over the most remote provinces which had ever been subjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that, as independent masters of their own resolves, they might issue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

This early interposition of the Spanish crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which distinguishes their progress from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portuguese, the English, and French took possession of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which these promised to yield were so remote and uncertain, that their colonies were suffered to struggle through a hard infancy, almost without guidance or protection from the parent state. But gold and silver, the first productions of the Spanish settlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the discovery, and almost nothing to the conquest of the New World, they instantly assumed the function of its legislators; and having acquired a species of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exercising it, to which nothing similar occurs in the history of human affairs.

The fundamental maxim of the Spanish jurisprudence, with respect to America, is to consider what has been acquired there as vested in the crown, rather than in the state. By the bull of Alexander VI., on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been or should be discovered were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories which the arms of their subjects conquered in the New World. From them all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who presided over the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removeable at their pleasure. The people who composed infant settlements were entitled to no privileges independent of the sovereign, or that served as a barrier against the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, the citizens were permitted to elect their own magistrates, who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the most despotic states, this feeble spark of liberty is not extinguished. But in the cities of Spanish America, this jurisdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to public government, and the general interest, the will of the sovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

When the conquests of the Spaniards in America

were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of internal policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever she possessed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniences, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each vicereignty began to improve in industry and population. The people complained of their subjection to a superior, whose place of residence was so distant, or so inaccessible, as almost excluded them from any intercourse with the seat of government. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill directed. As a remedy for those evils, a third vicereignty has been established in the present century, at Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firme and the province of Quito. Those viceroys not only represent the person of their sovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments in their utmost extent. Like him, they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. They have the sole right of nominating the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying those which, when they become vacant by death, are in the royal gift, until the successor appointed by the king shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that of Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of *Audiencias*, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain. These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided. [170] The number of judges in the Court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station is no less honorable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit as render this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart. Though it is only in the most despotic governments that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and, in absolving or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast; though, in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to the magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms; the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and, with an ambition which their distance from the control of a superior rendered bold, have aspired at a power which their master does not venture to assume. In order to check a usurpation which must have annihilated justice and security in the Spanish colonies, in subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a single man, the viceroys have been prohibited in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the Courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice, with respect to any point litigated before them. In some particular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the Court of Audience, which in those instances may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a constitutional barrier to circumscribe his jurisdiction. But as legal restraints on a person who represents the sovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little suited to the genius of Spanish policy; the hesitation

and reserve with which it confers this power on the Courts of Audience are remarkable. They may advise, they may remonstrate; but, in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the Council of the Indies. But to be entitled to remonstrate, and inform against a person before whom all others must be silent, and tamely submit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the Courts of Audience. This is further augmented by another circumstance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any provision of a successor by the king, the supreme power is vested in the Court of Audience resident in the capital of the vicereignty; and the senior judge, assisted by his brethren, exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant. In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiencias, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524. Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members before they are issued in the name of the king. All the offices, of which the nomination is reserved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their services, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversations. Before it is laid whatever intelligence, either public or secret, is received from America; and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. From the first institution of the Council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the Catholic monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendor, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of public order and virtue still remains in that country, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be ascribed in a great measure to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal.

As the king is supposed to be always present in his Council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he resides. Another tribunal has been instituted in order to regulate such commercial affairs, as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called *Casa de la Contratacion*, or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, the port to which commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501. It may be considered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities should be exported thither, and has the inspection of such as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the West Indies, the freight and burden of the ships, their equipment and destination. In the latter capacity, it judges with respect to every question, civil, commercial, or criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions of Spain with America; and in both these departments its decisions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the Council of the Indies.

Such is the great outline of that system of government which Spain has established in her American colonies. To enumerate the various subordinate boards and officers employed in the administration of justice, in collecting the public revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country; to describe their different functions, and to inquire into the mode and effect of their operations; would prove a detail no less intricate than minute and uninteresting.

The first object of the Spanish monarchs was to secure the productions of the colonies to the parent state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. They took possession of America by

right of conquest, and conscious not only of the feebleness of their infant settlements, but aware of the difficulty in establishing their dominion over regions so extensive, or in retaining so many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intrusion of strangers; they even shunned their inspection, and endeavored to keep them at a distance from their coasts. This spirit of jealousy and exclusion, which at first was natural, and perhaps necessary, augmented as their possessions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully understood. In consequence of it, a system of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing similar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to send forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which served to disburden a state of its superfluous subjects, when they multiplied too fast for the territory which they occupied; or they were military detachments, stationed as garrisons in a conquered province. The colonies of some Greek republics, and the swarms of northern barbarians which settled in different parts of Europe, were of the first species. The Roman colonies were of the second. In the former, the connection with the mother country quickly ceased, and they became independent states. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued. In their American settlements, the Spanish monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and studied to unite them. By sending colonies to regions so remote, by establishing in each a form of inferior policy and administration, under distinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legislation, as well as that of imposing taxes, together with the power of nominating the persons who filled every department of executive government, civil or military, they secured their dependence upon the parent state. Happily for Spain, the situation of her colonies was such as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almost all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropics. The productions of that large portion of the globe are different from those of Europe, even in its most southern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the soil naturally turn the industry of such as settle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their dominions in America, the precious metals which they yielded were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother country. Allured by vast prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it impossible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in industry which might interfere with those of the mother country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine or olive, are prohibited in the Spanish colonies, [171] under severe penalties. They must trust entirely to the mother country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labor, their luxuries, and even a considerable part of the provisions which they consume were imported from Spain. During a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it consumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter its colonies without express permission; no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbors; and the pains of death, with confiscation of moveables, are denounced against every inhabitant who presumes to trade with them. Thus the colonies are kept in a state of perpetual pupillage; and by the introduction of this commercial dependence, a refinement in policy of which Spain set the first example to European nations, the supremacy of the parent state hath been maintained over remote colonies during two centuries and a half.

Such are the capital maxims to which the Spanish monarchs seem to have attended in forming their new settlements in America. But they could not plant with the same rapidity that they had destroyed; and from many concurring causes, their progress has been extremely slow in filling up the immense void which their devastations had occasioned. As soon as the rage for discovery and adventure began to abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dangers and distresses which at first they did not perceive, or had despised. The numerous hardships with which the members of infant colonies have to struggle, the diseases of unwholesome climates fatal to the constitution of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a country covered with forests into culture; the want of hands necessary for labor in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils universally felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand. [172]

The mode in which property was distributed in the Spanish colonies, and the regulations established with respect to the transmission of it, whether by descent or by sale, were extremely unfavorable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy. But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes, many seized districts of great extent, and held them as *encomiendas*. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of these into *Mayorazgos*, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence, which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor, or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by some of the conquerors. The excesses in other provinces were similar; for, as the value of the lands which the Spaniards acquired was originally estimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general so thinly peopled, that only districts of great extent could afford such a number of laborers as might be employed in the mines with any prospect of considerable gain. The pernicious effects of those radical errors in the distribution and nature of property in the Spanish settlements are felt through every department of industry, and may be considered as one great cause of a progress in population so much slower than that which has taken place in better constituted colonies. [173]

To this we may add, that the support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment has been a burden on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclesiastics, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction. Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of simple and easy culture. Its more artificial and opesose productions, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal, were soon declared to be titheable; and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every stage of its progress, from its rudest essay to its highest improvement. To the weight of this legal imposition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from superstitious reverence for ecclesiastics of every denomination, they have bestowed profuse donations on churches and monasteries, and have unprofitably wasted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have

nourished and given vigor to productive labor in growing colonies.

But so fertile and inviting are the regions of America, which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithstanding all the circumstances which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increased, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders. Among these, the Spaniards who arrive from Europe, distinguished by the name of *Chapetones*, are the first in rank and power. From the jealousy of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies on the parent state, all departments of consequence are filled by persons sent from Europe; and in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of *Old Christians*, untainted with any mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the Inquisition. In such pure hands power is deemed to be safely lodged, and almost every function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every person, who, by his birth or residence in America, may be suspected of any attachment or interest adverse to the mother country, is the object of distrust to such a degree, as amounts nearly to an exclusion from all offices of confidence or authority. [174] By this conspicuous predilection of the court, the *Chapetones* are raised to such pre-eminence in America, that they look down with disdain upon every other order of men.

The character and state of the *Creoles*, or descendants of Europeans settled in America, the second class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, have enabled the *Chapetones* to acquire other advantages hardly less considerable than those which they derived from the partial favor of government. Though some of the *Creolian* race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed of ample fortunes; yet, by the enervating influence of a sultry climate, by the rigor of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that distinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigor of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgences, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing.

Languid and unenterprising, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of every colony, as well as any trade which is permitted with the neighboring provinces, and with Spain itself, is carried on chiefly by the *Chapetones*; who, as the recompense of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the *Creoles*, sunk in sloth, are satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

From this stated competition for power and wealth between those two orders of citizens, and the various passions excited by a rivalry so interesting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occasion, symptoms of this aversion break out, and the common appellations which each bestows on the other are as contemptuous as those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy. The court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those seeds of discord, and foment this mutual jealousy, which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent state, but prompts each, with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

The third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of a European and a Negro, or of a European and Indian, the former called *Mulattoes*, the latter *Mestizos*. As the court of Spain, solicitous to incorporate its few vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards settled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their sovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly as to constitute a considerable part of the population in all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black or the copper color of America brighten into a European complexion, are accurately marked by the Spaniards, and each distinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first and second generations are considered and treated as mere Indians and Negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced,

that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on in the Spanish settlements, and other active functions in society are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, disdain to exercise.

The Negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their services and sufferings there, shall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly in order to point out a peculiarity in their situation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, Negroes are mostly employed in domestic service. They form a principal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance are hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe. Elevated by this distinction, they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru, where Negroes seem to be more numerous, and are employed in field work as well as domestic service, they maintain their ascendancy over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other subsists with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and, by most rigorous injunctions, have endeavored to prevent every intercourse that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive strength from that circumstance in population which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have secured, as associates and defenders, those very persons who elsewhere are objects of jealousy and terror.

The Indians form the last and most depressed order of men in the country which belonged to their ancestors. I have already traced the progress of the Spanish ideas with respect to the condition and treatment of that people; and have mentioned the most important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of so much consequence in the administration of their new dominions. But since the period to which I have brought down the history of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries have enabled the court of Spain to make such improvements in this part of its American system, that a short view of the present condition of the Indians may prove both curious and interesting.

By the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been so often mentioned, the high pretensions of the conquerors of the New World, who considered its inhabitants as slaves to whose service they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of subjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed just that they should contribute towards the support and improvement of the society which had adopted them as members. But as no considerable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular industry, and averse to labor, the court of Spain found it necessary to fix and secure, by proper regulations, what it thought reasonable to exact from them. With this view, an annual tax was imposed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the same time the nature as well as the extent of the services, which they might be required to perform, was ascertained with precision. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four shillings a head; no exorbitant sum in countries where, as at the source of wealth, the value of money is extremely low. [175] The right of levying this tribute likewise varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject to whom the district in which he resides has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an *encomienda*. In the former case, about three-fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treasury; in the latter, the same proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain first took possession of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or those who first settled there, and but a small portion reserved for the crown. As those grants, which were made for two lives only, reverted successively to the sovereign, he had it in his

power either to diffuse his favors by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations. [176] Of these, the latter has been frequently chosen; the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown is much greater than in the first stage after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The benefit arising from the services of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the *encomienda*, according to the same rule observed in the payment of tribute. Those services, however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the tasks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompense is granted for their labor. The stated services demanded of the Indians may be divided into two branches. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot subsist comfortably, or are compelled to labor in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high roads; but they cannot be constrained to labor in raising vines, olives, and sugar-canes, or any species of cultivation which has for its object the gratification of luxury or commercial profit. In consequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleasant task of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by successive processes, no less unwholesome than onerous. [177]

The mode of exacting both these services is the same, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppressive as possible to the Indians. They are called out successively in divisions, termed *Mitas*, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn. In Peru, the number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any district. In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred. During what time the labor of such Indians as are employed in agriculture continues, I have not been able to learn. [178] But in Peru, each *mita*, or division, destined for the mines, remains there six months; and while engaged in this service, a laborer never receives less than two shillings a day, and often earns more than double that sum. No Indian, residing at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the *mita*, or division employed working it; nor are the inhabitants of the low country exposed now to certain destruction, as they were at first when under the dominion of the conquerors, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound. [179]

The Indians who live in the principal towns are entirely subject to the Spanish laws and magistrates; but in their own villages they are governed by *caziques*, some of whom are the descendants of their ancient lords, others are named by the Spanish viceroys. These regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of justice transmitted to them by tradition from their ancestors. To the Indians this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, affords some consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their new masters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right. For the further relief of men so much exposed to oppression, the Spanish court has appointed an officer in every district with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to assert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the courts of justice; and, by the interposition of his authority, to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen. A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute is destined for the salary of the *caziques* and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians. Another part seems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine, or when a particular district is affected by any extraordinary local calamity. Besides this, provision is made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians. Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm, in Lima, in Cuzco, and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity.

Such are the leading principles in the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to Spain. In those regula-

tions of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themselves of the labor of the Indians, we must allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompense that labor is provident and sagacious. In no code of laws is greater solicitude displayed, or precautions multiplied with more prudent concern, for the preservation, the security, and the happiness of the subject, than we discover in the collection of the Spanish laws for the Indies. But those latter regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have too often proved ineffectual remedies against the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the same causes continue to operate, the same effects must follow. From the immense distance between the power intrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whose authority they are enacted, the vigor even of the most absolute government must relax, and the dread of a superior, too remote to observe with accuracy or to punish with despatch, must insensibly abate. Notwithstanding the numerous injunctions of the Spanish monarch, the Indians still suffer, on many occasions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates who ought to have protected them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labor is prolonged beyond the period fixed by law, and they groan under many of the insults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people. [180] From some information on which I can depend, such oppression abounds more in Peru than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts even of those authors who are most disposed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Indians, they, in several provinces, enjoy not only ease but affluence; they possess large farms; they are masters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and industry, are supplied not only with the necessities but with many luxuries of life.

After explaining the form of civil government in the Spanish colonies, and the state of the various orders of persons subject to it, the peculiarities in their ecclesiastical constitution merit consideration. Notwithstanding the superstitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions against the introduction of the Papal dominion in America. With this view, he solicited Alexander VI. for a grant to the crown of the tithes in all the newly-discovered countries, which he obtained on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after Julius II. conferred on him and his successors, the right of patronage, and the absolute disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices there. But these Pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed these donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have often lamented, and wished to recall. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become in effect the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is vested. Their nomination of persons to supply vacant benefices is instantly confirmed by the Pope. Thus, in all Spanish America, authority of every species centres in the crown. There no collision is known between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The King is the only superior, his name alone is heard of, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there until they have been previously examined and approved of by the royal council of the Indies; and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclesiastics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies. To this limitation of the Papal jurisdiction, equally singular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand and his successors have studied to maintain it in full force, Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

The hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of *Curas*, *Doctores*, and *Missioneros*. The first are parish priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of

such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in instructing and converting those fiercer tribes which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the ecclesiastics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The Romish superstition appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver, and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of a European. An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and extensive is unfavorable, as has been formerly observed, to the progress of rising colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are so delighted with parade that religion must assume it in order to attract their veneration, this propensity to ostentation has been indulged, and becomes less pernicious.

The early institution of monasteries in the Spanish colonies, and the inconsiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with consequences more fatal. In every new settlement, the first object should be to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the number and strength of the community. During the youth and vigor of society, while there is room to spread, and sustenance is procured with facility, mankind increase with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, when, with a most preposterous policy, they began to erect convents, where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purpose of nature, and to counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease which in sultry climates is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowded into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are lost to society. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the New World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and every monk or nun may be considered as an active person withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of such foundations in any situation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is so obvious, that some Catholic states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastic vows. Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, seem to have been alarmed with the spreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavored to check it. But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiastics more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived such a high opinion of monastic sanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal; and, by the excess of their ill-judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to society. [181.]

In viewing the state of colonies, where not only the number but influence of ecclesiastics is so great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As persons long accustomed, by their education, to the retirement and indolence of academic life are more incapable of active enterprise, and less disposed to strike into new paths than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country. Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favorable to the cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations. But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastic orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labor in it. The first attempt to instruct and convert the Americans was made by monks; and as soon as the conquest of any

province was completed, and its ecclesiastical establishment began to assume some form, the Popes permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their services, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tithes and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or being subject to his censures. In consequence of this, a new career of usefulness, as well as new objects of ambition, presented themselves. Whenever a call is made for a fresh supply of missionaries, men of the most ardent and aspiring minds, impatient under the restraint of a cloister, weary of its insipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their service with eagerness, and repair to the New World in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they pursue distinction without success. The highest ecclesiastical honors, as well as the most lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monastic orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of science which is cultivated among them. They are almost the only Spanish ecclesiastics from whom we have received any accounts either of the civil or natural history of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible superstition of their profession, have published books which give a favorable impression of their abilities. The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acosta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the sixteenth century.

But the same disgust with monastic life, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge; and far removed by their situation, from the inspection of their monastic superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, they are hardly subjected to any control. According to the testimony of the most zealous catholics, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce, and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no less flagrant violation of their vow of chastity, indulge with little disguise in the most dissolute licentiousness. [182]

Various schemes have been proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and so offensive. Several persons, no less eminent for piety than discernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloisters, and should no longer be permitted to enroach on the functions of the secular clergy. Some public-spirited magistrates, from conviction of its being necessary to deprive the regulars of a privilege bestowed at first with good intention, but of which time and experience had discovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the secular clergy in their attempts to assert their own rights. The prince D'Esquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip III., took measures so decisive and effectual for circumscribing the regulars within their proper sphere as struck them with general consternation. [183] They had recourse to their usual arts. They alarmed the superstitious, by representing the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue in order to gain persons in power; and seconded by the powerful influence of the Jesuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impression on a bigoted prince and a weak ministry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuses which it occasioned continued to increase, and the corruption of monks, exempt from the restraints of discipline, and the inspection of any superior, became a disgrace to religion. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monastic orders began to abate, and the power of the Jesuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy, by issuing an edict (June 23, 1757,) prohibiting regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any parish with the cure of souls; and declaring that on the demise of the present incumbents, none but secular priests, subject to the jurisdiction of their dioceses, shall be presented to vacant benefices. If this regulation is carried into execution with steadiness in any degree proportional to the wisdom with which it is framed, a very considerable reformation may take place in the ecclesiastical state of Spanish America, and the secular clergy may gradually become a respectable body of men. The department of many ecclesiastics, even at present, seems to be decent and exemplary; otherwise we can hardly suppose that they would be held in such high estimation, and possess such a wonderful ascendancy over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spanish settlements.

But whatever merit the Spanish ecclesiastics in America may possess, the success of their endeavors in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardor to make proselytes, admitted the people of America into the Christian church without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge in the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives the mysteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtle distinction in scholastic theology, between that degree of assent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of people overawed by dread of the Spanish power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion continued, a single clergyman baptized in one day above five thousand Mexicans, and did not desist until he was so exhausted by fatigue that he was unable to lift his hands. In the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions. Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrine and rites with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiastics, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors, are still remembered and held in honor by many of the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites.

But this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated understandings are so limited, their observations and reflections reach so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them. To such men the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be, in a great measure, incomprehensible. The numerous and splendid ceremonies of the Popish worship catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructors attempt to explain the articles of faith with which those external observances are connected, though the Indians may listen with patience, they so little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and engrossed by the objects before them, the Indians so seldom reflect upon what is past, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promises nor threats of religion make much impression upon them; and while their foresight rarely extends so far as the next day, it is almost impossible to inspire them with solicitude about the concerns of a future world. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension, and at their insensibility, some of the early missionaries pronounced them a race

of men so brutish as to be incapable of understanding the first principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that, on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the sacrament of the Eucharist. Though Paul III., by his famous bull issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures entitled to all the privileges of Christians; yet after the lapse of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. established the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of that severe tribunal, and still continue under the inspection of their dioceses. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that few Indians are either ordained priests, or received into any religious order. [184]

From this brief survey some idea may be formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they supply and enrich the mother country, and the system of commercial intercourse between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of such moderate extent as bore a due proportion to the parent state, the progress of her colonising might have been attended with the same benefit as that of other nations. But when, in less than half a century, her inconsiderate rapacity had seized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill such vast regions with inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them was so obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact settlements, where industry, circumscribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that sober persevering spirit which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to a proper use, and derives thence the greatest advantage. Instead of this, the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of great extent. As their number was too small to attempt the regular culture of the immense provinces which they occupied rather than people, they bent their attention to a few objects that allured them with hopes of sudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of industry, which lead more slowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or who are so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to settle, by the prospect of their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those in which they met with a disappointment of the sanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompense of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

During several years, the ardor of their researches was kept up by hope rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi in Peru were accidentally discovered in the year 1545 by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountains in pursuit of a llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after, the mines of Sacotecas in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of

them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firme, and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduced into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or of the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures astonished mankind, who had been accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient lands, here. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered to the present time. Thus, in two hundred and eighty-three years, amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it in consideration of treasure which has been extracted from the mines, and imported fraudulently into Spain without paying duty to the King. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds sterling. [1855]

The mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expense of the crown or of the public. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers and works a new vein is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim to such a discovery before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the customary duty to the King for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure, not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident, enter upon it with astonishing ardor. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give up the wealth which they contain to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of *searchers*. These are commonly persons of desperate fortune, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances which they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expense must be trifling, they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed: a small sum is advanced by each copartner; the mine is opened: the searcher is intrusted with the sole direction of every operation; unforeseen difficulties occur: new demands of money are made; but, amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardor of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enters this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return, his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit; visions of imaginary wealth are continually before his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else.

Such is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvements in agriculture and commerce as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislator would have been exerted with as much ardor in restraining its subjects from such

pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. "Projects of mining," says a good judge of the political conduct of nations, "instead of replacing the capital employed in them, together with the ordinary profit of stock, commonly absorb both capital and profit. They are the projects, therefore, to which, of all others, a prudent lawgiver, who desired to increase the capital of his nation, would least choose to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital than would go to them of its own accord." Such, in reality, is the absurd confidence which all men have in their own good fortune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it is apt to go to them of its own accord." But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have labored to depress, and, by the sanction of its approbation, arguments that inconsiderate credulity which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which Spanish America has made, during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals every bounty of nature is so much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards settled there, denominate a country *rich*, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards originally took this direction, it is now so difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased, the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of New Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind. [1846]

But though mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which these yield form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they possess there abound with other commodities of such value, or scarcity, as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of such demand in commerce that the sale is always certain, and yet yields such profit as amply rewards the labor and care employed in rearing the curious insects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jesuits' Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in compassion to human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The Indigo of Guatemala is superior in quality to that of any province in America, and cultivated to a considerable extent. Cacao, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and, from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavor than any brought from the New World; the Sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added an article of no inconsiderable account, the exportation of hides: for which, as well as for many of those which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country, than to their own foresight and industry. The domestic animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almost exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards settled there, the herds of tame cattle became so numerous that their proprietors reckoned them by thousands. Less attention being paid to them as they continued to increase, they were suffered to run wild; and spreading over a country of boundless extent, under a mild climate and covered with rich pasture, their number became immense. They range over the vast plains which extend from Buenos Ayres towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thousand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed several days before he can disentangle himself from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and seems to have no end. They are hardly less numerous in New

Spain, and in several other provinces; they are killed merely for the sake of their hides; and the slaughter at certain seasons is so great, that the stench of the carcasses, which are left in the field, would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vast flocks of *gallinazos*, or American vultures, the most voracious of all the feathered kind, did not instantly devour them. The number of those hides exported in every fleet to Europe, is very great, and is a lucrative branch of commerce.

Almost all these may be considered as staple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that last mentioned, from the productions of the mother country.

When the importation into Spain of those various articles from her colonies first became active and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures were in a state so prosperous, that with the product of these she was able both to purchase the commodities of the New World, and to answer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V., Spain was one of the most industrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and silk, were so extensive, as not only to furnish what was sufficient for her own consumption, but to afford a surplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her domestic store, and found there an abundant supply. [187] This new employment must naturally have added vivacity to the spirit of industry. Nourished and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain, might have gone on increasing in the same proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the state of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain is said to have possessed above a thousand merchant ships, a number probably far superior to that of any nation in Europe in that age. By the aid which foreign trade and domestic industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress, the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive, and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigor from her acquisitions in the New World that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

But various causes prevented this. The same thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increase, feeds and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in suddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry, and brings along with it a taste for what is wild and extravagant and daring in business or in action. Such was the great and sudden augmentation of power and revenue that the possession of America brought into Spain; and some symptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy soon began to appear. For a considerable time, however, the supply of treasure from the New World was scanty and precarious; and the genius of Charles V. conducted public measures with such prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, with talents far inferior to those of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a regular and considerable branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the state of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conspicuous. Philip, possessing that spirit of undaunted assiduity which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained such a high opinion of his own resources that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shant up himself in the solitude of the Escorial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrisons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By such a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardor during the course of a long reign Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III., [A. D. 1611.] the vigor of the nation continued to decrease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, at the very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers, and to revive its strength. Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a

diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies she was obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was lost. The trade between different parts of her own dominion was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on were taken and plundered by enemies whom she once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raised what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent state declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increase. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deserted the paths of industry to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence issued. By this rage of emigration another drain was opened, and the strength of the colonies augmented by exhausting that of the mother country. All those emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at first settled in America, depended absolutely upon Spain for almost every article of necessary consumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative pursuits, or prevented by restraints which government imposed, they could not turn their own attention towards establishing the manufactures requisite for comfortable subsistence. They received (as I have observed in another place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever ministers to the ease or luxury of life, and even their instruments of labor, from Europe. Spain, thinned of people and decreasing in industry, was unable to supply their growing demands. She had recourse to her neighbors. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into existence or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the exclusion of foreigners from trade with America, oppose this innovation. Necessity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operation, and constrained the Spaniards themselves to concur in eluding it. The English, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honor of Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are sold there, either in specie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurements of profit ever induced a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in him; and that probity, which is the pride and distinction of the nation, contributes to its ruin. In a short time, not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabric. All the rest was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe it was anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. That wealth which by an internal circulation, would have spread through each vein of industry, and have conveyed life and movement to every branch of manufacture, flowed out of the kingdom with such a rapid course as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand, the artisans of rival nations, encouraged by this quick sale of their commodities, improved so much in skill and industry as to be able to afford them at a rate so low, that the manufactures of Spain, which could not vie with theirs either in quality or cheapness of work, were still further depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faster and more completely than even the extravagant schemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was so much astonished and distressed at beholding her American treasures vanish almost as soon as they were imported, that Philip III., unable to supply what was requisite in circulation, issued an edict, by which he endeavored to raise copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of silver; and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

Thus the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a source of population and of wealth to her in the same manner as those of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the spirit of industry subsists in full vigor, every person settled in such colonies as are similar in their situation to those of Spain, is supposed to give employment to three or four at home

in supplying his wants. But wherever the mother country cannot afford this supply, every emigrant may be considered as a citizen lost to the community, and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

Such has been the internal state of Spain from the close of the sixteenth century, and such her inability to supply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this disproportion between their demands, and her capacity of answering them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain has endeavored to regulate the intercourse between the mother country and her colonies. It is from her idea of monopolising the trade with America, and debarring her subjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and systematic arrangements have arisen. These are so singular in their nature and consequences as to merit a particular explanation. In order to secure the monopoly at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better understood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the East and West Indies, to exclusive companies. The English, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with respect to the East Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a similar restraint upon some branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, devise a method for checking the progress of industry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The interest of the colony, and of the exclusive company, must in every point be diametrically opposite; and as the latter possesses such advantages in this unequal contest, that it can prescribe at pleasure the terms of intercourse, the former must not only buy dear and sell cheap, but must suffer the mortification of having the increase of its surplus stock discouraged by those very persons to whom alone it can dispose of its productions.

Spain, it is probable, was preserved from falling into this error of policy by the high ideas which she early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and silver were commodities of too high a value to vest a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wished to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting; and, in order to secure that, ordained the cargo of every ship fitted out for America to be inspected by the officers of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville before it could receive a license to make the voyage; and that, on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought should be made to the same board before it could be permitted to land them. In consequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred originally in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has continued, with little variation, from the middle of the sixteenth century almost to our own times. For the greater security of the valuable cargoes sent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain with its colonies is carried on by fleets which sail under strong convoys. These fleets, consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of the *Galeons*, the other by that of the *Flota*, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have sailed from it since the year 1720.

The Galeons destined to supply Tierra Firme, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of luxury or necessary consumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch first at Callaguena, and then at Porto Bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and several other provinces, resort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the season when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in these two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is transported by sea to Panama. From thence, as soon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed across the isthmus, partly on mules and partly down the river Chagre to Porto Bello. This paltry village, the climate of which, from the pernicious union of excessive heat, continual moisture; and the putrid exhalations arising from a rank soil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the residence of a few Negroes and Mulattoes, and of a miserable garrison relieved every three months, Porto Bello assumes suddenly a very different aspect, and its streets

are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its prescribed term of forty days, the richest traffic on the face of the earth is begun and finished with that simplicity of transaction, and that unbounded confidence, which accompany extensive commerce. [188] The Flota holds its course to Vera Cruz. The treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Puebla de los Angeles, in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither; and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto Bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havana, and return in company to Europe.

The trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower the value of them at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent. are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies. From the same engrossing spirit it frequently happens that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete assortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants such goods as they want at a lower price than that for which they are sold in the colonies. With the same vigilant jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavor to check the progress of every one whose encroachments they dread. This restraint of the American commerce to one port not only affects its domestic state, but limits its foreign operations. A monopolist may acquire more, and certainly will hazard less, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extensive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his interest not to enlarge, but to circumscribe the sphere of his activity; and instead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial industry, it may be the object of his attention to check and set bounds to them. By some such maxim the mercantile policy of Spain seems to have regulated its intercourse with America. Instead of furnishing the colonies with European goods in such quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition, among customers obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable the Spanish factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burden of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. The supply which such a fleet could carry must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries and many of the necessities of life.

Spain early became sensible of her declension from her former prosperity; and many respectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended that, in order to check illicit commerce, every person convicted of carrying it on should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects. Others, forgetting the distinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, insisted that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes reserved for the cognizance of the Inquisition; that such as were guilty of it might be tried and punished according to the secret and summary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurisdiction. Others, unimpressed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where

they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclusive companies, which interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the encroachment of the interlopers.

Besides these wild projects, many schemes, better digested and more beneficial, were suggested. But under the feeble monarchs with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. Instead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V., they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II.; and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domestic as well as foreign languished. These evils continued to increase; and Spain, with dominions more extensive and more opulent than any European state, possessed neither vigor, nor money, [189] nor industry. At length, the violence of a great national convulsion roused the slumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war kindled by the dispute concerning the succession of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in some degree, the ancient spirit and vigor of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting sentiments more liberal than those which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the course of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected source the means of availing itself of their talents. The various powers who favored the pretensions either of the Austrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spanish throne, sent formidable fleets and armies to their support; France, England, and Holland remitted immense sums to Spain. These were spent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treasure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this era one of the most intelligent Spanish authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquisition of a fund of circulating specie in some measure adequate to the exigencies of the public.

As soon as the Bourbons obtained quiet possession of the throne, they discerned this change in the spirit of the people and in the state of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain remarkable for superiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happiness of their subjects, and solicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the first object of Philip V. to suppress an innovation which had crept in during the course of the war, and had overturned the whole system of the Spanish commerce with America. The English and Dutch, by their superiority in naval power, having acquired such command of the sea as to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furnish her subjects in America those necessities of life without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treasure, departed so far from the usual rigor of its maxims as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigor, and carried it on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in stinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America in such abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependence of the colonies on the mother country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore issued [1713.] prohibiting the admission of foreign vessels into any port of Peru or Chili, and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

But though, on the cessation of the war which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial system, she was exposed to another which she deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace, which France and Spain desired with equal ardor, Philip V., not only conveyed to Great Britain the *Assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with Negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of sending

annually to the fair of Porto Bello a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in the towns of most extensive trade, and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. In consequence of information so authentic and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish main were enabled to assort and proportion their cargoes so exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the most fatal consequence of the *Assiento* to the trade of Spain. The agents of the British South Sea Company, under cover of the importation which they were authorized to make by the ship sent annually to Porto Bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish continent without limitation or restraint. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons, as stipulated in the treaty, they usually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three smaller vessels, which, mooring in some neighboring creek, supplied her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods to replace such as were sold. The inspectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant presents, connived at the fraud. [190] Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was engrossed by foreigners. The immense commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, sunk to nothing [1737]; and the squadron itself, reduced from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons, served hardly any purpose but to fetch home the royal revenue arising from the fifth on silver.

While Spain observed those encroachments, and felt so sensibly their pernicious effects, it was impossible not to make some effort to restrain them. Her first expedient was to station ships of force, under the appellation of *guarda costas*, upon the coasts of those provinces to which interlopers most frequently resorted. As private interest concurred with the duty which they owed to the public, in rendering the officers who commanded those vessels vigilant and active, some check was given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions so extensive and so accessible by sea, hardly any number of cruisers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse which had been carried on with so much facility, that the merchants in the British colonies were accustomed to consider it almost as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. These, authorized in some measure, and rendered more interesting by several unjustifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish *guarda costas*, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain [1739]; in consequence of which the latter obtained a final release from the *Assiento*, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

As the formidable encroachments of the English on their American trade, had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one of sending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe; but long experience had shown it to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favorable opportunity: an ample supply was poured in by interlopers from the English, the French, and Dutch islands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets so glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the

commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain has permitted a considerable part of her commerce with America to be carried on by *register ships*. These are fitted out during the intervals between the stated seasons when the Galeons and Flota sail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a license from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are destined for those ports in America where any extraordinary demand is foreseen or expected. By this expedient, such a regular supply of the commodities for which there is the greatest demand is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the same prospect of excessive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the same necessity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register ships increased; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aside. From that period there has been no intercourse with Chili and Peru but by single ships, despatched from time to time as occasion requires, and when the merchants expect a profitable market will open. These ships sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people settled in those countries were formerly obliged to repair to Porto Bello or Panama. These towns, as has been formerly observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their prosperity. This disadvantage, however, is more than compensated by the beneficial effects of this new arrangement, as the whole continent of South America receives new supplies of European commodities with so much regularity, and in such abundance, as must not only contribute greatly to the happiness, but increase the population of all the colonies settled there. But as all the register ships destined for the South Seas must still take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither, this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it which I have already described.

Nor has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flourishing colonies; it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new tastes which the people of Europe have acquired in consequence of importing the productions of those countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the most universal. The use of this liquor, made with a paste formed of the nut or almond of the cacao tree compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, so palatable, so nourishing, and so wholesome, that it has become a commercial article of considerable importance. The cacao tree grows spontaneously in several parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the best quality, next to those of Guatemala on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firme. In consequence of this acknowledged superiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantic, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extensive than in any district of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their settlements in the small islands of Curazoa and Buenos Ayres, to the coast of Caraccas, gradually engrossed the greatest part of the cacao trade. The traffic with the mother country for this valuable commodity ceased almost entirely; and such was the supine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies at an exorbitant price. In order to remedy an evil no less disgraceful than pernicious to his subjects, Philip V., in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants an exclusive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana, on condition of their employing, at their own expense, a sufficient number of armed vessels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society, distinguished sometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with such vigor and success, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied

with an article of extensive consumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent state, but the colony of Caracas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner by several salutary regulations framed upon foresight of such bad effects, and on purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Caracas are not left to depend entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities or the sale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary islands have the privilege of sending thither annually a register ship of considerable burden; and from Vera Cruz, in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or of degrading the latter, at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caracas, has been very considerable. [191]

But as it is slowly that nations relinquish any system which time has rendered venerable, and as it is still more slowly that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow, Philip V., in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid such deference to the ancient maxims of Spain, concerning the limitation of importation from the New World to one harbor, as to oblige both the register ships which returned from Peru, and those of the Guipuscoan Company from Caracas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, sentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pyrenees. In the researches of ingenious authors concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with respect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with the reproaches of these authors, or convinced by their arguments, and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, seem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have so long retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne that Spain is indebted for the first public regulation formed in consequence of such enlarged ideas.

While Spain adhered with rigor to her ancient maxim concerning her commerce with America, she was so much afraid of opening any channel by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment, for a regular communication of either public or private intelligence, between the mother country and its American settlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operations of the state, as well as the business of individuals, were retarded or conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was sensibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious, that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. surmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet boats to be despatched on the first day of each month from Corogna to the Havana or Porto Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in smaller vessels to Vera Cruz and Porto Bello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firme, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet boats sail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a speedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vast dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom. With this new arrangement a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet boats, which are vessels of some considerable burden, is allowed to take

in half a loading of such commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for these, they may bring home to Corogna an equal quantity of American productions. This may be considered as the first relaxation of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

It was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward Islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each province, which are specified in the edict, at any season, and with whatever cargo they deemed most proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the custom-house of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppressive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of six in the hundred on the commodities sent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the same port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been laboring for two centuries and a half to throw round its commercial intercourse with the New World, was soon after extended to Louisiana, and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy.

The propriety of this innovation, which may be considered as the most liberal effort of Spanish legislation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favor of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconsiderable, and that of Yucatan and Campeachy was engrossed almost entirely by interlopers. But as soon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourse with those provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progression of which there are few examples in the history of nations. In less than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in those settlements where, from the languishing state of industry, greater efforts were requisite to restore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed that such a number of ships is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota at the most flourishing era of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants established in a favorite port. They are diffused through every province of the kingdom; and, by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, must encourage and add vivacity to the industry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports; it derives advantage likewise from what it receives in return, and has the prospect of being soon able to supply itself with several commodities of extensive consumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The consumption of sugar in Spain is perhaps as great, in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But though possessed of countries in the New World whose soil and climate are most proper for rearing the sugar-cane; though the domestic culture of that valuable plant in the kingdom of Granada was once considerable; such has been the fatal tendency of ill judged institutions in America, and such the pressure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has lost almost entirely this branch of industry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchase of foreigners, and had the mortification to see their country drained annually of great sums on that account. But, if that spirit which the permission of free trade has put in motion shall persevere in its efforts with the same vigor, the cultivation of sugar in Cuba and Porto Rico may increase so much, that in a few years it is probable that their growth of sugars may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Spain has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial consequences resulting from having relaxed somewhat of the rigor of her ancient laws, with respect to the commerce of the mother country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourse of one colony with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old system, all the provinces situated on the South seas were prohibited, under the most severe penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though

each of these yields peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happiness of their respective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progress in industry, so solicitous was the Council of the Indies to prevent their receiving any supply of their wants but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that, in order to guard against this, it cruelly debarr'd the Spaniards in Peru, in the southern provinces of New Spain, in Guatimala, and the new kingdom of Granada, from such a correspondence with their fellow subjects as tended manifestly to their mutual prosperity. Of all the numerous restrictions devised by Spain for securing the exclusive trade with her American settlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none seems to have been more sensibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coeval with the settlements of Spain in the countries situated on the Pacific Ocean, is at last redressed. In the year 1774, Charles III. published an edict, granting to the four great provinces which I have mentioned the privilege of a free trade with each other. [192] What may be the effects of opening this communication between countries destined by their situation for reciprocal intercourse, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extensive. The motives for granting this permission are manifestly no less laudable than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both discover the progress of a spirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her system for regulating the trade and conducting the government of her colonies was originally founded.

At the same time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, suggested by more enlarged views of policy, into her system of American commerce, she has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here, too, there was much room for reformation and improvement; and Don Joseph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department of Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the best opportunities, not only of observing the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of discovering the sources of those evils. After being employed seven years in the New World on an extraordinary mission, and with very extensive powers, as inspector-general of New Spain; after visiting in person the remote provinces of Chalco, Sonora, and California, and making several important alterations in the state of the police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general reformation of the tribunals of justice in America. In consequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much that the number of judges of which they were originally composed has been found inadequate to the growing labors and duties of the office, and the salaries settled upon them have been deemed inferior to the dignity of the station. As a remedy for both, he obtained a royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each Court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments.

To the same intelligent minister Spain is indebted for a new distribution of government in its American provinces. Even since the establishment of a third viceroyalty in the new kingdom of Granada, so great is the extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each viceroy were at such an enormous distance from the capitals in which they resided, that neither their attention nor authority could reach so far. Some provinces subordinate to the viceroy of New Spain lay above two thousand miles from Mexico. There were countries subject to the viceroy of Peru still further from Lima. The people in those remote districts could hardly be said to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppression and insolence of its inferior ministers they often feel, and rather submit to these in silence than involve themselves in the expense and trouble of resorting to the distant capital, where alone they can find redress. As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected. [Aug. 1776] to the jurisdiction of which are subjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cruz de la Sierra Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement two advantages are gained. All the inconveniences occasioned by the remote situation of those provinces, which had been long felt, and long complained of, are in a great measure removed. The countries most distant from Lima are separated from the viceroyalty of Peru, and united under a superior, whose seat of government at Buenos Ayres will be commodious and accessible.

The contraband trade with the Portuguese, which was become so extensive as must have put a final stop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her southern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly, and with greater facility, when the supreme magistrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it was carried on, can view its progress and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zavallos, who has been raised to this new dignity, with appointments equal to those of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the state and the interests of the countries over which he is to preside, having served in them long, and with distinction. By this dismemberment, succeeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the new kingdom of Granada, almost two-thirds parts of the territories originally subject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their jurisdiction.

The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewise been considerably circumscribed, and with no less propriety and discernment. Four of its most remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a separate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intrusted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank; but his jurisdiction is altogether independent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico, but by attention to the late discoveries made there which I have mentioned. Countries containing the richest mines of gold that have hitherto been discovered in the New World, and which probably may rise into greater importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor to whom they should be specially committed. As every consideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertions as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be considerable. Many districts in America, long depressed by the languor and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigor and activity when brought so near the seat of power as to feel its invigorating influence.

Such, since the accession of the princes of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, has been the progress of their regulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestic errors and defects in policy. Fully sensible of the causes to which the declension of Spain from her former prosperity ought to be imputed, they have made it a great object of their policy to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures as may enable them to supply the demands of America from their own stock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavored to accomplish by a variety of edicts issued since the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have entirely prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, such foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have instituted societies for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated districts of Spain, and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to every expedient devised by commercial wisdom or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other nations. These, however, it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with such advantages, derived from the large capitals and extensive credit of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, and the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business, that the state which aims at rivalling or supplanting them, must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance slowly. If the quantity of productive industry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the last listless

monarchs of the Austrian line, its progress must appear considerable, and is sufficient to alarm the jealousy, and to call forth the most vigorous efforts of the nations now in possession of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wresting from them. One circumstance may render those exertions of Spain an object of more serious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be ascribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its ministers. The sentiments and spirit of the people seem to second the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with respect to commerce, but domestic policy. In all the later Spanish writers, defects in the arrangement of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies proposed, which ignorance rendered their ancestors incapable of discerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confess. [193]. But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious institutions and abuses, deeply incorporated with the system of internal policy and taxation, which has been long established in Spain, must be abolished before industry and manufactures can recover an extensive activity.

Still, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with respect to her colonies are too rigid and systematical to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions too severe, defeats its own intention, and is only multiplying the inducements to violate its statutes, and proposing a high premium to encourage illicit traffic. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, being circumscribed in their mutual intercourse, by the jealousy of the crown, or oppressed by its exactions, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which public wisdom cannot foresee nor public authority prevent. This spirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the highest departments in government descends to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade are often employed as instruments in carrying it on; and the boards instituted to restrain and punish it are the channels through which it flows. The king is supposed, by the most intelligent Spanish writers, to be defrauded, by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America; and as long as it is the interest of so many persons to screen those artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. "How many ordinances," says Corita, "how many instructions, how many letters from our sovereign, are sent in order to correct abuses! and how little are they observed, and what small advantage is derived from them! To me the old observation appears just, that where there are many physicians and many medicines, there is a want of health; where there are many laws and many judges, there is a want of justice." We have viceroys, presidents, governors, oydors, corregidores, alcaldes; and thousands of alguazils abound every where; but notwithstanding all these, public abuses continue to multiply. "Time has increased the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A spirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the seat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return speedily from what they are apt to consider as a state of exile in a remote unhealthy country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be resisted, and seduced by the example of those around them; find their sentiments of honor and of duty gradually relax. In private life they give themselves up to a dissolute luxury, while in their public conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their sovereign and to their country.

Before I close this account of the Spanish trade in America there remains one detached but important branch of it to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain [1564]. Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippine islands under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our

globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the East and West was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain.

After various arrangements it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which are permitted to carry out silver to the amount of five hundred thousand pesos; but they have hardly any thing else of value on board; in return for which they bring back spices, drugs, china, and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muslins, silks, and every precious article with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people has enabled the East to supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffic, and might send annually a ship to Acapulco, to wait the arrival of the vessels from Manila, and receive a proportional share of the commodities which they imported. At length the Peruvians were excluded from this trade by most rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the East reserved solely for the consumption of New Spain.

In consequence of this indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more suited to a warm climate, and more showy than those of Europe, but can be sold at a lower price; while, at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable as to enrich all those who are employed either in bringing them from Manila or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and seller concurred in favoring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in spite of regulations concerted with the most anxious jealousy to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, great quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain; [194] and when the Flota arrives at Vera Cruz, from Europe, it often finds the wants of the people already supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

There is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumstance more inexplicable than the permission of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependence on the mother country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourse that might suggest to them the idea of receiving a supply of their wants from any other quarter. This permission must appear still more extraordinary, from considering that Spain herself carries on no direct trade with her settlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies which she denies to her subjects in Europe. It is probable that the colonists, who originally took possession of the Philippines, having been sent out from New Spain, began this intercourse with a country which they considered, in some measure, as the parent state, before the court of Madrid was aware of its consequences, or could establish regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigor to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila seems to be as considerable as ever, and may be considered as one chief cause of the elegance and splendor conspicuous in this part of the Spanish dominions.

But notwithstanding this general corruption in the colonies of Spain, and the diminution of the income belonging to the public, occasioned by the illicit importations made by foreigners, as well as by the various frauds of which the colonists themselves are guilty in their commerce with the parent state, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable revenue from their American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided, into three capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the king, as sovereign, or superior lord of the New World; to this class belongs the duty on the gold and silver raised from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the *right of signory*, the latter is the *duty of vassalage*. The second branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce

which accompany and oppress it in every step of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant to the petty traffic of the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king, as had of the church, and administrator of ecclesiastical funds in the New World. In consequence of this he receives the first fruits, annates, spoils, and other spiritual revenues, levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe; and is entitled likewise to the profit arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences by the Pope, and, among other immunities, a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing those bulls extol their virtues with all the fervor of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, listen with implicit assent; and every person in the Spanish colonies, of European, or Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government. [195]

What may be the amount of those various funds, it is almost impossible to determine with precision. The extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealousy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterious silence which the Spaniards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no less accurate than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with respect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half must be deducted as the expense of the provincial establishment. [196] Peru, it is probable, yields a sum not inferior to this; and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value, we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth if we conclude that the net public revenue of Spain, raised in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling. This falls far short of the immense sums to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raised the Spanish revenue in America. [197] It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers who derive a direct revenue from their colonies. All the advantage that accrues to other nations from their American dominions arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade; but besides this, Spain has brought her colonies towards increasing the power of the state, and, in return for protection, to bear a proportional share of the common burden.

Accordingly, the sum which I have computed to be the amount of the Spanish revenue from America arises wholly from the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties imposed on the commodities exported from Spain to America [198], as well as what is paid by those which she sends home in return; the tax upon the Negro slaves with which Africa supplies the New World, together with several smaller branches of finance, bring large sums into the treasury, the precise extent of which I cannot pretend to ascertain.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expense of administration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domestic police and finances, Spain has adopted a system more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation in which the sovereign possesses such extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and her endeavors to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection, boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expense of living is great, the salaries allotted to every person in public office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the new kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the king's person, among people fond of ostentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of power, displaying such pomp as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expense incurred by

supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have, besides, peculiar appointments suited to their exalted station. The salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate: that of the viceroy of Peru is only thirty thousand ducats; and that of the viceroy of Mexico twenty thousand ducats. Of late they have been raised to forty thousand.

These salaries, however, constitute but a small part of the revenue enjoyed by the viceroys. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them many opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, which may be considered as legal and allowed emoluments, large sums are often added by exactions, which, in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolising some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue as no subject of any European monarch enjoys. [199] From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his *Nome-day* (which is always observed as a high festival), I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive sixty thousand pesos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are unknown, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Sensible of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission to their viceroys only for a few years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardor wherewith they labor to improve every moment of a power which they know is hastening fast to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue that remains unshaken. In the year 1772, the Marquis de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and, instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE [1]. PAGE 70.—Tyre was situated at such a distance from the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, as made it impracticable to convey commodities from thence to that city by land carriage. This induced the Phœnicians to render themselves masters of *Rainorura* or *Rhinocollura*, the nearest port in the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. They landed the cargoes which they purchased in Arabia, Ethiopia, and India, at Elath, the safest harbor in the Red Sea towards the North. Thence they were carried by land to Rhinocollura, the distance not being very considerable; and, being re-shipped in that port were transported to Tyre, and distributed over the world. Strabon. Geogr. edit. Casaub. lib. xvi. p. 1128. Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. Histor. edit. Wesselingii, lib. i. p. 70.

NOTE [2]. p. 70.—The *Periplus Hannonis* is the only authentic monument of the Carthaginian skill in naval affairs, and one of the most curious fragments transmitted to us by antiquity. The learned and industrious Mr. Dodwell, in a dissertation prefixed to the *Periplus of Hanno*, in the edition of the *Minor Geographers* published at Oxford, endeavors to prove that this is a spurious work, the composition of some Greek, who assumed Hanno's name. But M. de Montesquieu, in his *l'Esprit des Loix*, lib. xxi. c. 8. and M. de Bougainville, in a dissertation published tom. xxvi. of the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, &c. have established its authenticity by arguments which to me appear unanswerable. Ramusio has accompanied his translation of this curious voyage with a dissertation tending to illustrate it. *Raccolte de Viaggi*, vol. i. p. 112. M. de Bougainville has, with great learning and ability, treated the same subject. It appears that Hanno, according to the mode of ancient navigation, undertook this voyage in small vessels so constructed that he could keep close in with the coast. He sailed from Gades to the island of Cerne in twelve days. This is probably what is known to the moderns by the name of the Isle of Arguin. It became the chief station of the Carthaginians on that coast; and M. de Bougainville contends, that the cisterns found there are monuments of the Carthaginian power and ingenuity. Proceeding from Cerne, and still following the winding of the coast, he arrived in seventeen days, at a promontory which he called *The West Horn*, probably Cape Pal-

mas. From this he advanced to another promontory, which he named *The South Horn*, and which is manifestly Cape de Tres Puntas, about five degrees north of the line. All the circumstances contained in the short abstract of his journal, which is handed down to us, concerning the appearance and state of the countries on the coast of Africa, are confirmed and illustrated by a comparison with the accounts of modern navigators. Even those circumstances which, from their seeming improbability, have been produced to invalidate the credibility of his relation, tend to confirm it. He observes, that in the country to the south of Cerne, a profound silence reigned through the day; but during the night innumerable fires were kindled along the banks of the rivers, and the air resounded with the noise of pipes and drums and cries of joy. The same thing, as Ramusio observes, still takes place. The excessive heat obliges the Negroes to take shelter in the woods, or in their houses, during the day. As soon as the sun sets, they sally out, and by torchlight enjoy the pleasure of music and dancing, in which they spend the night. Ramus. i. 113. F. In another place, he mentions the sea as burning with torrents of fire. What occurred to M. Adanson, on the same coast, may explain this: "As soon," says he, "as the sun dipped beneath the horizon, and night over-spread the earth with darkness, the sea lent us its friendly light. While the prow of our vessel ploughed the foaming surges, it seemed to set them all on fire. Thus we sailed in a luminous inclosure, which surrounded us like a large circle of rays, from whence darted in the wake of the ship a long stream of a light." Voy. to Senegal, p. 176. This appearance of the sea, observed by Hunter, has been mentioned as an argument against the authenticity of the *Periplus*. It is, however, a phenomenon very common in warm climates. Captain Cook's second voyage, vol. i. p. 15. The *Periplus of Hanno* has been translated, and every point with respect to it has been illustrated with much learning and ingenuity, in a work published by Don Pedr. Rodrigo. Campomanes, entitled, *Antiguedad maritima de Cartago, con el Periplus de su General Hannon traducido e ilustrado*. Mad. 1756, 4to.

NOTE [3]. p. 70.—Long after the navigation of the Phœnicians and of Eudoxus round Africa, Polybus, the most intelligent and best informed historian of antiquity, and particularly distinguished by his attention to geographical researches, affirms, that it was not known, in his time, whether Africa was a continued continent stretching to the south, or whether it was encompassed by the sea. Polybi Hist. lib. iii. Pliny the naturalist asserts, that there can be no communication between the southern and northern temperate zones. Plinii Hist. Natur. edit. in usum. Delph. 4to. lib. ii. c. 68. If they had given full credit to the accounts of those voyages, the former could not have entertained such a doubt, the latter could not have delivered such an opinion. Strabo mentions the voyage of Eudoxus, but treats it as a fabulous tale. lib. ii. p. 155; and, according to his account of it, no other judgment can be formed with respect to it. Strabo seems not to have known any thing with certainty concerning the form and state of the southern parts of Africa. Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 1180. Ptolemy, the most inquisitive and learned of all the ancient geographers, was equally unacquainted with any parts of Africa situated a few degrees beyond the equinoctial line; for he supposes that this great continent was not surrounded by the sea, but that it stretched, without interruption, towards the south pole; and he so far mistakes its true figure that he describes the continent as becoming broader and broader as it advanced towards the south. Ptolemæi Geogr. lib. iv. c. 9. Brietii Parallela Geogr. veteris et novæ, p. 86.

NOTE [4]. p. 71.—A fact recorded by Strabo affords a very strong and singular proof of the ignorance of the ancients with respect to the situation of the various parts of the earth. When Alexander marched along the banks of the Hydaspes and Acesine, two of the rivers which fall into the Indus, he observed that there were many crocodiles in those rivers, and that the country produced beans of the same species with those which were common in Egypt. From these circumstances he concluded that he had discovered the source of the Nile, and prepared a fleet to sail down the Hydaspes to Egypt. Strab. Geogr. lib. xv. p. 1020. This amazing error did not arise from any ignorance of geography peculiar to that monarch; for we are informed by Strabo, that Alexander applied with particular attention in order to acquire the knowledge of this science, and had accurate maps or descriptions of the

countries through which he marched. Lib. ii. p. 120. But in his age the knowledge of the Greeks did not extend beyond the limits of the Mediterranean.

NOTE [5]. p. 71.—As the flux and reflux of the sea is remarkably great at the mouth of the river Indus, this would render the phenomenon more formidable to the Greeks. Varen Geogr. vol. i. p. 251.

NOTE [6]. p. 71.—It is probable that the ancients were seldom induced to advance so far as the mouth of the Ganges, either by motives of curiosity or views of commercial advantage. In consequence of this, their idea concerning the position of that great river was very erroneous. Ptolemy places that branch of the Ganges, which he distinguishes by the name of the Great Mouth, in the hundred and forty-sixth degree of longitude from his first meridian in the Fortunate Islands. But its true longitude, computed from that meridian, is now determined, by astronomical observations, to be only a hundred and five degrees. A geographer so eminent must have been betrayed into an error of this magnitude by the imperfection of the information which he had received concerning those distant regions; and this affords a striking proof of the intercourse with them being extremely rare. With respect to the countries of India beyond the Ganges, his intelligence was still more defective, and his errors more enormous. I shall have occasion to observe, in another place, that he has placed the country of the Seres, or China, no less than sixty degrees further east than its true position. M. d'Anville, one of the most learned and intelligent of the modern geographers, has set this matter in a clear light, in two dissertations published in Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript. &c. tom. xxxii. p. 573. 604.

NOTE [7]. p. 71.—It is remarkable, that the discoveries of the ancients were made chiefly by land; those of the moderns are carried on chiefly by sea. The progress of conquest led to the former, that of commerce to the latter. It is a judicious observation of Strabo, that the conquests of Alexander the Great made known the East, those of the Romans opened the West, and those of Mithridates King of Pontus the North. Lib. i. p. 26. When discovery is carried on by land alone, its progress must be slow and its operations confined. When it is carried on only by sea, its sphere may be more extensive, and its advances more rapid; but it labors under peculiar defects. Though it may make known the position of different countries, and ascertain their boundaries as far as these are determined by the ocean, it leaves us in ignorance with respect to their interior state. Above two centuries and a half have elapsed since the Europeans sailed round the southern promontory of Africa, and have traded in most of its ports; but, in a considerable part of that great continent, they have done little more than survey its coasts, and mark its capes and harbors. Its interior regions are in a great measure unknown. The ancients, who had a very imperfect knowledge of its coasts, except where they were washed by the Mediterranean or Red Sea, were accustomed to penetrate into its inland provinces, and, if we may rely on the testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, had explored many parts of it now altogether unknown. Unless both modes of discovery be united, the geographical knowledge of the earth must remain incomplete and inaccurate.

NOTE [8]. p. 72.—The notions of the ancients concerning such an excessive degree of heat in the torrid zone as rendered it uninhabitable, and their persisting in this error long after they began to have some commercial intercourse with several parts of India lying within the tropics, must appear so singular and absurd, that it may not be unacceptable to some of my readers to produce evidence of their holding this opinion, and to account for the apparent inconsistency of their theory with their experience. Cicero, who had bestowed attention upon every part of philosophy known to the ancients, seems to have believed that the torrid zone was uninhabitable, and, of consequence, that there could be no intercourse between the northern and southern temperate zones. He introduces Africanus thus addressing the younger Scipio: "You see this earth encompassed, and as it were bound in by certain zones, of which two, at the greatest distance from each other, and sustaining the opposite poles of heaven, are frozen with perpetual cold; the middle one, and the largest of all, is burnt with the heat of the sun; two are habitable; the people in the southern one are antipodes to us, with whom we have no connection."

Somnium Scipionis, c. 6. Geminus, a Greek philosopher, contemporary with Cicero, delivers the same doctrine, not in a popular work, but in his *Εισαγωγή εις Φαισάγενα*, a treatise purely scientific. "When we speak," says he, "of the southern temperate zone and its inhabitants, and concerning those who are called antipodes, it must be always understood, that we have no certain knowledge or information concerning the southern temperate zone, whether it be inhabited or not. But from the spherical figure of the earth, and the course which the sun holds between the tropics, we conclude that there is another zone situated to the south, which enjoys the same degree of temperature with the northern one which we inhabit." Cap. xiii. p. 31. ap. Petavii Opus de Duct. Temp. in quo Uranologium sive Systemata var. Auctorum. Amst. 1705. vol. 3. The opinion of Pliny the naturalist, with respect to both these points, was the same: "There are five divisions of the earth, which are called zones. All that portion which lies near to the two opposite poles is oppressed with vehement cold and eternal frost. There, unblest with the aspect of milder stars, perpetual darkness reigns, or at the utmost, a feeble light reflected from surrounding snows. The middle of the earth, in which is the orbit of the sun, is scorched and burnt up with flames and fiery vapor. Between these torrid and frozen districts lie two other portions of the earth, which are temperate; but, on account of the burning region interposed, there can be no communication between them. Thus Heaven has deprived us of three parts of the earth." Lib. ii. c. 68. Strabo delivers his opinion to the same effect, in terms no less explicit: "The portion of the earth which lies near the equator, in the torrid zone, is rendered uninhabitable by heat." Lib. ii. p. 154. To these I might add the authority of many other respectable philosophers and historians of antiquity.

In order to explain the sense in which this doctrine was generally received, we may observe, that Parmenides, as we are informed by Strabo, was the first who divided the earth into five zones, and extended the limits of the zone which he supposed to be uninhabitable on account of heat beyond the tropics. Aristotle, as we learn likewise from Strabo, fixed the boundaries of the different zones in the same manner as they are defined by modern geographers. But the progress of discovery having gradually demonstrated that several regions of the earth which lay within the tropics were not only habitable, but populous and fertile, this induced later geographers to circumscribe the limits of the torrid zone. It is not easy to ascertain with precision the boundaries which they allotted it. From a passage in Strabo, who, as far as I know, is the only author of antiquity from whom we receive any hint concerning this subject, I should conjecture, that those who calculated according to the measurement of the earth by Eratosthenes, supposed the torrid zone to comprehend near sixteen degrees, about eight on each side of the equator; whereas such as followed the computation of Posidonius allotted about twenty-four degrees, or somewhat more than twelve degrees on each side of the equator to the torrid zone. Strabo, lib. ii. p. 151. According to the former opinion, about two-thirds of that portion of the earth which lies between the tropics was considered as habitable; according to the latter, about one-half of it. With this restriction, the doctrine of the ancients concerning the torrid zone appears less absurd; and we can conceive the reason of their asserting this zone to be uninhabitable, even after they had opened a communication with several places within the tropics. When men of science spoke of the torrid zone, they considered it as it was limited by the definition of geographers to sixteen, or at the utmost to twenty-four degrees; and as they knew almost nothing of the countries nearer to the equator they might still suppose them to be uninhabitable. In loose and popular discourse, the name of the torrid zone continued to be given to all that portion of the earth which lies within the tropics. Cicero seems to have been unacquainted with those ideas of the later geographers; and, adhering to the division of Parmenides, describes the torrid zone as the largest of the five. Some of the ancients rejected the notion concerning the intolerable heat of the torrid zone as a popular error. This we are told by Plutarch was the sentiment of Pythagoras; and we learn from Strabo, that Eratosthenes and Polybius had adopted the same opinion, lib. ii. p. 154. Ptolemy seems to have paid no regard to the ancient doctrine and opinions concerning the torrid zone.

NOTE [9]. p. 74.—The court of Inquisition, which effectually checks a spirit of liberal inquiry, and of literary improvement, wherever it is established, was un-

known in Portugal in the fifteenth century, when the people of that country began their voyages of discovery. More than a century elapsed before it was introduced by John III., whose reign commenced A. D. 1521.

NOTE [10]. p. 75.—An instance of this is related by Hakluyt, upon the authority of the Portuguese historian Garcia de Resende. Some English merchants having resolved to open a trade with the coast of Guinea, John II. of Portugal despatched ambassadors to Edward IV., in order to lay before him the right which he had acquired by the Pope's bull to the dominion of that country, and to request of him to prohibit his subjects to prosecute their intended voyage. Edward was so much satisfied with the exclusive title of the Portuguese, that he issued his orders in the terms which they desired. Hakluyt, Navigations, Voyages, and Traffics of the English, vol. ii. part. ii. p. 2.

NOTE [11]. p. 76.—The time of Columbus's death may be nearly ascertained by the following circumstances. It appears from the fragment of a letter addressed by him to Ferdinand and Isabella, A. D. 1501, that he had at that time been engaged forty years in a seafaring life. In another letter he informs them that he went to sea at the age of fourteen: from those facts it follows, that he was born A. D. 1447. Life of Christa. Columbus, by his son Don Ferdinand. Churchill's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 484, 485.

NOTE [12]. p. 77.—The spherical figure of the earth was known to the ancient geographers. They invented the method, still in use, of computing the longitude and latitude of different places. According to their doctrine, the equator, or imaginary line which encompasses the earth, contained three hundred and sixty degrees; these they divided into twenty-four parts, or hours, each equal to fifteen degrees. The country of the Seres or Sina, being the furthest part of India known to the ancients, was supposed by Marinus Tyrius, the most eminent of the ancient geographers before Ptolemy, to be fifteen hours, or two hundred and twenty-five degrees to the east of the first meridian, passing through the Fortunate Islands. Ptolemai Geogr. lib. i. c. 11. If this supposition was well founded, the country of the Seres, or China, was only nine hours, or one hundred and thirty-five degrees west from the Fortunate or Canary Island; and the navigation in that direction was much shorter than by the course which the Portuguese were pursuing. Marco Polo, in his travels, had described countries, particularly the island of Cipango or Zipangri, supposed to be Japan, considerably to the east of any part of Asia known to the ancients. Marcus Paulus de Region. Oriental. lib. ii. c. 70. lib. iii. c. 2. Of course, this country, as it extended further to the east, was still nearer to the Canary Islands. The conclusions of Columbus, though drawn from inaccurate observations, were just. If the suppositions of Marinus had been well founded, and if the countries which Marco Polo visited, had been situated to the east of those whose longitude Marinus had ascertained, the proper and nearest course to the East Indies must have been to steer directly west. Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. c. 2. A more extensive knowledge of the globe has now discovered the great error of Marinus, in supposing China to be fifteen hours, or two hundred and twenty-five degrees east from the Canary Islands; and that even Ptolemy was mistaken, when he reduced the longitude of China to twelve hours, or one hundred and eighty degrees. The longitude of the western frontier of that vast empire is seven hours, or one hundred and fifteen degrees from the meridian of the Canary Islands. But Columbus followed the light which his age afforded, and relied upon the authority of writers, who were at that time regarded as the instructors and guides of mankind in the science of geography.

NOTE [13]. p. 79.—As the Portuguese, in making their discoveries, did not depart far from the coast of Africa, they concluded that birds, whose flight they observed with great attention, did not venture to any considerable distance from land. In the infancy of navigation it was not known that birds often stretched their flight to an immense distance from any shore. In sailing towards the West Indian Islands, birds are often seen at the distance of two hundred leagues from the nearest coast. Sloane's Nat. Hist. of Jamaica, vol. i. p. 30. Catesby saw an owl at sea when the ship was six hundred leagues distant from land. Nat. Hist. of Carolina, pref. p. 7. Hist. Naturelle de M. Buffon, tom. xvi. p. 32. From which it appears that this idio-

cation of land, on which Columbus seems to have relied with some confidence, was extremely uncertain. This observation is confirmed by Capt. Cook, the most extensive and experienced navigator of any age or nation. "No one yet knows (says he) to what distance any of the oceanic birds go to sea; for my own part, I do not believe that there is one in the whole tribe that can be relied on in pointing out the vicinity of land." Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 275.

NOTE [14]. p. 81.—In a letter of the Admiral's to Ferdinand and Isabella, he describes one of the harbors in Cuba with all the enthusiastic admiration of a discoverer. "I discovered a river which a galley might easily enter: the beauty of it induced me to sound, and I found from five to eight fathoms of water. Having proceeded a considerable way up the river, every thing invited me to settle there. The beauty of the river, the clearness of the water through which I could see the sandy bottom, the multitude of palm trees of different kinds, the tallest and finest I had seen, and an infinite number of other large and flourishing trees, the birds, and the verdure of the plains are so wonderfully beautiful, that this country excels all others as far as the day surpasses the night in brightness and splendor, so that I often said that it would be in vain for me to attempt to give your Highness a full account of it, for neither my tongue nor my pen could come up to the truth; and indeed I am so much amazed at the sight of such beauty, that I know not how to describe it." Life of Columb. c. 30.

NOTE [15]. p. 81.—The account which Columbus gives of the humanity and orderly behavior of the natives on this occasion is very striking. "the king (says he in a letter to Ferdinand and Isabella) having been informed of our misfortune, expressed great grief for our loss, and immediately sent aboard all the people in the place in many large canoes; we soon unloaded the ship of every thing that was upon deck, as the king gave us great assistance: he himself, with his brothers and relations, took all possible care that every thing should be properly done, both aboard and on shore. And, from time to time, he sent some of his relations weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all that he had. I can assure your Highnesses, that so much care could not have been taken in securing our effects in any part of Spain, as all our property was put together in one place near his palace, until the houses which he wanted to prepare for the custody of it were emptied. He immediately placed a guard of armed men, who watched during the whole night, and those on shore lamented as if they had been much interested in our loss. The people are so affectionate, so tractable, and so peaceable, that I swear to your Highnesses, that there is not a better race of men, nor a better country in the world. They love their neighbor as themselves; their conversation is the sweetest and mildest in the world, cheerful and always accompanied with a smile. And although it is true that they go naked, yet your Highnesses may be assured that they have many very commendable customs; the king is served with great state, and his behavior is so decent that it is pleasant to see him, as it is likewise to observe the wonderful memory which these people have, and their desire of knowing every thing, which leads them to inquire into its cause and effects." Life of Columbus, c. 32. It is probable that the Spaniards were indebted for this officious attention to the opinion which the Indians entertained of them as a superior order of beings.

NOTE [16]. p. 82.—Every monument of such a man as Columbus is valuable. A letter which he wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing what passed on this occasion, exhibits a most striking picture of his intrepidity, his humanity, his prudence, his public spirit, and courtly address. "I would have been less concerned for this misfortune had I alone been in danger, both because my life is a debt that I owe to the Supreme Creator, and because I have at other times been exposed to the most imminent hazard. But what gave me infinite grief and vexation was, that after it had pleased our Lord to give me faith to undertake this enterprise, in which I had now been so successful, that my opponents would have been convinced, and the glory of your Highnesses, and the extent of your territory, increased by me; it should please the Divine Majesty to stop all by my death. All this would have been more tolerable had it not been attended with the loss of those men whom I had carried with me, upon promise of the greatest prosperity, who, seeing them-

selves in such distress, cursed not only their coming along with me, but that fear and awe of me which prevented them from returning, as they often had resolved to have done. But besides all this, my sorrow was greatly increased by recollecting that I had left my two sons at school at Cordova, destitute of friends, in a foreign country, when it could not in all probability be known that I had done such services as might induce your Highnesses to remember them. And though I comforted myself with the faith that our Lord would not permit that which tended so much to the glory of his Church, and which I had brought about with so much trouble, to remain imperfect, yet I considered, that, on account of my sins, it was his will to deprive me of that glory which I might have attained in this world. While in this confused state, I thought on the good fortune which accompanies your Highnesses, and imagined that although I should perish, and the vessel be lost, it was possible that you might somehow come to the knowledge of my voyage, and the success with which it was attended. For that reason I wrote upon parchment with the brevity which the situation required, that I had discovered the lands which I promised, in how many days I had done it, and what course I had followed. I mentioned the goodness of the country, the character of the inhabitants, and that your Highnesses' subjects were left in possession of all that I had discovered. Having sealed this writing, I addressed it to your Highnesses, and promised a thousand ducats to any person who should deliver it sealed, so that if any foreigner found it, the promised reward might prevail on them not to give the information to another. I then caused a great cask to be brought to me, and wrapping up the parchment in an oiled cloth, and afterwards in a cake of wax, I put it into the cask, and having stopped it well, I cast it into the sea. All the men believed that it was some act of devotion. Imagining that this might never chance to be taken up, as the ships approached nearer to Spain, I made another packet like the first, and placed it at the top of the poop, so that, if the ship sunk, the cask remaining above water might be committed to the guidance of fortune."

NOTE [17]. p. 82.—Some Spanish authors, with the meanness of national jealousy, have endeavored to detract from the glory of Columbus, by insinuating that he was led to the discovery of the New World, not by his own inventive or enterprising genius, but by information which he had received. According to their account a vessel having been driven from its course by easterly winds, was carried before them far to the west, and landed on the coast of an unknown country, from which it returned with difficulty; the pilot and three sailors being the only persons who survived the distresses which the crew suffered from want of provisions and fatigue in this long voyage. In a few days after their arrival, all the four died; but the pilot having been received into the house of Columbus, his intimate friend disclosed to him before his death, the secret of the discovery which he had accidentally made, and left him his papers containing a journal of the voyage, which served as a guide to Columbus in his undertaking. Gomara, as far as I know, is the first author who published this story. Hist. c. 13. Every circumstance is destitute of evidence to support it. Neither the name of the vessel nor its destination is known. Some pretend that it belonged to one of the seaport towns in Andalusia, and was sailing either to the Canaries or to Madeira; others, that it was a Biscayan in its way to England; others, a Portuguese ship trading on the coast of Guinea. The name of the pilot is alike unknown, as well as that of the port in which he landed on his return. According to some, it was in Portugal; according to others, in Madeira, or the Azores. The year in which this voyage was made is no less uncertain. Monson's Nav. Tracts. Churchill iii. 371. No mention is made of this pilot, or his discoveries, by And. Bernaldes, or Pet. Martyr, the contemporaries of Columbus. Herrera, with his usual judgment, passes over it in silence. Oviedo takes notice of this report, but considers it as a tale fit only to amuse the vulgar. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2. As Columbus held his course directly west from the Canaries, and never varied it, some later authors have supposed that this uniformity is a proof of his being guided by some previous information. But they do not recollect the principles on which he founded all his hopes of success, that by holding a westerly course he must certainly arrive at those regions of the east described by the ancients. His firm belief of his own system led him to take that course, and to pursue it without deviation.

The Spaniards are not the only people who have called in question Columbus's claim to the honor of having discovered America. Some German authors ascribed this honor to Martin Behaim their countryman. He was of the noble family of the Behaims of Schwarzbach, citizens of the first rank in the Imperial town of Nuremberg. Having studied under the celebrated John Muller, better known by the name of Regiomontanus, he acquired such knowledge of cosmography as excited a desire of exploring those regions, the situation and qualities of which he had been accustomed, under that able master, to investigate and describe. Under the patronage of the Ditchess of Burgundy he repaired to Lisbon, whither the fame of the Portuguese discoveries invited all the adventurous spirits of the age. There, as we learn from Herman Schedel, of whose *Chronica Mundi*, a German translation was printed at Nuremberg, A. D. 1493, his merit as a cosmographer raised him, in conjunction with Diego Cano, to the command of a squadron fitted out for discovery in the year 1483. In that voyage he is said to have discovered the kingdom of Congo. He settled in the kingdom of Fayal, one of the Azores, and was a particular friend of Columbus. Herrera, dec. i. lib. i. c. 2. Magellan had a terrestrial globe made by Behaim, on which he demonstrated the course that he proposed to hold in search of the communication with the South Sea, which he afterwards discovered. Gomara Hist. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. In the year 1492, Behaim visited his relations in Nuremberg, and left with them a map drawn with his own hand, which is still preserved among the archives of the family. Thus far the story of Martin Behaim seems to be well authenticated; but the account of his having discovered any part of the New World appears to be merely conjectural.

In the first edition, as I had at that time hardly any knowledge of Behaim but what I derived from a frivolous dissertation 'De vero Novi Orbis Inventore,' published at Frankfurt, A. D. 1714, by Jo. Frid. Stuevinius, I was induced, by the authority of Herrera, to suppose that Behaim was not a native of Germany; but from more full and accurate information, communicated to me by the learned Dr. John Reinhold Forster, I am now satisfied that I was mistaken. Dr. Forster has been likewise so good as to favor me with a copy of Behaim's map, as published by Doppelmayr in his account of the Mathematicians and Artists of Nuremberg. From this map the imperfection of cosmographical knowledge at that period is manifest. Hardly one place is laid down in its true situation. Nor can I discover from it any reason to suppose that Behaim had the least knowledge of any region in America. He delineates, indeed, a island to which he gives the name of St. Brandon. This, it is imagined, may be some part of Guiana, supposed at first to be an island. He places it in the same latitude with the Cape Verde isles, and I suspect it to be an imaginary island which has been admitted into some ancient maps on no better authority than the legend of the Irish St. Brandon, or Brendan, whose story is so childishly fabulous as to be unworthy of any notice. Girald. Cambrensis ap. Misingham Florilegium Sanctonum, p. 427.

The pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America seem not to rest on a foundation much more solid. In the twelfth century, according to Powell, a dispute having arisen among the sons of Owen Guyneth, King of North Wales, concerning the succession to his crown, Madoc, one of their number, weary of this contention, betook himself to sea in quest of a more quiet settlement. He steered due west, leaving Ireland to the North, and arrived in an unknown country, which appeared to him so desirable, that he returned to Wales and carried thither several of his adherents and companions. This is said to have happened about the year 1170, and after that, he and his colony were heard of no more. But it is to be observed, that Powell, on whose testimony the authenticity of this story rests, published his history above four centuries from the date of the event which he relates. Among a people as rude and as illiterate as the Welsh at that period, the memory of a transaction so remote must have been very imperfectly preserved, and would require to be confirmed by some author of greater credit, and nearer to the era of Madoc's voyage than Powell. Later antiquaries have indeed appealed to the testimony of Meredith ap Rees, a Welsh bard, who died A. D. 1477. But he too lived at such a distance of time from the event, that he cannot be considered as a witness of much more credit than Powell. Besides, his verses, published by Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 1., convey no information, but that Madoc, dissatisfied with his domestic situation, employed himself in searching the

ocean for new possessions. But even if we admit the authenticity of Powell's story, it does not follow that the unknown country which Madoc discovered by steering west, in such a course as to leave Ireland to the north, was any part of America. The naval skill of the Welsh in the twelfth century was hardly equal to such a voyage. If he made any discovery at all, it is more probable that it was Madeira, or some other of the western isles. The affinity of the Welsh language with some dialects spoken in America, has been mentioned as a circumstance which confirms the truth of Madoc's voyage. But that affinity has been observed in so few instances, and in some of these is so obscure, or so fanciful, that no conclusion can be drawn from the casual resemblance of a small number of words. There is a bird, which, as far as is yet known, is found only on the coasts of South America, from Port Desire to the Straits of Magellan. It is distinguished by the name of *Penguin*. This word in the Welsh language signifies *Whitehead*. Almost all the authors who favor the pretensions of the Welsh to the discovery of America, mention this as an irrefragable proof of the affinity of the Welsh language with that spoken in this region of America. But Mr. Penant, who has given a description of the Penguin, observes that all the birds of this genus have black heads, "so that we must resign every hope (adds he) founded on this hypothesis of retrieving the Cambrian race in the New World." *Philos. Transact.* vol. lviii. p. 91, &c. Besides this, if the Welsh, towards the close of the twelfth century, had settled in any part of America, some remains of the Christian doctrine and rites must have been found among their descendants, when they were discovered about three hundred years posterior to their migration; a period so short that, in the course of it, we cannot well suppose that all European ideas and arts would be totally forgotten. Lord Lyttleton, in his notes to the fifth book of his *History of Henry II.*, p. 371, has examined what Powell relates concerning the discoveries made by Madoc, and invalidates the truth of his story by other arguments of great weight.

The pretensions of the Norwegians to the discovery of America seem to be better founded than those of the Germans or Welsh. The inhabitants of Scandinavia were remarkable in the middle ages for the boldness and extent of their maritime excursions. In 874, the Norwegians discovered and planted a colony in Iceland. In 982, they discovered Greenland, and established settlements there. From that, some of their navigators proceeded towards the west, and discovered a country more inviting than those horrid regions with which they were acquainted. According to their representation, this country was sandy on the coasts, but in the interior parts level and covered with wood, on which account they gave it the name of *Helle-land*, and *Mark-land*, and having afterwards found some plants of the vine which bore grapes, they called it *Vin-land*. The credit of this story rests, as far as I know, on the authority of the *saga*, or chronicle of King Olaus, composed by Snorro Sturlonides, or *Sturlusons*, published by Perinskjöld, at Stockholm, A. D. 1697. As Snorro was born in the year 1179, his chronicle might be compiled about two centuries after the event which he relates. His account of the navigation and discoveries of *Biorn*, and his companion *Lief*, is a very rude confused tale, p. 104. 110. 326. It is impossible to discover from him what part of America it was in which the Norwegians landed. According to his account of the length of the days and nights, it must have been as far north as the fifty-eighth degree of latitude, or some part of the coast of Labradore, approaching near to the entry of Hudson's Straits. Grapes certainly are not the production of that country. Torfeus supposes that there is an error in the text, by rectifying of which the place where the Norwegians landed may be supposed to be situated in latitude 49°. But neither is that the region of the vine in America. From perusing Snorro's tale, I should think that the situation of Newfoundland corresponds best with that of the country discovered by the Norwegians. Grapes, however, are not the production of that barren island. Other conjectures are mentioned by M. Mallet, *Introd. à l'Hist. de Danemar.* 175, &c. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the literature of the north to examine them. It seems manifest, that if the Norwegians did discover any part of America at that period, their attempt to plant colonies proved unsuccessful, and all knowledge of it was soon lost.

NOTE [18]. p. 82.—Peter Martyr, ab Angleria, a Milanese gentleman, residing at that time in the court of Spain, whose letters contain an account of the trans-

actions of that period, in the order wherein they occurred, describes the sentiments with which he himself and his learned correspondents were affected in very striking terms. "Præ lætitia proliuissae te, vixque a lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literarum adpexisti meas quibus, de antipodum orbe latenti hæcenus, te certiorum feci, mi suavisime Pomponio, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo, quid aenseris. Sensisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summa doctrina insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingenii, isto suavior! quod condimentum gratius! A me facio conjecturam. Beati sentio spiritus meos, quando acceitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ab ea redeunt provincia. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari, libidinibus obscenari; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquando fuerimus, contemplando, hujusmodi rerum notitia demulciamus." *Epist.* 152, Pomponio Læto.

NOTE [19]. p. 84.—So firmly were men of science, in that age, persuaded that the countries which Columbus had discovered were connected with the East Indies, that Bernaldes, the Cura de los Palacios, who seems to have been no inconsiderable proficient in the knowledge of cosmography, contends that Cuba was not an island, but a part of the continent, and united to the dominions of the Great Khan. This he delivered as his opinion to Columbus himself, who was his guest for some time on his return from his second voyage; and he supports it by several arguments, mostly founded on the authority of Sir John Mandeville. *MS. penes me.* Antonio Gallo, who was secretary to the magistracy of Genoa towards the close of the fifteenth century, published a short account of the navigations and discoveries of his countryman Columbus, annexed to his *Opuscula Historica de Rebus Populi Genuensis*: in which he informs us, from letters of Columbus which he himself had seen, that it was his opinion, founded upon nautical observations, that one of the islands he had discovered was distant only two hours or thirty degrees from Cattigara, which, in the charts of the geographers of that age, was laid down, upon the authority of Ptolemy, lib. vii. c. 3, as the most easterly place in Asia. From this he concluded, that if some unknown continent did not obstruct the navigation, there must be a short and easy access, by holding a westerly course, to this extreme region of the East. *Muratori Scriptores Rer. Italicarum*, vol. xxiii. p. 304.

NOTE [20]. p. 84.—Bernaldes, the Cura or Rector de los Palacios, a contemporary writer, says, that five hundred of these captives were sent to Spain, and sold publicly in Seville as slaves; but that, by the change of climate and their inability to bear the fatigue of labor, they all died in a short time. *MS. penes me.*

NOTE [21]. p. 86.—Columbus seems to have formed some very singular opinions concerning the countries which he had now discovered. The violent swell and agitation of the waters on the coast of Trinidad led him to conclude this to be the highest part of the terra-queous globe, and he imagined that various circumstances concurred in proving that the sea was here visibly elevated. Having adopted this erroneous principle, the apparent beauty of the country induced him to fall in with a notion of Sir John Mandeville, c. 102, that the terrestrial paradise was the highest land in the earth; and he believed that he had been so fortunate as to discover this happy abode. Nor ought we to think it strange that a person of so much sagacity should be influenced by the opinion or reports of such a fabulous author as Mandeville. Columbus and the other discoverers were obliged to follow such guides as they could find; and it appears from several passages in the manuscript of Andr. Bernaldes, the friend of Columbus, that no inconsiderable degree of credit was given to the testimony of Mandeville in that age. Bernaldes frequently quotes him, and always with respect.

NOTE [22]. p. 87.—It is remarkable that neither Gomara nor Oviedo, the most ancient Spanish historians of America, nor Herrera, consider Ojeda, or his companion Vespucci, as the first discoverers of the continent of America. They uniformly ascribe this honor to Columbus. Some have supposed that national resentment against Vespucci, for deserting the service of Spain, and entering into that of Portugal, may have prompted these writers to conceal the actions which he performed. But Martyr and Benzoni, both Italians, could not be warped by the same prejudice. Martyr was a contemporary author; he resided in the court of

Spain, and had the best opportunity to be exactly informed with respect to all public transactions; and yet neither in his *Decads*, the first general history published of the New World, nor in his *Epistle*, which contain an account of all the remarkable events of his time, does he ascribe to Vespucci the honor of having first discovered the continent. Benzoni went as an adventurer to America in the year 1541, and resided there a considerable time. He appears to have been animated with a warm zeal for the honor of Italy, his native country, and yet does not mention the exploits and discoveries of Vespucci. Herrera, who compiled his general history of America from the most authentic records, not only follows those early writers, but accuses Vespucci of falsifying the dates of both the voyages which he made to the New World, and of confounding the one with the other, in order that he might arrogate to himself the glory of having discovered the continent. *Her. dec.* 1. lib. iv. c. 2. He asserts, that in a judicial inquiry into this matter by the royal fiscal, it was proved by the testimony of Ojeda himself, that he touched at Hispaniola when returning to Spain from his first voyage; whereas Vespucci gave out that they returned directly to Cadiz from the coast of Paria, and touched at Hispaniola only in their second voyage; and that he had finished the voyage in five months; whereas, according to Vespucci's account, he had employed seventeen months in performing it. *Viaggio primo de Am. Vespucci*, p. 36. *Viag. secundo*, p. 45. Herrera gives a more full account of this inquest in another part of his *Decads*, and to the same effect. *Her. dec.* 1. lib. vii. c. 5. Columbus was in Hispaniola when Ojeda arrived there, and had by that time come to an agreement with Roldan, who opposed Ojeda's attempt to excite a new insurrection, and, of consequence, his voyage must have been posterior to that of the admiral. *Life of Columbus*, c. 84. According to Vespucci's account, he set out on his first voyage May 10th, 1497. *Viag. primo*, p. 6. At that time Columbus was in the court of Spain preparing for his voyage, and seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of favor. The affairs of the New World were at this juncture under the direction of Antonio Torres, a friend of Columbus. It is not probable that, at that period, a commission would be granted to another person to anticipate the admiral by undertaking a voyage which he himself intended to perform. Fonseca, who patronized Ojeda, and granted the license for his voyage, was not recalled to court, and reinstated in the direction of Indian affairs, until the death of Prince John, which happened September, 1497. (*P. Martyr*, Ep. 182.) several months posterior to the time at which Vespucci pretends to have set out upon his voyage. A life of Vespucci was published at Florence by the Abate Bandini, A. D. 1745. 4to. It is a work of no merit, written with little judgment and less candor. He contends for his countryman's title to the discovery of the continent with all the blind zeal of national partiality, but produces no new evidence to support it. We learn from him that Vespucci's account of his voyage was published as early as the year 1510, and probably sooner. *Vita di Am. Vesp.* p. 52. At what time the name of AMERICA came to be first given to the New World is not certain.

NOTE [23]. p. 92.—The form employed on this occasion served as a model to the Spaniards in all their subsequent conquests in America. It is so extraordinary in its nature, and gives us such an idea of the proceedings of the Spaniards, and the principles upon which they founded their right to the extensive dominions which they acquired in the New World, that it well merits the attention of the reader. "I Alonso de Ojeda, servant of the most high and powerful kings of Castile and Leon, the conquerors of barbarous nations, their messenger and captain, notify to you, and declare in as ample form as I am capable, that God our Lord, who is one and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman, of whom you and we, and all the men who have been or shall be in the world, are descended. But as it has come to pass through the number of generations during more than five thousand years, that they have been dispersed into different parts of the world, and are divided into various kingdoms and provinces, because one country was not able to contain them, nor could they have found in one the means of subsistence and preservation: therefore God our Lord gave the charge of all those people to one man named St. Peter, whom he constituted the lord and head of all the human race, that all men, in whatever place they are born, or in whatever faith or place they are educated, might yield obedience unto him. He

hath subjected the whole world to his jurisdiction, and commanded him to establish his residence in Rome, as the most proper place for the government of the world. He likewise promised and gave him power to establish his authority in every other part of the world, and to judge and govern all Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles, and all other people of whatever sect or faith they may be. To him is given the name of *Pope*, which signifies admirable, great father and guardian, because he is the father and governor of all men. Those who lived in the time of this holy father obeyed and acknowledged him as their Lord and King, and the superior of the universe. The same has been observed with respect to them who, since his time, have been chosen to the pontificate. Thus it now continues, and will continue to the end of the world.

"One of these Pontiffs, as lord of the world, hath made a grant of these islands, and of the *Tierra Firme* of the ocean sea, to the Catholic Kings of Castile, Don Ferdinand and Donna Isabella, of glorious memory, and their successors, our sovereigns, with all they contain, as is more fully expressed in certain deeds passed upon that occasion, which you may see if you desire it. Thus His Majesty is King and lord of these islands, and of the continent, in virtue of this donation; and, as King and lord aforesaid, most of the islands to which his title hath been notified, have recognised His Majesty, and now yield obedience and subjection to him as their lord, voluntarily and without resistance; and instantly, as soon as they received information, they obeyed the religious men sent by the King to preach to them, and to instruct them in our holy faith; and all these, of their own free will, without any recompense or gratuity, became Christians, and continue to be so; and His Majesty having received them graciously under his protection, has commanded that they should be treated in the same manner as his other subjects and vassals. You are honored and obliged to act in the same manner. Therefore I now exhort and require you to consider attentively what I have declared to you; and that you may more perfectly comprehend it, that you take such time as is reasonable in order that you may acknowledge the Church as the superior and guide of the universe, and likewise the holy father called the Pope, in his own right, and his Majesty, by his appointment, as King and sovereign lord of these Islands, and of the *Tierra Firme*; and that you consent that the aforesaid holy fathers shall declare and preach to you the doctrines above mentioned. If you do this, you act well, and perform that to which you are bound and obliged; and His Majesty, and I in his name, will receive you with love and kindness, and will leave you, your wives and children, free and exempt from servitude, and in the enjoyment of all you possess, in the same manner as the inhabitants of the islands. Besides this, His Majesty will bestow upon you many privileges, exemptions, and rewards. But if you will not comply, or maliciously delay to obey my injunction, then, with the help of God, I will enter your country by force, I will carry on war against you with the utmost violence, I will subject you to the yoke of obedience to the Church and King, I will take your wives and children, and will make them slaves, and sell or dispose of them according to His Majesty's pleasure; I will seize your goods, and do you all the mischief in my power, as rebellious subjects, who will not acknowledge or submit to their lawful sovereign. And I protest, that all the bloodshed and calamities which shall follow are to be imputed to you, and not to His Majesty, or to me, or the gentlemen who serve under me; and as I have now made this declaration and requisition unto you, I require the notary here present to grant me a certificate of this, subscribed in proper form." Herrera, dec. 1. lib. vii. c. 14.

NOTE [24]. p. 94.—Balboa, in his letter to the king, observes that of the hundred and ninety men, whom he took with him, there were never above eighty fit for service at one time. So much did they suffer from hunger, fatigue, and sickness. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. x. c. 16. P. Mart. decad. 226.

NOTE [25]. p. 95.—Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia, the principal director of American Affairs, had eight hundred Indians in property; the commendator Lope de Conchillos, his chief associate in that department, eleven hundred; and other favorites had considerable numbers. They sent overseers to the islands, and bired out those slaves to the planters. Herrera, dec. 1. lib. ix. c. 14. p. 325.

NOTE [26]. p. 98.—Though America is more plentifully supplied with water than the other regions of the

globe, there is no river or stream of water in Yucatan. This peninsula projects from the continent a hundred leagues, but, where broadest, does not extend above twenty five leagues. It is an extensive plain, not only without mountains, but almost without any inequality of ground. The inhabitants are supplied with water from pits, and, wherever they dig them, find it in abundance. It is probable, from all those circumstances, that this country was formerly covered by the sea. Herrera Descriptio Indiarum Occidentalis, p. 14. Histoire Naturelle, par M. de Buffon, tom. i. p. 593.

NOTE [27]. p. 98.—M. Clavigero censures me for having represented the Spaniards who sailed with Cordova and Grijalva, as fancying in the warmth of their imagination, that they saw cities on the coast of Yucatan adorned with towers and *cupolas*, I know not what translation of my history he has consulted (for his quotation from it is not taken from the original,) but I never imagined that any building erected by the Americans could suggest the idea of a cupola or dome, a structure which their utmost skill in architecture was incapable of rearing. My words are, that they fancied the villages which they saw from their ships "to be cities adorned with towers and pinnacles." By *pinnacles* I meant some elevation above the rest of the building; and the passage is translated almost literally from Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 1. In almost all the accounts of new countries given by the Spanish discoverers in that age, this warmth of admiration is conspicuous; and led them to describe these new objects in the most splendid terms. When Cordova and his companions first beheld an Indian village of greater magnitude than any they had beheld in the islands, they dignified it by the name of *Grand Carro*. B. Diaz, c. 2. From the same cause Grijalva and his associates thought the country, along the coast of which they held their course, entitled to the name of New Spain.

NOTE [28]. p. 99.—The height of the most elevated point in the Pyrenees is, according to M. Cassini, six thousand six hundred and forty-six feet. The height of the mountain Gemmi, in the canton of Berne, is ten thousand one hundred and ten feet. The height of the Peak of Teneriffe, according to the measurement of P. Peuille, is thirteen thousand one hundred and seventy-eight feet. The height of Chimborazo, the most elevated point of the Andes, is twenty thousand two hundred and eighty feet; no less than seven thousand one hundred and two feet above the highest mountain in the ancient continent. Voyage de D. Juan Ulloa, Observations Astron. et Physiq. tom. ii. p. 114. The line of congelation on Chimborazo, or that part of the mountain which is covered perpetually with snow, is no less than two thousand four hundred feet from its summit. Prevot Hist. Gener. des Voyages, vol. iii. p. 636.

NOTE [29]. p. 99.—As a particular description makes a stronger impression than general assertions, I shall give one of Rio de la Plata by an eye-witness, P. Catterano, a Modenesse Jesuit, who landed at Buenos Ayres in 1749, and thus represents what he felt when such new objects were first presented to his view. "While I resided in Europe, and read in books of history or geography, that the mouth of the river de la Plata was a hundred and fifty miles in breadth, I considered it as an exaggeration, because in this hemisphere we have no example of such vast rivers. When I approached its mouth, I had the most vehement desire to ascertain the truth with my own eyes; and I found the matter to be exactly as it was represented. This I deduce particularly from one circumstance: When we took our departure from Monte Video, a fort situated more than a hundred miles from the mouth of the river, and where its breadth is considerably diminished, we sailed a complete day before we discovered the land on the opposite side of the river; and when we were in the middle of the channel, we could not discern land on either side and saw nothing but the sky and water as if we had been in some great ocean. Indeed we should have taken it to be sea, if the fresh water of the river, which was turbid like the Po, had not satisfied us that it was a river. Moreover, at Buenos Ayres, another hundred miles up the river, and where it is still much narrower, it is not only impossible to discern the opposite coast, which is indeed very low, but perceive the houses or the tops of the steeples in the Portuguese settlement at Colonia on the other side of the river." Lettera prima, published by Muratori, Il Christianesimo Felice, &c. i. p. 257.

NOTE [30]. p. 99.—Newfoundland, part of Nova Scotia, and Canada, are the countries which lie in the same parallel of latitude with the kingdom of France; and in every part of these the water of the rivers is frozen during winter to the thickness of several feet; the earth is covered with snow as deep; almost all the birds fly during that season from a climate where they could not live. The country of the Eskimaux, part of Labrador, and the countries on the south of Hudson's Bay, are in the same parallel with Great Britain; and yet in all these the cold is so intense that even the industry of Europeans has not attempted cultivation.

NOTE [31]. p. 99.—Acosta is the first philosopher, as far as I know, who endeavored to account for the different degrees of heat in the old and new continents, by the agency of the winds which blow in each. Histoire Moral. &c. lib. ii. and iii. M. de Buffon adopts this theory, and has not only improved it by new observations, but has employed his amazing powers of descriptive eloquence in embellishing it and placing it in the most striking light. Some remarks may be added, which tend to illustrate more fully a doctrine of much importance in every inquiry concerning the temperature of various climates.

When a cold wind blows over land, it must in its passage rob the surface of some of its heat. By means of this the coldness of the wind is abated. But if it continue to blow in the same direction, it will come, by degrees, to pass over a surface already cooled, and will suffer no longer any abatement of its own keenness. Thus, as it advances over a large tract of land, it brings on all the severity of intense frost.

Let the same wind blow over an extensive and deep sea; the superficial water must be immediately cooled to a certain degree, and the wind proportionally warmed. But the superficial and colder water, becoming specifically heavier than the warmer water below it, descends; what is warmer supplies its place, which, as it comes to be cooled in its turn, continues to warm the air which passes over it, or to diminish its cold. This change of the superficial water and successive ascent of that which is warmer, and the consequent successive abatement of coldness in the air, is aided by the agitation caused in the sea by the mechanical action of the wind, and also by the motion of the tides. This will go on, and the rigor of the wind will continue to diminish until the whole water is so far cooled, that the water on the surface is no longer removed from the action of the wind fast enough to hinder it from being arrested by frost. Whenever the surface freezes, the wind is no longer warmed by the water from below, and it goes on with undiminished cold.

From those principles may be explained the severity of winter frosts in extensive continents; their mildness in small islands; and the superior rigor of winter in those parts of North America with which we are best acquainted. In the north-west parts of Europe, the severity of winter is mitigated by the west winds, which usually blow in the months of November, December, and part of January.

On the other hand, when a warm wind blows over land, it heats the surface, which must therefore cease to abate the fervor of the wind. But the same wind blowing over water, agitates it, brings up the colder water from below, and thus is continually losing somewhat of its own heat.

But the great power of the sea to mitigate the heat of the wind or air passing over it, proceeds from the following circumstance: that on account of the transparency of the sea, its surface cannot be heated to a great degree by the sun's rays; whereas the ground, subjected to their influence, very soon acquires great heat. When, therefore, the wind blows over a torrid continent, it is soon raised to a heat almost intolerable; but during its passage over an extensive ocean, it is gradually cooled; so that on its arrival at the furthest shore it is again fit for respiration.

Those principles will account for the sultry heats of large continents in the torrid zone; for the mild climate of islands in the same latitude; and for the superior warmth in summer which large continents, situated in the temperate or colder zones of the earth, enjoy when compared with that of islands. The heat of a climate depends not only upon the immediate effect of the sun's rays, but on their continued operation, on the effect which they have formerly produced, and which remains for some time in the ground. This is the reason why the day is warmest about two in the afternoon, the summer warmest about the middle of July, and the winter coldest about the middle of January.

The forests which cover America, and hinder the sunbeams from heating the ground, are a great cause of the temperate climate in the equatorial parts. The ground, not being heated, cannot heat the air; and the leaves, which receive the rays intercepted from the ground, have not a mass of matter sufficient to absorb heat enough for this purpose. Besides, it is a known fact, that the vegetative power of a plant occasions a perspiration from the leaves in proportion to the heat to which they are exposed: and, from the nature of evaporation, this perspiration produces a cold in the leaf proportional to the perspiration. Thus the effect of the leaf in heating the air in contact with it is prodigiously diminished. For those observations, which throw much additional light on this curious subject, I am indebted to my ingenious friend, Mr. Robison, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh.

NOTE [32]. p. 99.—The climate of Brazil has been described by two eminent naturalists, Piso and Margrave, who observed it with a philosophical accuracy for which we search in vain in the accounts of many other provinces in America. Both represent it as temperate and mild when compared with the climate of Africa. They ascribe this chiefly to the refreshing wind which blows continually from the sea. The air is not only cool, but chilly through the night, inasmuch that the natives kindle fires every evening in their huts. Piso de Medicina Brasiliensi, lib. i. p. 1. &c. Margravus Hist. Rerum Natural. Brasiliæ, lib. viii. c. 3. p. 264. Nieuboff, who resided long in Brazil, confirms their description. Churchill's Collection, vol. ii. p. 26. Gumilla, who was a missionary many years among the Indians upon the river Orinoco, gives a similar description of the temperature of the climate there. Hist. de l'Orinoco, tom. 1. p. 26. P. Acugna felt a very considerable degree of cold in the countries on the banks of the river Amazons. Relat. vol. ii. p. 56. M. Biot, who lived a considerable time in Cayenne, gives a similar account of the temperature of that climate, and ascribes it to the same cause. Voyage de la France, Equinox, p. 330. Nothing can be more different from these descriptions than that of the burning heat of the African coast given by M. Adanson. Voyage to Senegal, passim.

NOTE [33]. p. 99.—Two French frigates were sent upon a voyage of discovery in the year 1739. In latitude 44° south, they began to feel a considerable degree of cold. In latitude 48°, they met with islands of floating ice. Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes, tom. ii. p. 256, &c. Dr. Halley fell in with ice in latitude 59°. Id. tom. i. p. 47. Commodore Byron, when on the coast of Patagonia, latitude 50° 33' south, on the fifteenth of December, which is midsummer in that part of the globe, the twenty-first of December being the longest day there, compares the climate to that of England in the middle of winter. Voyages by Hawkesworth, i. 25. Mr. Banks having landed on Terra del Fuego, in the Bay of Good Success, latitude 55°, in the sixteenth of January, which corresponds to the month of July in our hemisphere, two of his attendants died in one night of extreme cold, and all the party were in the most imminent danger of perishing. Id. ii. 51, 52. By the fourteenth of March, corresponding to September in our hemisphere, winter was set in with rigor, and the mountains were covered with snow. Ibid. 72. Captain Cook, in his voyage towards the South Pole, furnishes new and striking instances of the extraordinary predominance of cold in this region of the globe. "Who would have thought (says he) that an island of no greater extent than seventy leagues in circuit, situated between the latitude of 54° and 55°, should in the very height of summer be, in a manner, wholly covered, many fathoms deep, with frozen snow; but more especially the S. W. coast? The very summits of the lofty mountains were cased with snow and ice; but the quantity that lay in the valleys is incredible; and at the bottom of the bays, the coast was terminated by a wall of ice of considerable height." Vol. ii. p. 217.

In some places of the ancient continent, an extraordinary degree of cold prevails in very low latitudes. Mr. Bogle, in his embassy to the court of the Delai Lama, passed the winter of the year 1774, at Chamnanning, in latitude 31° 39' N. He often found the thermometer in his room twenty-nine degrees under the freezing point by Fahrenheit's scale; and in the middle of April the standing waters were all frozen, and heavy showers of snow frequently fell. The extraordinary elevation of the country seems to be the cause of this

excessive cold. In travelling from Indostan to Thibet, the ascent to the summit of the Boutan Mountains is very great, but the descent on the other side is not in equal proportion. The kingdom of Thibet is an elevated region, extremely bare and desolate. Account of Thibet, by Mr. Stewart, read in the Royal Society, p. 7. The extraordinary cold in low latitudes in America cannot be accounted for by the same cause. Those regions are not remarkable for elevation. Some of them are countries depressed and level.

The most obvious and probable cause of the superior degree of cold towards the southern extremity of America, seems to be the form of the continent there. Its breadth gradually decreases as it stretches from St. Antonia southwards, and from the bay of St. Julian to the Straits of Magellan its dimensions are much contracted. On the east and west sides it is washed by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. From its southern point it is probable that a great extent of sea without any considerable tract of land, reaches to the Antarctic pole. In whichever of these directions the wind blows, it is cooled before it approaches the Magellanic regions, by passing over a vast body of water; nor is the land there of such extent, that it can recover any considerable degree of heat in its progress over it. These circumstances concur in rendering the temperature of the air in this district of America more similar to that of an insular, than to that of a continental climate, and hinder it from acquiring the same degree of summer heat with places in Europe and Asia in a correspondent northern latitude. The north wind is the only one that reaches this part of America, after blowing over a great continent. But from an attentive survey of its position, this will be found to have a tendency rather to diminish than augment the degree of heat. The southern extremity of America is properly the termination of the immense ridge of the Andes, which stretches nearly in a direct line from north to south, through the whole extent of the continent. The most sultry regions in South America, Guiana, Brazil, Paraguay, and Tucuman, lie many degrees to the east of the Magellanic regions. The level country of Peru, which enjoys the tropical heats, is situated considerably to the west of them. The north wind then, though it blows over land, does not bring to the southern extremity of America an increase of heat collected in its passage over torrid regions; but before it arrives there, it must have swept along the summits of the Andes, and become impregnated with the cold of that frozen region.

Though it be now demonstrated that there is no southern continent in that region of the globe which it was supposed to occupy, it appears to be certain from Captain Cook's discoveries, that there is a large tract of land near the south pole, which is the source of most of the ice spread over the vast southern ocean. Vol. ii. p. 230, 239, &c. Whether the influence of this remote frozen continent may reach the southern extremity of America, and affect its climate, is an inquiry not unworthy of attention.

NOTE [34]. p. 100.—M. Condamine is one of the latest and most accurate observers of the interior state of South America. "After descending from the Andes (says he,) one beholds a vast and uniform prospect of water and verdure, and nothing more. One treads upon the earth, but does not see it; as it is so entirely covered with luxuriant plants, weeds, and shrubs, that it would require a considerable degree of labor to clear it for the space of a foot." Relation abregée d'un Voyage, &c. p. 43. One of the singularities in the forests is a sort of osiers, or withes, called *hejucos* by the Spaniards, *lianes* by the French, and *nibbes* by the Indians, which are usually employed as ropes in America. This is one of the parasitical plants, which twists about the trees it meets with, and rising above their highest branches, its tendrils descend perpendicularly, strike into the ground, take root, rise up around another tree, and thus mount and descend alternately. Other tendrils are carried obliquely by the wind, or some accident, and form a confusion of interwoven cordage, which resembles the rigging of a ship. Bancroft, Nat. Hist. of Guiana, 99. These withes are often as thick as the arm of a man. Id. p. 75. M. Bogue's account of the forests in Peru perfectly resembles this description. Voyages au Peru, p. 16. Oriedo gives a similar description of the forests in other parts of America. Hist. lib. ix. p. 141. D. The country of the Maxos is so much overflowed, that they are obliged to reside on the summit of some rising ground during some part of the year, and have no communication with their countrymen at any distance. Lettres Edifiantes, tom. x. p. 187. Garcia gives a full and just description of the

riders, lakes, woods, and marshes in those countries of America which lie between the tropics. Origen de los Indios, lib. ii. c. 5. § 4, 5. The incredible hardship to which Gonzalez Pizarro was exposed in attempting to march into the country to the east of the Andes, convey a very striking idea of that part of America in its original uncultivated state. Garcil. de la Vega, Royal Comment, of Peru, part ii. book iii. c. 2—5.

NOTE [35]. p. 100.—The animals of America seem not to have been always of a size inferior to those in other quarters of the globe. From antlers of the moose-deer which have been found in America, it appears to have been an animal of great size. Near the banks of the Ohio, a considerable number of bones of an immense magnitude have been found. The place where this discovery has been made lies about one hundred and ninety miles below the junction of the river Scioto with the Ohio. It is about four miles distant from the banks of the latter, on the side of the marsh called the Salt lick. The bones lie in vast quantities about five or six feet under ground, and the stratum is visible in the bank on the edge of the Lick. *Journal of Colonel George Croghan, M.S. penes me.* This spot seems to be accurately laid down by Evans in his map. These bones must have belonged to animals of enormous bulk; but naturalists being acquainted with no living creature of such size, were at first inclined to think they were mineral substances. Upon receiving a greater number of specimens, and after inspecting them more narrowly, they are now allowed to be the bones of an animal. As the elephant is the largest known quadruped, and the tusks which were found, nearly resembled, both in form and quality, the tusks of an elephant, it was concluded that the carcasses deposited on the Ohio were of that species. But Dr. Hunter, one of the persons of our age best qualified to decide with respect to this point, having accurately examined several parcels of tusks, and grinders, and jaw-bones, sent from the Ohio to London, gives it as his opinion that they did not belong to an elephant, but to some huge carnivorous animal of an unknown species. Phil. Transact. vol. lviii. p. 34. Bones of the same kind, and as remarkable for their size, have been found near the mouths of the great rivers Obi, Jeniseia, and Lena in Siberia. *Strahlenberg, Descript. of North and East Parts of Europe and Asia*, p. 402, &c. The elephant seems to be confined in his range to the torrid zone, and never multiplies beyond it. In such cold regions as those bordering on the frozen sea, he could not live. The existence of such large animals in America might open a wide field for conjecture. The more we contemplate the face of nature, and consider the variety of her productions, the more we must be satisfied that astonishing changes have been made in the terraqueous globe by convulsions and revolutions, of which no account is preserved in history.

NOTE [36]. p. 100.—This degeneracy of the domestic European animals in America may be imputed to some of these causes. In the Spanish settlements, which are situated either within the torrid zone, or in countries bordering upon it, the increase of heat and diversity of food prevent sheep and horned cattle from attaining the same size as in Europe. They seldom become so fat, and their flesh is not so juicy, or of such delicate flavor. In North America, where the climate is more favorable, and similar to that of Europe, the quality of the grasses which spring up naturally in their pasture grounds is not good. Mitchell, p. 151. Agriculture is still so much in its infancy, that artificial food for cattle is not raised in any quantity. During a winter, long in many provinces, and rigorous in all, no proper care is taken of their cattle. The general treatment of their horses and horned cattle is injudicious and harsh in all the English colonies. These circumstances contribute more, perhaps, than any thing peculiar in the quality of the climate, to the degeneracy of breed in the horses, cows, and sheep of many of the North American provinces.

NOTE [37]. p. 103.—In the year 1518, the island of Hispaniola was afflicted with a dreadful visitation of those destructive insects, the particulars of which Herrera describes, and mentions a singular instance of the superstition of the Spanish planters. After trying various methods of exterminating the ants, they resolved to implore protection of the saints; but as the calamity was new, they were at a loss to find out the saint who could give them the most effectual aid. They cast lots in order to discover the patron whom they should invoke. The lots decided in favor of St. Saturninus.

They celebrated his festival with great solemnity, and immediately, adds the historian, the calamity began to abate. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. iii. c. 15. p. 107.

NOTE [38]. p. 100.—The author of *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains* supposes this difference in heat to be equal to twelve degrees, and that a place thirty degrees from the equator in the old continent is as warm as one situated eighteen degrees from it in America, tom. i. p. 11. Dr. Mitchell, after observations carried on during thirty years, contends that the difference is equal to fourteen or fifteen degrees of latitude. Present State, &c. p. 257.

NOTE [39]. p. 100.—January 3d, 1765, Mr. Bertram, near the head of St. John's river, in East Florida, observed a frost so intense that in one night the ground was frozen an inch thick upon the banks of the river. The limes, citrons, and banana trees, at St. Augustin, were destroyed. Bertram's Journal, p. 20. Other instances of the extraordinary operations of cold in the southern provinces of North America are collected by Dr. Mitchell. Present State, p. 206, &c. February 7th, 1747, the frost at Charleston was so intense, that a person having carried two quart bottles of hot water to bed, in the morning they were split to pieces, and the water converted into solid lumps of ice. In a kitchen where there was a fire, the water in a jar in which there was a live large eel, was frozen to the bottom. Almost all the orange and olive trees were destroyed. Description of South Carolina, 8vo. Lond. 1761.

NOTE [40]. p. 100.—A remarkable instance of this occurs in Dutch Guiana, a country every where level, and so low, that during the rainy seasons it is usually covered with water near two feet in height. This renders the soil so rich, that on the surface, for twelve inches in depth, it is a stratum of perfect manure, and as such has been transported to Barbadoes. On the banks of the Essequibo, thirty crops of ratan canes have been raised successively; whereas in the West Indian islands not more than two is ever expected from the richest land. The expedients by which the planters endeavor to diminish this excessive fertility of soil are various. Bancroft, Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 19, &c.

NOTE [41]. p. 102.—Muller seems to have believed, without sufficient evidence, that the Cape had been doubled, tom. i. p. 11, &c.; and the imperial academy of St. Petersburg give some countenance to it by the manner in which *Tschukotskoi-noss* is laid down in their charts. But I am assured, from undoubted authority, that no Russian vessel has ever sailed round that cape; and as the country of *Tshutki* is not subject to the Russian empire, it is very imperfectly known.

NOTE [42]. p. 102.—Were this the place for entering into a long and intricate geographical disquisition, many curious observations might arise from comparing the accounts of the two Russian voyages and the charts of their respective navigations. One remark is applicable to both. We cannot rely with absolute certainty on the position which they assign to several of the places which they visited. The weather was so extremely foggy, that they seldom saw the sun or stars; and the position of the islands and supposed continents was commonly determined by reckoning, not by observation. Behring and Tschirikow proceeded much further towards the east than Krenitzin. The land discovered by Behring, which he imagined to be part of the American continent, is in the 236th degree of longitude from the first meridian in the isle of Ferro, and in 58° 28' of latitude. Tschirikow came upon the same coast in longitude 241°, latitude 56°. Muller, i. 248. 249. The former must have advanced 60 degrees from the port of Petropawlowski, from which he took his departure, and the latter 65 degrees. But from the chart of Krenitzin's voyage, it appears that he did not sail further towards the east than to the 208th degree, and only 32 degrees from Petropawlowski. In 1741, Behring and Tschirikow, both in going and returning, held a course which was mostly to the south of that chain of islands, which they discovered; and observing the mountains and rugged aspect of the headlands which they descried towards the north, they supposed them to be promontories belonging to some part of the American continent, which, as they fancied, stretched as far south as the latitude 56. In this manner they are laid down in the chart published by Muller, and likewise in a manuscript chart drawn by a mate of Behring's ship, communicated to me by Mr. Professor

Robison. But in 1769, Krenitzin, after wintering in the island Alaxa, stood so far towards the north in his return, that his course lay through the middle of what Behring and Tschirikow had supposed to be a continent, which he found to be an open sea, and that they had mistaken rocky isles for the headlands of a continent. It is probable, that the countries discovered in 1741, towards the east, do not belong to the American continent, but are only a continuation of the chain of islands. The number of volcanos in this region of the globe is remarkable. There are several in Kamtschatka, and not one of the islands, great or small, as far as the Russian navigation extends, is without them. Many are actually burning, and the mountains in all bear marks of having been once in a state of eruption. Were I disposed to admit such conjectures as have found place in other inquiries concerning the peopling of America, I might suppose that this part of the earth, having manifestly suffered violent convulsions from earthquakes and volcanos, an isthmus, which may have formerly united Asia to America, has been broken, and formed into a cluster of islands by the shock.

It is singular, that at the very time the Russian navigators were attempting to make discoveries in the north-west of America, the Spaniards were prosecuting the same design from another quarter. In 1769, two small vessels sailed from Loreto in California to explore the coasts of the country to the north of that peninsula. They advanced no further than the port of Monte-Rey, in latitude 36. But, in several successive expeditions fitted out from the port of St. Blas in New Galicia, the Spaniards have advanced as far as the latitude 58. *Gaceta de Madrid*, March 19, and May 14, 1776. But as the journals of those voyages have not yet been published, I cannot compare their progress with that of the Russians, or show how near the navigators of the two nations have approached to each other. It is to be hoped that the enlightened minister who has now the direction of American affairs in Spain, will not withhold this information from the public.

NOTE [43]. p. 102.—Our knowledge of the vicinity of the two continents of Asia and America, which was very imperfect when I published the History of America in the year 1777, is now complete. Mr. Coxe's account of the Russian Discoveries between Asia and America, printed in the year 1780, contains many curious and important facts with respect to the various attempts of the Russians to open a communication with the New World. The history of the great voyage of Discovery, begun by Captain Cook in 1776, and completed by Captains Clerk and Gore, published in the year 1780, communicates all the information that the curiosity of mankind could desire with regard to this subject.

At my request, my friend, Mr. Playfair, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, has compared the narrative and charts of those illustrious navigators with the more imperfect relations and maps of the Russians. The result of this comparison I communicate in his own words, with much greater confidence in his scientific accuracy, than I could have ventured to place in any observations which I myself might have made upon the subject.

"The discoveries of Captain Cook in his last voyage have confirmed the conclusions which Dr. Robertson had drawn, and have connected together the facts from which they were deduced. They have now rendered it certain that Behring and Tschirikow touched on the coast of America in 1741. The former discovered land in latitude 58°, 28', and about 236° east from Ferro. He has given such a description of the Bay in which he anchored, and the high mountain to the westward of it which he calls St. Elias, that though the account of his voyage is much abridged in the English translation, Captain Cook recognised the place as he sailed along the western coast of America in the year 1778. The isle of St. Hermogenes, near the mouth of Cook's river, Schumagins isles on the coast of Alaska, and Foggy Isle, retain in Captain Cook's chart the names which they had received from the Russian navigators. Cook's Voy. vol. ii. p. 317.

"Tschirikow came upon the same coast about 2° 30' farther south than Behring, near the Mount Edgecumbe of Captain Cook.

"With regard to Krenitzin, we learn from Coxe's Account of the Russian Discoveries, that he sailed from the mouth of the Kamtschatka river with two ships in the year 1768. With his own ship he reached the island of Oonolashka, in which there had been a Russian settlement since the year 1762, where he wintered probably in the same harbor or bay where Captain

Cook afterwards anchored. The other ship wintered at Alashka, which was supposed to be an island, though it be in fact a part of the American continent. Krenitzin accordingly returned without knowing that either of his ships had been on the coast of America; and this is the more surprising, because Captain Cook has informed us that Alashka is understood to be a great continent, both by the Russians and the natives of Oonolashka.

"According to Krenitzin, the ship which had wintered at Alashka had hardly sailed 30° to the eastward of the harbor of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamtschatka; but, according to the more accurate charts of Captain Cook, it had sailed no less than 37° 17' to the eastward of that harbor. There is nearly the same mistake of 5° in the longitude which Krenitzin assigns to Oonolashka. It is remarkable enough, that in the chart of those seas, put into the hand of Captain Cook by the Russians on that island, there was an error of the same kind, and very nearly of the same extent.

"But what is of most consequence to be remarked on the subject is, that the discoveries of Captain Cook have fully verified Dr. Robertson's conjecture that it is probable that future navigators in those seas, by steering farther to the north than Behring and Tschirikow or Krenitzin had done, may find that the continent of America approaches still nearer to that of Asia. See p. 102. It has accordingly been found that these two continents, which in the parallel of 55°, or that of the southern extremity of Alashka, are about four hundred leagues asunder, approach continually to one another as they stretch together toward the north, until, within less than a degree from the polar circle, they are terminated by two capes only thirteen leagues distant. The east cape of Asia is in latitude 66° 6' and in longitude 190° 22' east from Greenwich: the western extremity of America, or Prince of Wales' Cape, is in latitude 65° 46', and in longitude 191° 45'. Nearly in the middle of the narrow strait (Behring's Strait) which separates these capes, are the two islands of St. Diomedes, from which both continents may be seen. Captain King informs us, that as he was sailing through this strait, July 5, 1779, the fog having cleared away, he enjoyed the pleasure of seeing from the ship the continents of Asia and America at the same moment, together with the islands of St. Diomedes lying between them. Cook's Voy. vol. iii. p. 244.

"Beyond this point the strait opens towards the Arctic Sea, and the coasts of Asia and America diverge so fast from one another, that in the parallel of 69° they are more than one hundred leagues asunder. Ib. p. 277. To the mouth of the strait there are a number of islands, Clerk's, King's, Anderson's, &c. which, as well as those of St. Diomedes, may have facilitated the migrations of the natives from the one continent to the other. Captain Cook, however, on the authority of the Russians at Oonolashka, and for other good reasons has diminished the number of islands which had been inscribed in former charts of the northern Archipelago. He has also placed Alashka, or the promontory which stretches from the continent of America S. W. towards Kamtschatka, at the distance of five degrees of longitude farther from the coast of Asia than it was reckoned by the Russian navigators.

"The geography of the Old and New World is therefore equally indebted to the discoveries made in this memorable voyage: and as many errors have been corrected, and many deficiencies supplied, by means of these discoveries, so the accuracy of some former observations has been established. The basis of the map of the Russian empire, as far as regarded Kamtschatka, and the country of the Tschutski, was the position of four places, Yakutsk, Ochotz, Boleheresk, and Petropawlowski, which had been determined by the astronomer Krassilnicow in the year 1744. Nov. Comment. Petrop. vol. iii. p. 465, &c. But the accuracy of his observations was contested by M. Engel, and M. Robert de Vaugondy; Coxe, Append. i. No. 2. p. 267. 272. and the former of these geographers ventured to take away no less than 28 degrees from the longitude, which on the faith of Krassilnicow's observations, was assigned to the eastern boundary of the Russian empire. With how little reason this was done, will appear from considering that our British navigators, having determined the position of Petropawlowski by a great number of very accurate observations, found the longitude of that port 158° 43' E. from Greenwich, and its latitude 53° 1'; agreeing, the first to less than seven minutes, and the second to less than half a minute, with the calculations of the Russian astronomer a coincidence which, in the situation of so remote a place, does not leave an uncertainty of more than four

English miles, and which, for the credit of science, deserves to be particularly remarked. The chief error in the Russian maps has been in not extending the boundaries of that empire sufficiently towards the east. For as there was nothing to connect the land of the Tschitzki and the north-east point of Asia with those places whereof the position had been carefully ascertained, except the imperfect accounts of Behring's and Synd's voyages, considerable errors could not fail to be introduced. and that point was laid down as not more than $23^{\circ} 2'$ east of the meridian of Petropawlowski. Cox, App. i. No. 2. By the observations of Captain King, the difference of longitude between Petropawlowski and the East Cape is $31^{\circ} 9'$; that is, $8^{\circ} 7'$ greater than it was supposed to be by the Russian geographers." It appears from Cook's and King's Voy. iii. p. 272, that the continents of Asia and America are usually joined together by ice during winter. Mr. Samwell confirms this account of his superior officer. "At this place, viz. near the latitude of $66^{\circ} N$, the two coasts are only thirteen leagues asunder, and about midway between them lie two islands, the distance from each to either shore is short of twenty miles. At this place the natives of Asia could find no difficulty in passing over to the opposite coast, which is in sight of their own. That in a course of years such an event would happen, either through design or accident, cannot admit of a doubt. The canoes which we saw among the Tschitzki were capable of performing a much longer voyage; and, however rude they may have been at some distant period, we can scarcely suppose them unequal to a passage of six or seven leagues. People might have been carried over by accident on floating pieces of ice. They might also have travelled across on sledges or on foot; for we have reason to believe that the strait is entirely frozen over in the winter; so that, during that season, the continents, with respect to the communication between them, may be considered as one land." Letter from Mr. Samwell, Scot's Magazine for 1788, p. 691. It is probable that this interesting portion of geographical knowledge will, in the course of a few years, receive farther improvement. Soon after the publication of Captain Cook's last voyage, the great and enlightened Sovereign of Russia, attentive to every thing that may contribute to extend the bounds of science, or to render it more accurate, formed the plan of a new voyage of discovery, in order to explore those parts of the ocean lying between Asia and America, which Captain Cook did not visit, to examine more accurately the islands which stretch from one continent almost to the other, to survey the north-east coast of the Russian empire, from the mouth of the Koryma, or Kolyma, to the North Cape, and to settle, by astronomical observations, the position of each place worth notice. The conduct of this important enterprise is committed to Captain Billings, an English officer in the Russian service, of whose abilities for that station it will be deemed the best evidence, that he accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage. To render the expedition more extensively useful, an eminent naturalist is appointed to attend Captain Billings. Six years will be requisite for accomplishing the purposes of the voyage, Cox's Supplement to Russian Discoveries, p. 27, &c.

NOTE [44]. p. 103.—Few travellers have had such opportunity of observing the natives of America, in its various districts, as Don Antonio Ulloa. In a work lately published by him, he thus describes the characteristic features of the race: "A very small forehead, covered with hair towards its extremities, as far as the middle of the eye-brows; little eyes; a thin nose, small and bending towards the upper lip; the countenance broad; the ears large; the hair very black, lank, and coarse; the limbs well turned, the feet small, the body of just proportion; and altogether smooth and free from hair, until old age, when they acquire some beard, but never on the cheeks." Noticias Americanas, &c. p. 307. M. le Chevalier de Pinto, who resided several years in a part of America which Ulloa never visited, gives a sketch of the general aspect of the Indians there. "They are all copper color with some diversity of shade, not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degree of elevation of the territory which they inhabit. Those who live in a high country are fairer than those in the marshy low lands, on the coast. Their face is round, further removed perhaps, than that of any people from an oval shape. Their forehead is small, the extremity of their ears far from the face, their lips thick, their nose flat, their eyes black, or of a chestnut color, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance. Their hair is always thick and sleek, and without any tendency to curl. They have no hair on any part of their body but the head. At the first aspect a southern American appears to be mild and innocent, but on a more attentive view, one discovers in his countenance something wild, distrustful, and sullen." MS. penes me. The two portraits drawn by hands very different from those of common travellers, have a near resemblance.

NOTE [45]. p. 104. Amazing accounts are given of the persevering speed of the Americans. Adair relates the adventures of a Chickasaw warrior who ran through woods and over mountains, three hundred computed miles, in a day and a half and two nights. Hist. of Amer. Ind. 396.

NOTE [46]. p. 104. M. Godin Le Jenne, who resided fifteen years among the Indians of Peru and Quito, and twenty years in the French colony of Cayenne, in which there is a constant intercourse with the Galibis and other tribes on the Orinoco, observes, that the vigor of constitution among the Americans is exactly in proportion to their habits of labor. The Indians in warm climates, such as those on the coasts of the South Sea, on the river of Amazons, and the river Orinoco, are not to be compared for strength with those in cold countries; and yet, says he, boats daily set out from Para, a Portuguese settlement on the river of Amazons, to ascend that river against the rapidity of the stream, and with the same crew they proceed to San Pablo, which is eight hundred leagues distant. No crew of white people, or even of Negroes, would be found equal to a task of such persevering fatigue, as the Portuguese have experienced; and yet the Indians being accustomed to this labor from their infancy, perform it. MS. penes me.

NOTE [47]. p. 105. Don Antonio Ulloa, who visited a great part of Peru and Chili, the kingdom of New Granada, and several of the provinces bordering on the Mexican Gulf, while employed in the same service with the French Mathematicians during the space of ten years, and who afterwards had an opportunity of viewing the North Americans asserts "that if we have seen one American, we may be said to have seen them all, their color and make are so nearly the same." Notice. Americanas, p. 328. A more early observer, Pedro de Cieca de Leon, one of the conquerors of Peru, who had likewise traversed many provinces of America, affirms that the people, men and women, although there is such a multitude of tribes or nations as to be almost innumerable, and such diversity of climates, appear nevertheless like the children of one father and mother. Chronica del Peru, parte i. c. 19. There is, no doubt, a certain combination of features, and peculiarity of aspect, which forms what may be called a European or Asiatic countenance. There must likewise be one that may be denominated American, common to the whole race. This may be supposed to strike the traveller at first sight, while not only the various shades, which distinguish people of different regions, but the peculiar features which discriminate individuals, escape the notice of a transient observer. But when persons who had resided so long among the Americans concur in bearing testimony to the similarity of their appearance in every climate, we may conclude that it is more remarkable than that of any other race. See likewise Garcia Origen de los Indios, p. 54. 242. Torquemada Monarch. Indiana, ii. 571.

NOTE [48]. p. 105.—M. le Chevalier de Pinto observes, that in the interior parts of Brazil, he had been informed that some persons resembling the white people of Darien had been found; but that the breed did not continue, and their children became like other Americans. This race, however, is very imperfectly known. MS. penes me.

NOTE [49]. p. 105.—The testimonies of different travellers concerning the Patagonians, have been collected and stated with a considerable degree of accuracy by the author of Recherches Philosophiques, &c. tom. i. 281, &c. iii. 181, &c. Since the publication of his work, several navigators have visited the Magellanic regions, and like their predecessors, differ very widely in their accounts of its inhabitants. By Commodore Byron and his crew, who sailed through the Straits in 1764, the common size of the Patagonians was estimated to be eight feet, and many of them much taller. Phil. Transact. vol. lvii. p. 78. By Captain Wallis and Carteret, who actually measured them in 1766, they were found to be from six feet to six feet

five and seven inches in height. Phil. Trans. vol. ix. p. 22. These, however, seem to have been the very people whose size had been rated so high in the year 1764; for several of them had beads and red baizo of the same kind with what had been put on board Captain Wallis's ship, and he naturally concluded that they had got those from Mr. Byron. Hawkesw. i. In 1767 they were again measured by M. Bougainville, whose account differs little from that of Captain Wallis. Voy. 129. To these I shall add a testimony of great weight. In the year 1762, Don Bernardo Ibanez de Echavarri accompanied the Marquis de Valdelirios to Buenos Ayres, and resided there several years. He is a very intelligent author, and his reputation for veracity unimpeached among his countrymen. In speaking of the country towards the southern extremity of America. "By what Indians," says he, "is it possessed? Not certainly by the fabulous Patagonians who are supposed to occupy this district. I have from many eye-witnesses, who have lived among those Indians, and traded much with them, a true and accurate description of their persons. They are of the same stature with the Spaniards. I never saw one who rose in height two varas and two or three inches," i. e. about 80 or 81.332 inches English, if Echavarri makes his computation according to the vara of Madrid. This agrees nearly with the measurement of Captain Wallis. Reyno Jesuitico, 238. Mr. Falkner, who resided as a missionary forty years in the southern parts of America, says that the Patagonians, or Puelches, are a large bodied people; but I never heard of that gigantic race which others have mentioned, though I have seen persons of all the different tribes of southern Indians." Introd. p. 26. M. Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit, who resided eighteen years in Paraguay, and who had seen great numbers of the various tribes which inhabit the countries situated upon the Straits of Magellan, confirms in every point, the testimony of his brother missionary Falkner. Dobrizhoffer enters into some detail with respect to the opinions of several authors, concerning the stature of the Patagonians. Having mentioned the reports of some early travellers with regard to the extraordinary size of some bones found on that coast which were supposed to be human; and having endeavored to show that these bones belonged to some large marine or land animal, he concludes, "de hisce ossibus crede quicquid liberit, dummodo, me sursore, Patagones pro gigantibus desinas habere." Hist. de Abissinibus, vol. ii. p. 19, &c.

NOTE [50]. p. 106. Antonio Sanchez Ribeiro, a learned and ingenious physician, published a dissertation in the year 1765, in which he endeavors to prove that this disease was not introduced from America, but took its rise in Europe, and was brought on by an epidemical and malignant disorder. Did I chose to enter into a disquisition on this subject, which I should not have mentioned if it had not been intimately connected with this part of my inquiries, it would not be difficult to point out some mistakes with respect to the facts upon which he founds, as well as some errors in the consequences which he draws from them. The rapid communication of this disease from Spain over Europe, seems however to resemble the progress of an epidemic, rather than that of a disease transmitted by infection. The first mention of it is in the year 1493, and before the year 1497, it had made its appearance in most countries of Europe, with such alarming symptoms as rendered it necessary for the civil magistrates to interpose, in order to check its career. Since the publication of this work; a second edition of Dr. Sanchez's Dissertation has been communicated to me. It contains several additional facts in confirmation of his opinion, which is supported with such plausible arguments, as render it a subject of inquiry well deserving the attention of learned physicians.

NOTE [51]. p. 106.—The people of Otaheite have no denomination for any number above two hundred, which is sufficient for their transactions. Voyages by Hawkesworth, ii. 228.

NOTE [52]. p. 107.—As the view which I have given of rude nations is extremely different from that exhibited by very respectable authors, it may be proper to produce some of the many authorities on which I found my description. The manners of the savage tribes in America have never been viewed by persons more capable of observing them with discernment, than the philosophers employed by France and Spain, in the year 1735, to determine the figure of the earth. M. Bouguer, D. Antonio d'Ulloa, and D. Jorge Juan, re-

sided long among the natives of the least civilized provinces in Peru. M. de la Condamine had not only the same advantages with them for observation, but, in his voyage down the Maragnon, he had an opportunity of inspecting the state of the various nations seated on its banks, in its vast course across the continent of South America. There is a wonderful resemblance in their representation of the character of the Americans. "They are all extremely indolent," says M. Bouguer, "they are stupid; they pass whole days sitting in the same place, without moving, or speaking a single word. It is not easy to describe the degree of their indifference for wealth, and all its advantages. One does not well know what motive to propose to them, when one would persuade them to perform any service. It is vain to offer them money; they answer, that they are not hungry." Voyage au Perou, p. 102. "If one considers them as men, the narrowness of their understanding seems to be incompatible with the excellence of the soul. Their imbecility is so visible that one can hardly form an idea of them different from what one has of the brutes. Nothing disturbs the tranquillity of their souls, equally insensible to disasters and to prosperity. Though half naked, they are as contented as a monarch in his most splendid array. Riches do not attract them in the smallest degree, and the authority of dignities to which they may aspire are so little the objects of their ambition, that an Indian will receive with the same indifference the office of a judge (Alcade) or that of a hangman, if deprived of the former and appointed to the latter. Nothing can move or change them. Interest has no power over them, and they often refuse to perform a small service, though certain of a great recompense. Fear makes no impression upon them, and respect as little. Their disposition is so singular that there is no method of influencing them, no means of rousing them from that indifference which is proof against all the endeavors of the wisest persons; no expedient which can induce them to abandon that gross ignorance, or lay aside that careless negligence which disconcert the prudence and disappoint the care of such as are attentive to their welfare." Voyage d'Ulloa, tom. i. 335. 356. Of those singular qualities he produces many extraordinary instances, p. 336. 347. "Insensibility," says M. de la Condamine, "is the basis of the American character. I leave others to determine, whether this should be dignified with the name of apathy, or disgraced with that of stupidity. It arises, without doubt, from the small number of their ideas, which do not extend beyond their wants. Gluttons even to voracity, when they have wherewithal to satisfy their appetite. Temperate, when necessity obliges them, to such a degree, that they can endure want without seeming to desire any thing. Pusillanimous and cowardly to excess, unless when they are rendered desperate by drunkenness. Averse to labor, indifferent to every motive of glory, honor, or gratitude; occupied entirely by the object that is present, and always determined by it alone, without any solicitude about futurity; incapable of foresight or of reflection; abandoning themselves when under no restraint, to a puerile joy, which they express by frisking about and immoderate fits of laughter; without object or design, they pass their life without thinking, and grow old without advancing beyond childhood, of which they retain all the defects. If this description were applicable only to the Indians in some provinces of Peru, who are slaves in every respect but the name, one might believe, that this degree of degeneracy was occasioned by the servile dependence to which they are reduced; the example of the modern Greeks being proof how far servitude may degrade the human species. But the Indians in the missions of the Jesuits, and the savages who still enjoy unimpaired liberty, being as limited in their faculties, not to say as stupid, as the other, one cannot observe without humiliation, that man, when abandoned to simple nature, and deprived of the advantages resulting from education and society, differs but little from the brute creation." Voyage de la Riv. de Amaz. 52. 53. M. de Chanvalon, an intelligent and philosophical observer, who visited Martinico in 1751, and resided there six years, gives the following description of the Caribs: "It is not the red color of their complexion, it is not the singularity of their features, which constitutes the chief difference between them and us. It is their excessive simplicity: it is the limited degree of their faculties. Their reason is not more enlightened or more provident than the instinct of brutes. The reason of the most gross peasants, that of the negroes brought up in the parts of Africa most remote from intercourse with Europeans, is such, that we discover appearances of intelligence, which, though

imperfect, is capable of increase. But of this the understanding of the Caribs seems to be hardly susceptible. If sound philosophy and religion did not afford us their light, if we were to decide according to the first impression which the view of that people makes upon the mind, we should be disposed to believe that they do not belong to the same species with us. Their stupid eyes are the true mirror of their souls; it appears to be without functions. Their indolence is extreme; they have never the least solicitude about the moment which is to succeed that which is present." Voyage a la Martinique, p. 44, 45. 51. M. de la Borde, Tertre, and Rochefort, confirm this description. "The characteristics of the Californians," says P. Venegas, "as well as of all other Indians, are stupidity and insensibility; want of knowledge and reflection; inconstancy, impetuosity, and blindness of appetite; an excessive sloth, and abhorrence of all labor and fatigue; an excessive love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal; pusillanimity; and, in fine, a most wretched want of every thing which constitutes the real man, and renders him rational, inventive, tractable, and useful to himself and society. It is not easy for Europeans, who never were out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of those people; for, even in the least frequented corners of the globe, there is not a nation so stupid, of such contracted ideas, and so weak both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians. Their understanding comprehends little more than what they see; abstract ideas, and much less a chain of reasoning, being far beyond their power; so that they scarce ever improve their first ideas, and these are in general false, or at least inadequate. It is in vain to represent to them any future advantages which will result to them from doing or abstaining from this or that particular immediately present; the relation of means and ends being beyond the stretch of their faculties. Nor have they the least notion of pursuing such intentions as will procure themselves some future good, or guard them against future evils. Their will is proportional to their faculties, and all their passions move in a very narrow sphere. Ambition they have none, and are more desirous of being accounted strong than valiant. The objects of ambition with us, honor, fame, reputation, titles, posts, and distinctions of superiority, are unknown among them; so that this powerful spring of action, the cause of so much seeming good and real evil in the world, has no power here. This disposition of mind, as it gives them up to an amazing languor and lassitude, their lives floating away in a perpetual inactivity and detestation of labor, so it likewise induces them to be attracted by the first object which their own fancy, or the persuasion of another, places before them; and at the same time renders them as prone to alter their resolutions with the same facility. They look with indifference upon any kindness done them; nor is even the bare remembrance of it to be expected from them. In a word, the unhappy mortals may be compared to children, in whom the development of reason is not completed. They may indeed be called a nation who never arrive at manhood." Hist. of California, English Transl. i. 64. 67. Mr. Ellis gives a similar account of the want of foresight and inconsiderate disposition of the people adjacent to Hudson's Bay. Voyage, p. 194, 195.

The incapacity of the Americans is so remarkable, that negroes from all the different provinces of Africa are observed to be more capable of improving by instruction. They acquire the knowledge of several particulars which the Americans cannot comprehend. Hence the negroes, though slaves, value themselves as a superior order of beings, and look down upon the Americans with contempt, as void of capacity and of rational discernment. Ulloa Notic. Americ. 322, 323.

NOTE [53]. p. 107.—Dobrizhoffer, the last traveller I know who has resided among any tribe of the rude Americans, has explained so fully the various reasons which have induced their women to suckle their children long, and never to undertake rearing such as were feeble or distorted, and even to destroy a considerable number of their offspring, as to throw great light on the observations I have made, p. 144. 154. Hist. de Abissinibus, vol. ii. p. 107. 221. So deeply were these ideas imprinted in the minds of the Americans, that the Peruvians, a civilized people when compared with the barbarous tribes whose manners I am describing, retained them; and even their intercourse with the Spaniards has not been able to root them out. When twins are born in any family, it is still considered as an ominous event, and the parents have recourse to

rigorous acts of mortification, in order to avert the calamities with which they are threatened. When a child is born with any deformity, they will not, if they can possibly avoid it, bring it to be baptised, and it is with difficulty they can be brought to rear it. Arriaga Extirpac. de la Idolat. del Pero, p. 32, 33.

NOTE [54]. p. 108.—The number of the fish in the rivers of South America is so extraordinary as to merit particular notice. "In the Maragnon (says P. Acugna) fish are so plentiful, that, without any art, they may take them with the hands." p. 138. "In the Orinoco (says P. Gumilla,) besides an infinite variety of other fish, tortoise or turtle abound in such numbers, that I cannot find words to express it. I doubt not but that such as read my account will accuse me of exaggeration: but I can affirm that it is as difficult to count them as to count the sands on the banks of that river. One may judge of their number by the amazing consumption of them; for all the nations contiguous to the river, and even many who are at a distance, flock thither at the season of breeding, and not only find sustenance during that time, but carry off great numbers both of the turtles and of their eggs." Hist. de l'Orenoque, ii. c. 22. p. 59. M. De la Condamine confirms their accounts, p. 159.

NOTE [55]. p. 108.—Piso describes two of these plants, the *Cururape* and the *Guajana-Timbo*. It is remarkable, that though they have this fatal effect upon fishes, they are so far from being noxious to the human species, that they are used in medicine with success. Piso, lib. iv. c. 88. Bancroft mentions another, the *Hiarree*, a small quantity of which is sufficient to inebriate all the fish to a considerable distance, so that in a few minutes they float motionless on the surface of the water, and are taken with ease. Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 106.

NOTE [56]. p. 108.—Remarkable instances occur of the calamities which rude nations suffer by famine. Alvar Nugnez Cabeza de Vaca, one of the most gallant and virtuous of the Spanish adventurers, resided almost nine years among the savages of Florida. They were unacquainted with every species of agriculture. Their subsistence was poor and precarious. "They live chiefly (says he) upon roots of different plants, which they procure with great difficulty, wandering from place to place in search of them. Sometimes they kill game, sometimes they catch fish, but in such small quantities, that their hunger is so extreme as compels them to eat spiders, the eggs of ants, worms, lizards, serpents, a kind of unctuous earth, and, I am persuaded, that if in this country there were stones, they would swallow these. They preserve the bones of fishes and serpents, which they grind into powder and eat." The only season when they do not suffer from famine, is, when a certain fruit, which he calls *Tunas*, is ripe. This is the same with the *Opuntia*, or prickly pear, of a reddish and yellow color, with a sweet insipid taste. They are sometimes obliged to travel far from their usual place of residence in order to find them. Naufragios, c. xviii. p. 20, 21, 22. In another place he observes, that they are frequently reduced to pass two or three days without food, c. xxiv. p. 27.

NOTE [57]. p. 108.—M. Fermin has given an accurate description of the two species of manioc, with an account of its culture, to which he has added some experiments, in order to ascertain the poisonous qualities of the juice extracted from that species which he calls the bitter cassava. Among the Spaniards it is known by the name of *Yuca brava*. Descr. de Surin. tom. i. p. 66.

NOTE [58]. p. 108.—The plantain is found in Asia and Africa, as well as in America. Oviedo contends, that it is not an indigenous plant of the New World, but was introduced into the Island of Hispaniola, in the year 1516, by Father Thomas de Berlanga, and that he transplanted it from the Canary Islands, whither the original slips had been brought from the East Indies. Oviedo, lib. viii. c. 1. But the opinion of Acosta and other naturalists, who reckon it an American plant, seems to be better founded. Acosta Hist. Nat. lib. iv. 21. It was cultivated by rude tribes in America, who had little intercourse with the Spaniards, and who were destitute of that ingenuity which disposes men to borrow what is useful from foreign nations. Gumil. iii. 186. Wafer's Voyage, p. 87.

NOTE [59]. p. 108.—It is remarkable that Acosta, one of the most accurate and best informed writers concerning the West Indies, affirms that maize, though cultivated in the continent, was not known in the islands, the inhabitants of which had none but cassada bread. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. c. 16. But P. Martyr, in the first book of his first Decad, which was written in the year 1493, upon the return of Columbus from his first voyage, expressly mentions maize as a plant which the islanders cultivated, and of which they made bread, p. 7. Gomara likewise asserts that they were acquainted with the culture of maize. Histor. Gener. cap. 28. Oviedo describes maize without any intimation of its being a plant that was not natural to Hispaniola. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE [60]. p. 109.—New Holland, a country which formerly was only known, has lately been visited by intelligent observers. It lies in a region of the globe where it must enjoy a very favorable climate, as it stretches from the 10th to the 38th degree of southern latitude. It is of great extent, and from its square form must be much more than equal to all Europe. The people who inhabit the various parts of it appear to be of one race. They are evidently ruder than most of the Americans, and have made still less progress in improvement and the arts of life. There is not the least appearance of cultivation in any part of this vast region. The inhabitants are extremely few, so that the country appears almost desolate. Their tribes are still more inconsiderable than those of America. They depend for subsistence almost entirely on fishing. They do not settle in one place, but roam about in quest of food. Both sexes go stark naked. Their habitations, utensils, &c. are more simple and rude than those of the Americans. Voyages by Hawkesworth, iii. 622, &c. This, perhaps, is the country where man has been discovered in the earliest stage of his progress, and exhibits a miserable specimen of his condition and powers in that uncultivated state. If this country shall be more fully explored by future navigators, the comparison of the manners of its inhabitants with those of the Americans will prove an instructive article in the history of the human species.

NOTE [61]. p. 109.—P. Gabriel Marest, who travelled from his station among the Illinois to Michilimackinac, thus describes the face of the country:—"We have marched twelve days without meeting a single human creature. Sometimes we found ourselves in vast meadows, of which we could not see boundaries, through which there flowed many brooks and rivers, but without any path to conduct us. Sometimes we were obliged to open a passage across thick forests, through bushes, and underwood filled with briars and thorns. Sometimes we had to pass through deep marshes, in which we sunk up to the middle. After being fatigued through the day, we had the earth for our bed, or a few leaves, exposed to the wind, the rain, and all the injuries of the air." Lettr. Edifiantes, ii. 360. Dr. Bicknell, in an excursion from North Carolina towards the mountains, A. D. 1730, travelled fifteen days without meeting with a human creature. Nat. Hist. of North Carolina, 389. Diego de Ordaz, in attempting to make a settlement in South America, A. D. 1532, marched fifty days through a country without one inhabitant. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 11.

NOTE [62]. p. 109.—I strongly suspect that a community of goods, and an undivided store, are known only among the rudest tribes of hunters; and that as soon as any species of agriculture or regular industry is known, the idea of an exclusive right of property to the fruits of them is introduced. I am confirmed in this opinion by accounts which I have received concerning the state of property among the Indians in very different regions of America. "The idea of the natives of Brazil concerning property is, that if any person cultivate a field, he alone ought to enjoy the produce of it, and no other has a title to pretend to it. If an individual or family go a hunting or fishing, what is caught belongs to the individual or to the family, and they communicate no part of it to any but to their cazique, or to such of their kindred as happen to be indisposed. If any person in the village come to their hut, he may sit down freely, and eat without asking liberty. But this is the consequence of their general principle of hospitality; for I never observed any partition of the increase of their fields, or the produce of the chase, which I could consider as the result of any idea concerning a community of goods. On the contrary, they are so much attached to what they deem to be their

property, that it would be extremely dangerous to encroach upon it. As far as I can see or can learn, there is not one tribe of Indians in South America among whom the community of goods which has been so highly extolled is known. The circumstance in the government of the Jesuits, most irksome to the Indians of Paraguay, was the community of goods which those fathers introduced. This was repugnant to the original ideas of the Indians. They were acquainted with the rights of private exclusive property, and they submitted with impatience to regulations which destroyed them." M. le Cheval, de Pinto, MS. *penes me*. "Actual possession (says a missionary who resided several years among the Indians of the five nations) gives a right to the soil; but, whenever a possessor sees fit to quit it, another has as good right to take it as he who left it. This law, or custom, respects not only the particular spot on which he erects his house, but also his planting-ground. If a man has prepared a particular spot of ground on which he designs in future to build or plant, no man has a right to incommode him, much less to the fruit of his labors, until it appears that he voluntarily gives up his views. But I never heard of any formal conveyance from one Indian to another in their natural state. The limit of every canton is circumscribed; that is, they are allowed to hunt as far as such a river on this hand, and such a mountain on the other. This area is occupied and improved by individuals and their families: individuals, not the community, have the use and profit of their own labors, or success in hunting." MS. of Mr. Gideon Hawley, *penes me*.

NOTE [63]. p. 109.—This difference of temper between the Americans and Negroes is so remarkable, that it is a proverbial saying in the French islands, "Regarder un sauvage de travers, c'est le battre; le battre, c'est le tuer; battre un Negre, c'est le nourrir." Tertre, ii. 490.

NOTE [64]. p. 109.—The description of the political state of the people of Cinaloa perfectly resembles that of the inhabitants of North America. "They have neither laws nor kings (says a missionary who resided long among them) to punish any crime. Nor is there among them any species of authority, or political government, to restrain them in any part of their conduct. It is true that they acknowledge certain caziques, who are heads of their families or villages; but their authority appears chiefly in war, and the expeditions against their enemies. This authority the caziques obtain not by hereditary right, but by their valor in war, or by the power and number of their families and relations. Sometimes they owe their pre-eminence to their eloquence in displaying their own exploits." Ribas Histor. de las Triunph, &c. p. 11. The state of the Chiquitos in South America is nearly the same. "They have no regular form of government or civil life, but in matters of public concern they listen to the advice of their old men, and usually follow it. The dignity of Cazique is not hereditary, but conferred according to merit, as the reward of valor in war. The union among them is imperfect. Their society resembles a republic without any head, in which every man is master of himself, and, upon the least disgust, separates from those with whom he seemed to be connected." Relacion Historial de las Misiones de los Chiquitos, por P. Juan, Patr. Fernandez, p. 32, 33. Thus, under very different climates, when nations are in a similar state of society, their institutions and civil government assume the same form.

NOTE [65]. p. 111.—"I have known the Indians (says a person well acquainted with their mode of life) to go a thousand miles for the purpose of revenge, in pathless woods, over hills and mountains, through huge cane swamps, exposed to the extremities of heat and cold, the vicissitude of seasons, to hunger and thirst. Such is their overboiling revengeful temper, that they utterly condemn all those things as imaginary trifles, if they are so happy as to get the scalp of the murderer, or enemy, to satisfy the craving ghosts of their deceased relations." Adair's Hist. of Amer. Indians, p. 150.

NOTE [66]. p. 111.—In the account of the great war between the Algonquins and Iroquois, the achievements of Piskaret, a famous chief of the Algonquins, performed mostly by himself alone, or with one or two companions, make a capital figure. De la Potherie, i. 297, &c. Colden's Hist. of Five Nations, 125, &c.

NOTE [67]. p. 111.—The life of an unfortunate leader is often in danger, and he is always degraded

from the rank which he had acquired by his former exploits. Adair, p. 388.

NOTE [68]. p. 111.—As the ideas of the North Americans, with respect to the mode of carrying on war, are generally known, I have founded my observations chiefly upon the testimony of the authors who describe them. But the same maxims took place among other nations in the New World. A judicious missionary has given a view of the military operations of the people in Gran Chaco, in South America, perfectly similar to those of the Iroquois. "They are much addicted to war (says he), which they carry on frequently among themselves, but perpetually against the Spaniards. But they may rather be called thieves than soldiers, for they never make head against the Spaniards, unless when they can assault them by stealth, or have guarded against any mischance by spies, who may be called indefatigable; they will watch the settlements of the Spaniards for one, two, or three years, observing by night every thing that passes with the utmost solicitude, whether they may expect resistance or not, and until they are perfectly secure of the event, they will not venture upon an attack; so that, when they do give the assault, they are certain of success, and free from all danger. These spies, in order that they may not be observed, will creep on all four like cats in the night; but if they are discovered, make their escape with much dexterity. But, although they never choose to face the Spaniards, if they be surrounded in any place whence they cannot escape, they will fight with desperate valor, and sell their lives very dear." Lozano Descript. del Gran Chaco, p. 78.

NOTE [69]. p. 111.—Lery, who was an eye-witness of the proceedings of the *Tupinambos*, a Brazilian tribe, in a war against a powerful nation of their enemies, describes their courage and ferocity in very striking terms. Ego cum Gallo altero paulo curiosius, magno nostro periculo (si enim ab hostibus capti aut lesi fuissimus, devorati fuissimus devoti,) barbaros nostros in militiam euntes comitari volui. Hi, numero 4000 capita, cum hostibus ad litus decurrerunt, tanta ferocitate, ut vel rabidos et furiosos quosque superarent. Cum primum hostes conspexere, in magnos atque editos ululatus perreperunt. Hæc gens adeo fera est et truculenta, ut tantisper dum virum vel tantillum restat, continuo dimicant, fugamque nunquam capestant. Quod a natura illis inditum esse reor. Testor interea me, qui non semel, tum peditum tum equitum copias ingentes, in aciem instructas hic conspexi, tanta nunquam voluptate videndis peditum legionibus armis fulgentibus, quanta tum pugnantibus istis percussum fuisse. Lery Hist. Navigat. in Brasil. ap. de Bry, iii. 207, 208, 209.

NOTE [70]. p. 111.—It was originally the practice of the Americans, as well as of other savage nations, to cut off the heads of the enemies whom they slew, and to carry them away as trophies. But, as they found these cumbersome in their retreat, which they always make very rapidly, and often through a vast extent of country, they became satisfied with tearing off their scalps. This custom, though most prevalent in North America, was not unknown among the Southern tribes. Lozano, p. 79.

NOTE [71]. p. 112.—The terms of the war song seem to be dictated by the same fierce spirit of revenge. "I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers; I shall kill; I shall exterminate; I shall burn my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, drink their blood; I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their skulls." Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, vol. i. p. 102. I am informed, by persons on whose testimony I can rely, that as the number of people in the Indian tribes has decreased so much, almost none of their prisoners are now put to death. It is considered as better policy to spare and to adopt them. Those dreadful scenes which I have described occur now so rarely, that missionaries and traders who have resided long among the Indians, never were witnesses to them.

NOTE [72]. p. 112.—All the travellers who have visited the most uncivilized of the American tribes, agree in this. It is confirmed by two remarkable circumstances, which occurred in the conquest of different provinces. In the expedition of Narvaez into Florida in the year 1528, the Spaniards were reduced to such extreme distress by famine, that, in order to preserve their own lives, they ate such of their companions as

happened to die. This appeared so shocking to the natives, who were accustomed to devour none but prisoners, that it filled them with horror and indignation against the Spaniards. Torquemada Monarch. Ind. ii. p. 584. Naufragios de Alv. Nùgues Cabeça de Vaca, c. xiv. p. 15. During the siege of Mexico, though the Mexicans devoured with greediness the Spaniards and Tlascalans whom they took prisoners, the utmost rigor of the famine which they suffered could not induce them to touch the dead bodies of their own countrymen. Bern. Díaz del Castillo Conquist. de la N. España, p. 156.

NOTE [73]. p. 112. Many singular circumstances concerning the treatment of prisoners among the people of Brasil, are contained in the narrative of Stadius, a German officer in the service of the Portuguese, published in the year 1556. He was taken prisoner by the *Toupinambos*, and remained in captivity nine years. He was often present at those horrid festivals which he describes, and was destined himself to the same cruel fate with other prisoners. But he saved his life by his extraordinary efforts of courage and address. De Bry, iii. p. 34, &c. M. de Lery, who accompanied M. de Villagagnon in his expedition to Brasil in the year 1556, and who resided some time in that country, agrees with Stadius in every circumstance of importance. He was frequently an eye-witness of the manner in which the Brasilians treated their prisoners. De Bry, iii. 210. Several striking particulars omitted by them, are mentioned by a Portuguese author. Purch. Pilgr. iv. 1294, &c.

NOTE [74]. p. 112.—Though I have followed that opinion concerning the apathy of the Americans, which appeared to me most rational, and supported by the authority of the most respectable authors, other theories have been formed with regard to it, by writers of great eminence. D. Ant. Ulloa, in a late work, contends that the texture of the skin and bodily habit of the Americans is such, that they are less sensible of pain than the rest of mankind. He produces several proofs of this, from the manner in which they endure the most cruel surgical operations, &c. Noticias Americanas, p. 313, 314. The same observation has been made by surgeons in Brasil. An Indian, they say, never complains under pain, and will bear the amputation of a leg or an arm without uttering a single groan. MS. penes me.

NOTE [75]. p. 112.—This is an idea natural to all rude nations. Among the Romans, in the early periods of their commonwealth, it was a maxim that a prisoner "tum decessisse videtur eum captus est." Digest. lib. xlix. tit. 15. c. 18. And afterwards, when the progress of refinement rendered them more indulgent with respect to this article, they were obliged to employ two fictions of law to secure the property, and permit the return of a captive; the one by the *Lex Cornelia*, and the other by the *Jus Postliminii*. Heinec. Elem. Jur. Civ. aec. ord. Pand. ii. p. 294. Among the Negroes the same ideas prevail. No ransom was ever accepted for a prisoner. As soon as one is taken in war, he is reputed to be dead; and he is so in effect to his country and his family. Voy. du Cheval. des Marchais, i. p. 369.

NOTE [76]. p. 113.—The people of Chili, the most gallant and high-spirited of all the Americans, are the only exception to this observation. They attack their enemies in the open field; their troops are ranged in regular order; their battalions advance to the charge not only with courage, but with discipline. The North Americans, though many of them have substituted the European fire-arms in place of their own bows and arrows, still adhere to their ancient maxims of war, and carry it on according to their own peculiar system. But the Chilese nearly resemble the warlike nations of Europe and Asia in their military operations. Ovalle's Relation of Chili. Church. Coll. iii. p. 71. Lozano's Hist. Parag. i. 144, 145.

NOTE [77]. p. 113.—Herrera gives a remarkable proof of this. In Yucatan, the men are so solitious about their dress, that they carry about with them mirrors, probably made of stone, like those of the Mexicans, Dec. iv. lib. iii. c. 8, in which they delight to view themselves; but the women never use them. Dec. iv. lib. x. c. 3. He takes notice that among the fierce tribe of the *Panches*, in the new kingdom of Granada, none but distinguished warriors were permitted either to pierce their lips and to wear green

stones in them, or to adorn their heads with plumes of feathers. Dec. vii. lib. ix. c. 4. In some provinces of Peru, though that empire had made considerable progress in civilization, the state of women was little improved. All the toil of cultivation and domestic work was devolved upon them, and they were not permitted to wear bracelets, or other ornaments, with which the men were fond of decking themselves. Zarate Hist. de Peru, i. p. 15, 16.

NOTE [78]. p. 113.—I have ventured to call this mode of anointing and painting their bodies, the dress of the Americans. This is agreeable to their own idiom. As they never stir abroad if they are not completely anointed; they excuse themselves when in this situation, by saying that they cannot appear because they are naked. Gumilla, Hist. de l'Orenoque, i. 191.

NOTE [79]. p. 113.—Some tribes in the province of Cinaloa, on the gulf of California, seem to be among the rudest people of America united in the social state. They neither cultivate nor sow; they have no houses in which they reside. Those in the inland country subsist by hunting; those on the seacoast chiefly by fishing. Both depend upon the spontaneous productions of the earth, fruits, plants, and roots of various kinds. In the rainy season, as they have no habitations to afford them shelter, they gather bundles of reeds, or strong grass; and binding them together at one end, they open them at the other, and fitting them to their heads, they are covered as with a large cap, which, like a penthouse, throws off the rain, and will keep them dry for several hours. During the warm season, they form a shed with the branches of trees, which protects them from the sultry rays of the sun. When exposed to cold they make large fires, round which they sleep in the open air. Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fe entre Gentres las mas Barbaras, &c. por. P. And. Perez de Ribas, p. 7, &c.

NOTE [80]. p. 113.—These houses resemble barns. "We have measured some which were a hundred and fifty paces long, and twenty paces broad. Above a hundred persons resided in some of them." Wilson's Account of Guiana. Purch. Pilgr. vol. iv. p. 1263. Ibid. 1291. "The Indian houses," says Mr. Barrere, "have a most wretched appearance, and are a striking image of the rudeness of early times. Their huts are commonly built on some rising ground, or on the banks of a river, huddled sometimes together, sometimes straggling, and always without any order. Their aspect is melancholy and disagreeable. One sees nothing but what is hideous and savage. The uncultivated fields have no gayety. The silence which reigns there, unless when interrupted by the disagreeable notes of birds, or cries of wild beasts, is extremely dismal." Relat. de la France Equin. p. 146.

NOTE [81]. p. 113.—Some tribes in South America can send their arrows to a great distance, and with considerable force, without the aid of the bow. They make use of a hollow reed, about nine feet long and an inch thick, which is called a *Sarbacane*. In it they lodge a small arrow, with some unspun cotton wound about its great end; this confines the air, so that they can blow it with astonishing rapidity, and a sure aim, to the distance of above a hundred paces. These small arrows are always poisoned. Fermin. Desc. de Surin. i. 55. Bancroft's Hist. of Guiana, p. 281, &c. The *Sarbacane* is much used in some parts of the East Indies.

NOTE [82]. p. 113.—I might produce many instances of this, but shall satisfy myself with one taken from the Eskimaux. "Their greatest ingenuity (says Mr. Ellis) is shown in the structure of their bows, made commonly of three pieces of wood, each making part of the same arch, very nicely and exactly joined together. They are commonly of fir or larch; and as this wants strength and elasticity, they supply both by bracing the back of the bow with a kind of thread, or line, made of the sinews of their deer, and the bow-string of the same materials. To make them draw more stiffly, they dip them into water, which causes both the back of the bow and the string to contract, and consequently gives it the greater force; and as they practice from their youth, they shoot with very great dexterity." Voyage to Hudson's Bay, p. 134.

NOTE [83]. p. 113.—Necessity is the great prompter and guide of mankind in their inventions. There is, however, such inequality in some parts of their pro-

gress, and some nations get so far the start of others in circumstances nearly similar, that we must ascribe this to some events in their story, or to some peculiarity in their situation, with which we are unacquainted. The people in the island of Otahite, lately discovered in the South Sea, far excel most of the Americans in the knowledge and practice of the arts of ingenuity, and yet they had not invented any method of boiling water; and having no vessel that could bear the fire, they had no more idea that water could be made hot, than that it could be made solid. Voyages by Hawkesworth, i. 466, 481.

NOTE [84]. p. 118.—One of these boats, which would carry nine men, weighed only sixty pounds. Gosnol. Relat. des Voy. a la Virgin. Rec. de Voy. au Nord, tom. v. p. 403.

NOTE [85]. p. 113.—A remarkable proof of this is produced by Ulloa. In weaving hammocks, coverlets, and other coarse cloths which they are accustomed to manufacture, their industry has discovered no more expeditious method than to take up thread after thread, and, after counting and sorting them each time, to pass the woof between them, so that in finishing a small piece of those stuffs they frequently spend more than two years. Voyage, i. 336. Bancroft gives the same description of the Indians of Guiana, p. 255. According to Adair, the ingenuity and despatch of the North American Indians are not greater, p. 422. From one of the engravings of the Mexican paintings in Purchas, vol. iii. p. 1106, I think it probable that the people of Mexico were unacquainted with any better or more expeditious mode of weaving. A loom was an invention beyond the ingenuity of the most improved Americans. In all their works they advance so slowly, that one of their artists is two months at a tobacco-pipe with his knife before he finishes it. Adair, p. 423.

NOTE [86]. p. 114.—The article of religion in P. Laftau's *Mœurs des Sauvages* extends to 347 tedious pages in quarto.

NOTE [87]. p. 114.—I have referred the reader to several of the authors who describe the most uncivilized nations in America. Their testimony is uniform. That of P. Ribas concerning the people of Cinaloa coincides with the rest. "I was extremely attentive (says he), during the years I resided among them, to ascertain whether they were to be considered as idolaters; and it may be affirmed with the most perfect exactness, that though among some of them there may be traces of idolatry, yet others have not the least knowledge of God, or even of any false deity, nor pay any formal adoration to the Supreme Being who exercises dominion over the world; nor have they any conception of the providence of a Creator, or Governor, from whom they expect in the next life the reward of their good or the punishment of their evil deeds. Neither do they publicly join in any act of divine worship." Ribas Triunfos, &c. p. 16.

NOTE [88]. p. 114.—The people of Brasil were so much affrighted by thunder, which is frequent and awful in their country, as well as in other parts of the torrid zone, that it was not only the object of religious reverence, but the most expressive name in their language for their Deity was *Toupan*, the same by which they distinguished thunder. Piso de Medec. Brasil, p. 8. Nieuhoff. Church. Coll. ii. p. 132.

NOTE [89]. p. 115.—By the account which M. Dumont, an eye-witness, gives of the funeral of the great chief of the Natchez, it appears that the feelings of the persons who suffered on that occasion were very different. Some solicited the honor with eagerness; others labored to avoid their doom, and several saved their lives by flying to the woods. As the Indian Brahmins give an intoxicating draught to the women who are to be burned together with the bodies of their husbands, which renders them insensible of their approaching fate, the Natchez obliged their victims to swallow several large pills of tobacco, which produces a similar effect. Mem. de Louis. i. 227.

NOTE [90]. p. 115.—On some occasions, particularly in dances instituted for the recovery of persons who are indisposed, they are extremely licentious and indecent. De la Potherie Hist. &c. ii. p. 42. Charlov. N. Fr. iii. p. 319. But the nature of their dances is commonly such as I have described.

NOTE [91]. p. 115.—The *Othomacoas*, a tribe seated on the banks of the Orinoco, employ for the same purpose a composition which they call *Yupa*. It is formed of the seeds of an unknown plant reduced to powder, and certain shells burned and pulverized. The effects of this when drawn up into the nostrils are so violent that they resemble madness rather than intoxication. Gmilla, i. 286.

NOTE [92]. p. 115.—Though this observation holds true among the greater part of the southern tribes, there are some in which the intemperance of the women is as excessive as that of the men. Bancroft's Nat. Hist. of Guiana, p. 275.

NOTE [93]. p. 116.—Even in the most intelligent writers concerning the manners of the Americans, one meets with inconsistent and inexplicable circumstances. The Jesuit Charlevoix, who, in consequence of a controversy between his order and that of the Franciscans, with respect to the talents and abilities of the North Americans, is disposed to represent their intellectual as well as moral qualities in the most favorable light, asserts, that they are engaged in continual negotiations with their neighbors, and conduct these with the most refined address. At the same time he adds, "that it behooves their envoys or plenipotentiaries to exert their abilities and eloquence, for, if the terms which they offer are not accepted, they had need to stand on their guard. It frequently happens that a blow with the hatchet is the only return given to their propositions. The envoy is not out of danger, even if he is so fortunate as to avoid the stroke; he may expect to be pursued, and, if taken, to be burnt." Hist. N. Fr. iii. 251. What occurs, p. 147, concerning the manner in which the Tlascalans treated the ambassadors from Zempoalla, corresponds with the fact related by Charlevoix. Men capable of such acts of violence seem to be unacquainted with the first principles upon which the intercourse between nations is founded; and instead of the perpetual negotiations which Charlevoix mentions, it seems almost impossible that there should be any correspondence whatever among them.

NOTE [94]. p. 117.—It is a remark of Tacitus concerning the Germans, "*Gaudent muneribus, sed nec data imputant, nec acceptis obligantur.*" C. 21. An author who had a good opportunity of observing the principle which leads savages neither to express gratitude for favors which they had received, nor to expect any return for such as they bestowed, thus explains their ideas: "If (say they) you give me this, it is because you have no need of it yourself; and as for me, I never part with that which I think necessary to me." *Memoire sur le Gabbis; Hist. des Plantes de la Guiane Francoise* par M. Aublet, tom. ii. p. 110.

NOTE [95]. p. 118.—And Bernaldes, the contemporary and friend of Columbus, has preserved some circumstances concerning the bravery of the Caribbees, which are not mentioned by Don Ferdinand Columbus, or the other historians of that period whose works have been published. A Caribbean canoe, with four men, two women, and a boy, fell in unexpectedly with the fleet of Columbus in his second voyage, as it was steering through their islands. At first they were struck almost stupid with astonishment at such a strange spectacle, and hardly moved from the spot for above an hour. A Spanish bark, with twenty-five men, advanced towards them, and the fleet gradually surrounded them, so as to cut off their communication with their shore. "When they saw that it was impossible to escape (says the historian), they seized their arms with undaunted resolution, and began the attack. I use the expression *with undaunted resolution*, for they were few, and beheld a vast number ready to assault them. They wounded several of the Spaniards, although they had targets, as well as other defensive armour; and even after their canoe was overset, it was with no little difficulty and danger that part of them were taken, as they continued to defend themselves, and to use their bows with great dexterity while swimming in the sea." Hist. de D. Fern. y Ysab. MS. c. 119.

NOTE [96]. p. 118.—A probable conjecture may be formed with respect to the cause of the distinction in character between the Caribbees and the inhabitants of the larger islands. The former appear manifestly to be a separate race. Their language is totally different from that of their neighbors in the large islands. They themselves have a tradition, that their ancestors came originally from some part of the continent, and, having

conquered and exterminated the ancient inhabitants, took possession of their lands, and of their women. Rochefort, 334. Tertre, 310. Hence they call themselves *Banarers*, which signifies a man come from beyond sea. Labat, vi. 131. Accordingly, the Caribbees still use two distinct languages, one peculiar to the men, and the other to the women. Tertre, 361. The language of the men has nothing common with that spoken in the large islands. The dialect of the women considerably resembles it. Labat, 129. This strongly confirms the tradition which I have mentioned. The Caribbees themselves imagine that they were a colony from the *Galabiz*, a powerful nation of Guiana, in South America. Tertre, 361. Rochefort, 348. But as their fierce manners approach nearer to those of the people in the northern continent, than to those of the natives of South America; and as their language has likewise some affinity to that spoken in Florida, their origin should be deduced rather from the former than from the latter. Labat, 128, &c. Herrera, dec. i. lib. ix. c. 4. In their wars, they still observe their ancient practice of destroying all the males, and preserving the women either for servitude or for breeding.

NOTE [97]. p. 197.—Our knowledge of the events which happened in the conquest of New Spain, is derived from sources of information more original and authentic than that of any transaction in the history of America. The letters of Cortes to the Emperor Charles V. are an historical monument, not only first in order of time, but of the greatest authenticity and value. As Cortes early assumed a command independent of Velasquez, it became necessary to convey such an account of his operations to Madrid, as might procure him the approbation of his sovereign.

The first of his despatches has never been made public. It was sent from Vera Cruz, July 16th, 1519. As I imagined that it might not reach the Emperor until he arrived in Germany, for which he set out early in the year 1520, in order to receive the Imperial crown; I made diligent search for a copy of this despatch, both in Spain and in Germany, but without success. This, however, is of less consequence, as it could not contain any thing very material, being written so soon after Cortes arrived in New Spain. But, in searching for the letter from Cortes, a copy of one from the colony of Vera Cruz to the Emperor has been discovered in the Imperial library at Vienna. Of this I have given some account in its proper place, see p. 122. The second despatch, dated October 30th, 1520, was published at Seville A. D. 1522, and the third and fourth soon after they were received. A Latin translation of them appeared in Germany A. D. 1532. Ramusio soon after made them more generally known, by inserting them in his valuable collection. They contain a regular and minute history of the expedition, with many curious particulars concerning the policy and manners of the Mexicans. The work does honor to Cortes; the style is simple and perspicuous; but as it was manifestly his interest to represent his own actions in the fairest light, his victories are probably exaggerated, his losses diminished, and his acts of rigor and violence softened.

The next in order is the *Chronica de la Nueva Espana*, by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, published A. D. 1554. Gomara's historical merit is considerable. His mode of narration is clear, flowing, always agreeable, and sometimes elegant. But he is frequently inaccurate and credulous; and as he was the domestic chaplain of Cortes after his return from New Spain, and probably composed his work at his desire, it is manifest that he labors to magnify the merit of his hero, and to conceal or extenuate such transactions as were unfavorable to his character. Of this, Herrera accuses him in one instance, Dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 2, and it is not once only that this is conspicuous. He writes, however, with so much freedom concerning several measures of the Spanish Court, that the copies both of his *Historia de las Indias*, and of his *Chronica*, were called in by a decree of the Council of the Indies, and they were long considered as prohibited books in Spain; it is only of late that license to print them has been granted. Puelo Biblioth. 589.

The *Chronicle of Gomara* induced Bernal Diaz del Castillo to compose his *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva Espana*. He had been an adventurer in each of the expeditions to New Spain, and was the companion of Cortes in all his battles and perils. When he found that neither he himself, nor many of his fellow soldiers, were once mentioned by Gomara, but that the fame of all their exploits was ascribed to Cortes, the gallant veteran laid hold of his pen with indignation, and composed his true history. It contains a

prolix, minute, confused narrative of all Cortes's operations, in such a rude vulgar style as might be expected from an illiterate soldier. But as he relates transactions of which he was witness, and in which he performed a considerable part, his account bears all the marks of authenticity, and is accompanied with such a pleasant *variety*, with such interesting details, with such amusing *anecdotes*, and yet so pardonable in an old soldier who had been (as he boasts) in a hundred and nineteen battles, as renders his book one of the most singular that is to be found in any language.

Pet. Martyr ab Angleria, in a treatise *De Insulis nuper inventis*, added to his *Decades de Rebus Occidentis et Novo Orbe*, gives some account of Cortes's expedition. But he proceeds no further than to relate what happened after his first landing. This work, which is brief and slight, seems to contain the information transmitted by Cortes in his first despatches, embellished with several particulars communicated to the author by the officers who brought the letters from Cortes.

But the book to which the greater part of modern historians have had recourse for information concerning the conquest of New Spain, is *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*, por D. Antonio de Solis, first published A. D. 1684. I know no author in any language whose literary fame has risen so far beyond his real merit. De Solis is reckoned by his countrymen one of the purest writers in the Castilian tongue; and if a foreigner may venture to give his opinion concerning a matter of which Spaniards alone are qualified to judge, he is entitled to that praise. But though his language be correct, his taste in composition is far from being just. His periods are so much labored as to be often stiff, and sometimes tunid; the figures which he employs by way of ornament are frequently trite or improper, and his observations superficial. These blemishes, however, might easily be overlooked, if he were not defective with respect to all the great qualities of an historian. Destitute of that patient industry in research which conducts to the knowledge of truth; a stranger to that impartiality which weighs evidence with cool attention; and ever eager to establish his favorite system of exalting the character of Cortes into that of a perfect hero, exempt from error, and adorned with every virtue; he is less solicitous to discover what was true than to relate what might appear splendid. When he attempts any critical discussion, his reasonings are fallacious, and founded upon an imperfect view of facts. Though he sometimes quotes the *despatches* of Cortes, he seems not to have consulted them; and though he sets out with some censure on Gomara, he frequently prefers his authority, the most doubtful of any, to that of the other contemporary historians.

But of all the Spanish writers, Herrera furnishes the fullest and most accurate information concerning the conquest of Mexico, as well as every other transaction of America. The industry and attention with which he consulted not only the books, but the original paper and public records, which tended to throw any light upon the subject of his inquiries, were so great, and he usually judges of the evidence before him with so much impartiality and candor, that his *Decads* may be ranked among the most judicious and useful historical collections. If, by attempting to relate the various occurrences in the New World in a strict chronological order, the arrangement of events in his work had not been rendered so perplexed, disconnected, and obscure that it is an unpleasant task to collect from different parts of his book, and piece together the detached shreds of a story, he might justly have been ranked among the most eminent historians of his country. He gives an account of the materials from which he composed his work, Dec. vi. lib. iii. c. 19.

NOTE [98]. p. 119.—Cortes purposed to have gone in the train of Ovando when he set out for his government in the year 1502, but was detained by an accident. As he was attempting in a dark night to scramble up to the window of a lady's bed-chamber, with whom he carried on an intrigue, an old wall, on the top of which he had mounted, gave way, and he was so much bruised by the fall as to be unfit for the voyage. Gomara, *Cronica de la Nueva Espana*, cap. 1.

NOTE [99]. p. 119.—Cortes had two thousand pesos in the hands of Andrew Duero, and he borrowed four thousand. Those sums are about equal in value to fifteen hundred pounds sterling; but as the price of every thing was extremely high in America, they made but a scanty stock when applied towards the equipment of a military expedition. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 2. B. Diaz, c. 20.

NOTE [100.] p. 119.—The names of those gallant officers, which will often occur in the subsequent story, were Juan Velasquez de Leon, Alonso Hernandez Portocarrero, Francisco de Montejó, Christoval de Olid, Juan de Escalante, Francisco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Francisco de Salceda, Juan de Escobar, Gines de Nortes. Cortes himself commanded the Capitana, or Admiral. Francisco de Orozco, an officer formed in the wars of Italy, had the command of the artillery. The experienced Alaminos acted as chief pilot.

NOTE [101.] p. 119.—In those different conflicts, the Spaniards lost only two men, but had a considerable number wounded. Though there be no occasion for recourse to any supernatural cause to account either for the greatness of their victories, or the smallness of their loss, the Spanish historians fail not to ascribe both to the patronage of St. Jago, the tutelary saint of their country, who, as they relate, fought at the head of their countrymen, and, by his prowess, gave a turn to the fate of the battle. Gomara is the first who mentions this apparition of St. James. It is amusing to observe the embarrassment of B. Diaz del Castillo, occasioned by the struggle between his superstition and his veracity. The former disposed him to believe this miracle, the latter restrained him from attesting it. "I acknowledge," says he, "that all our exploits and victories are owing to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle there was such a number of Indians to every one of us, that if each had thrown a handful of earth they might have buried us, if by the great mercy of God we had not been protected. It may be that the person whom Gomara mentions as having appeared on a mottled grey horse, was the glorious apostle Signor San Jago, or Signor San Pedro, and that I, as being a sinner, was not worthy to see him. This I know, that I saw Francisco de Morla, on such a horse, but as an unworthy transgressor, did not deserve to see any of the holy apostles. It may have been the will of God, that it was so as Gomara relates, but until I read his Chronicle, I never heard among any of the conquerors that such a thing had happened." Cap. 34.

NOTE [102.] p. 120.—Several Spanish historians relate this occurrence in such terms as if they wished it should be believed that the Indians, loaded with the presents, had carried them from the capital, in the same short space of time that the couriers performed that journey. This is incredible, and Gomara mentions a circumstance which shows that nothing extraordinary happened on this occasion. This rich present had been prepared for Grijalva, when he touched at the same place some months before, and was now ready to be delivered, as soon as Montezuma sent orders for that purpose. Gomara Cron. c. xxvii. p. 28.

According to B. Diaz del Castillo, the value of the silver plate representing the moon was alone above twenty thousand pesos, above five thousand pounds sterling.

NOTE [103.] p. 121.—This private traffic was directly contrary to the instructions of Velasquez, who enjoined, that whatever was acquired by trade should be thrown into the common stock. But it appears that the soldiers had each a private assortment of toys and other goods proper for the Indian trade, and Cortes gained their favor by encouraging this underhand barter. B. Diaz, c. 41.

NOTE [104.] p. 122.—Gomara has published a catalogue of the various articles of which this present consisted. Cron. c. 49. P. Martyr ab Angleria, who saw them after they were brought to Spain, and who seems to have examined them with great attention, gives a description of each, which is curious, as it conveys some idea of the progress which the Mexicans had made in several arts of elegance. De Insulis nuper inventis Liber, p. 354, &c.

NOTE [105.] p. 123.—There is no circumstance in the history of the conquest of America which is more questionable than the account of the numerous armies brought into the field against the Spaniards. As the war with the republic of Tlascala, though of short duration, was one of the most considerable which the Spaniards waged in America, the account given of the Tlascalan armies merits some attention. The only authentic information concerning this is derived from three authors. Cortes in his second despatch to the Emperor, dated at Segura de la Frontera, Oct. 30, 1520, thus estimates the number of their troops; in the first battle 6000; in the second battle 100,000; in

the third battle 150,000. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. 228. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was an eye witness, and engaged in all the actions of this war, thus reckons their numbers: in the first battle, 3000, p. 43; in the second battle 6000, *ibid*; in the third battle 50,000, p. 45. Gomara, who was Cortes's chaplain after his return to Spain, and published his *Cronica* in 1552, follows the computation of Cortes, except in the second battle, where he reckons the Tlascalans at 60,000, p. 49. It was manifestly the interest of Cortes to magnify his own dangers and exploits. For it was only by the merit of extraordinary services that he could hope to atone for his irregular conduct in assuming an independent command. Bernal Diaz, though abundantly disposed to place his own prowess, and that of his fellow-conquerors, in the most advantageous point of light, had not the same temptation to exaggerate; and it is probable that his account of the numbers approaches nearer to the truth. The assembling of an army of 150,000 men, requires many previous arrangements, and such provisions for their subsistence as seems to be beyond the foresight of Americans. The degree of cultivation in Tlascala does not seem to have been so great as to have furnished such a vast army with provisions. Though this province was so much better cultivated than other regions of New Spain that it was called the *country of bread*, yet the Spaniards in their march suffered such want, that they were obliged to subsist upon *Tunas*, a species of fruit which grows wild in the fields. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 5. p. 182.

NOTE [106.] p. 123.—These unhappy victims are said to be persons of distinction. It seems improbable that so great a number as fifty should be employed as spies. So many prisoners had been taken and dismissed, and the Tlascalans had sent so many messages to the Spanish quarters, that there appears to be no reason for hazarding the lives of so many considerable people in order to procure information about the position and state of their camp. The barbarous manner which Cortes treated a people unacquainted with the laws of war established among polished nations, appears so shocking to the later Spanish writers, that they diminish the number of those whom he punished so cruelly. Herrera says, that he cut off the hands of seven, and the thumbs of some more. Dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 8. De Solis relates, that the hands of fourteen or fifteen were cut off, and the thumbs of all the rest. Lib. ii. c. 20. But Cortes himself, Relat. p. 228. b. and after him Gomara, c. 48, affirm, that the hands of all the fifty were cut off.

NOTE [107.] p. 124.—The horses were objects of the greatest astonishment to all the people of New Spain. At first they imagined the horse and the rider, like the Centaurs of the ancients, to be some monstrous animal of a terrible form; and supposing that their food was the same as that of men, brought flesh and blood to nourish them. Even after they discovered their mistake, they believed the horses devoured men in battle, and, when they neighed, thought that they were demanding their prey. It was not the interest of the Spaniards to undeceive them. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vi. c. 11.

NOTE [108.] p. 124.—According to Bart. de las Casas, there was no reason for this massacre, and it was an act of wanton cruelty, perpetrated merely to strike terror into the people of New Spain. Relac. de la destruy. p. 17, &c. But the zeal of Las Casas often leads him to exaggerate. In opposition to him, Bernal Diaz, c. 83, asserts, that the first missionaries sent into New Spain by the Emperor, made a judicial inquiry into this transaction; and, having examined the priests and elders of Cholula, found that there was a real conspiracy to cut off the Spaniards, and that the account given by Cortes was exactly true. As it was the object of Cortes at that time, and manifestly his interest, to gain the good will of Montezuma, it is improbable that he should have taken a step which tended so visibly to alienate him from the Spaniards, if he had not believed it to be necessary for his own preservation. At the same time, the Spaniards who served in America, had such contempt for the natives, and thought them so little entitled to the common rights of men, that Cortes might hold the Cholulans to be guilty upon slight and imperfect evidence. The severity of the punishment was certainly excessive and atrocious.

NOTE [109.] p. 124.—This description is taken almost literally from Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who was

so unacquainted with the art of composition as to be incapable of embellishing his narrative. He relates in a simple and rude style what passed in his own mind and that of his fellow soldiers on that occasion; "and let it not be thought strange," says he, "that I should write in this manner of what then happened, for it ought to be considered, that it is one thing to relate, another to have beheld things that were never before seen, or heard, or spoken of among men." Cap. 68. p. 64. b.

NOTE [110.] p. 126.—B. Diaz del Castillo, gives us some idea of the fatigue and hardships they underwent in performing this and other parts of duty. During the nine months that they remained in Mexico, every man, without any distinction between officers and soldiers, slept on his arms in his quilted jacket and gorget. They lay on mats, or straw spread on the floor, and each was obliged to hold himself as alert as if he had been on guard. "This," adds he, "became so habitual to me, that even now, in my advanced age, I always sleep in my clothes, and never in any bed. When I visit my *Encomienda*, I reckon it suitable to my rank to have a bed carried along with my other baggage, but I never go into it; but, according to custom, I lie in my clothes, and walk frequently during the night into the open air to view the stars, as I was wont when in service." Cap. 103.

NOTE [111.] p. 126.—Cortes himself, in his second despatch to the Emperor, does not explain the motives which induced him either to condemn Quilpopoca to the flames, or to put Montezuma in irons. Ramus. iii. 236. B. Diaz is silent with respect to his reasons for the former; and the only cause he assigns for the latter was, that he might meet with no interruption in executing the sentence pronounced against Quilpopoca, c. xcv. p. 75. But as Montezuma was his prisoner, and absolutely in his power, he had no reason to dread him, and the insult offered to that monarch could have no effect but to irritate him unnecessarily. Gomara supposes that Cortes had no other object than to occupy Montezuma with his own distress and sufferings, that he might give less attention to what befel Quilpopoca. Cron. c. 89. Herrera adopts the same opinion. Dec. ii. lib. viii. c. 9. But it seems an odd expedient, in order to make a person bear one injury, to load him with another that is greater. De Solis imagines, that Cortes had nothing else in view than to intimidate Montezuma, so that he might make no attempt to rescue the victims from their fate; but the spirit of that monarch was so submissive, and he had so tamely given up the prisoners to the disposal of Cortes, that he had no cause to apprehend any opposition from him. If the explanation which I have attempted to give of Cortes's proceedings on this occasion be not admitted, it appears to me, that they must be reckoned among the wanton and barbarous acts of oppression which occur too often in the history of the conquest of America.

NOTE [112.] p. 126.—De Solis asserts, lib. iv. c. 3, that the proposition of doing homage to the king of Spain came from Montezuma himself, and was made in order to induce the Spaniards to depart out of his dominions. He describes his conduct on this occasion as if it had been founded upon a scheme of profound policy, and executed with such refined address as to deceive Cortes himself. But there is no hint or circumstance in the contemporary historians, Cortes, Diaz, or Gomara, to justify this theory. Montezuma, on other occasions, discovered no such extent of art and abilities. The anguish which he felt in performing this humbling ceremony is natural, if we suppose it to have been involuntary. But, according to the theory of De Solis, which supposes that Montezuma was executing what he himself had proposed, to have assumed an appearance of sorrow would have been preposterous, and inconsistent with his own design of deceiving the Spaniards.

NOTE [113.] p. 127.—In several of the provinces, the Spaniards, with all their industry and influence, could collect no gold. In others, they procured only a few trinkets of small value. Montezuma assured Cortes, that the present which he offered to the king of Castile, after doing homage, consisted of all the treasure amassed by his father; and told him, that he had already distributed the rest of his gold and jewels among the Spaniards. B. Diaz, c. 104. Gomara relates that all the silver collected amounted to 500 marks Cron. c. 83. This agrees with the account given by Cortes, that the royal fifth of silver was 100 marks

Relat. 239. B. So that the sum total of silver was only 4000 ounces, at the rate of eight ounces a mark, which demonstrates the proportion of silver to gold to have been exceedingly small.

NOTE [115]. p. 127.—De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. calls in question the truth of this transaction, from no better reason than that it was inconsistent with that prudence which distinguishes the character of Cortes. But he ought to have recollected the impetuosity of his zeal at Tlascala, which was no less imprudent. He asserts, that the evidence for it rests upon the testimony of B. Diaz del Castillo, of Gomara, and of Herrera. They all concur, indeed, in mentioning this inconsiderate step which Cortes took; and they had good reason to do so, for Cortes himself relates this exploit in his second despatch to the Emperor, and seems to glory in it. Cort. Relat. Ramus. iii. 140. D. This is one instance, among many, of De Solis's having consulted with little attention the letters of Cortes to Charles V. from which the most authentic information with respect to his operations must be derived.

NOTE [114]. p. 127.—Herrera and de Solis suppose that Velasquez was encouraged to equip this armament against Cortes by the account which he received from Spain concerning the reception of the agents sent by the colony of Vera Cruz, and the warmth with which Fonseca Bishop of Burgos had espoused his interest, and condemned the proceedings of Cortes. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. c. 18. De Solis lib. iv. c. 5. But the chronological order of events refutes this supposition. Portocarrero and Montejo sailed from Vera Cruz, July 26, 1519. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. They landed at St. Lucar in October, according to Herrera, *Ibid.* But P. Martyr, who attended the court at that time, and communicated every occurrence of moment to his correspondents day by day, mentions the arrival of these agents for the first time in December, and speaks of it as a recent event. Epist. 650. All the historians agree that the agents of Cortes had their first audience of the Emperor at Tordesillas, when he went to that town to visit his mother in his way to St. Jago de Compostella. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. c. 4. De Solis, lib. iv. c. 5. But the Emperor set out from Valladolid for Tordesillas on the 11th of March, 1520; and P. Martyr mentions his having seen at that time the presents made to Charles. Epist. 1665. The armament under Narvaez sailed from Cuba in April 1520. It is manifest then that Velasquez could not receive any account of what passed in this interview at Tordesillas previous to his hostile preparations against Cortes. His real motives seem to be those which I have mentioned. The patent appointing him *Adelantado* of New Spain, with such extensive powers, bears date November 13, 1519. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. c. 11. He might receive it about the beginning of January. Gomara takes notice, that as soon as this patent was delivered to him, he began to equip a fleet and levy forces. Cron. c. 96.

NOTE [116]. p. 127.—De Solis contends, that as Narvaez had no interpreters, he could hold no intercourse with the people of the provinces, nor converse with them in any way but by signs, that it was equally impossible for him to carry on any communication with Montezuma. Liv. iv. c. 7. But it is upon the authority of Cortes himself that I relate all the particulars of Narvaez's correspondence both with Montezuma and with his subjects in the maritime provinces. Relat. Ramus. iii. 244. A. C. Cortes affirms that there was a mode of intercourse between Narvaez and the Mexicans, but does not explain how it was carried on. Bernal Diaz supplies this defect, and informs us that the three deserters who joined Narvaez acted as interpreters, having acquired a competent knowledge of the language, c. 110. With his usual minuteness he mentions their names and characters, and relates, in chapter 122, how they were punished for their perfidy. The Spaniards had now resided above a year among the Mexicans; and it is not surprising that several among them should have made some proficiency in speaking their language. This seems to have been the case. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 1. Both B. Diaz, who was present, and Herrera, the most accurate and best informed of all the Spanish writers, agree with Cortes in his account of the secret correspondence carried on with Montezuma. Dec. 2. lib. x. c. 18, 19. De Solis seems to consider it as a discredit to Cortes, his hero, that Montezuma should have been ready to engage in a correspondence with Narvaez. He supposes that monarch to have contracted such a wonderful affection for the Spaniards, that he was not solicitous to be deli-

vered from them. After the indignity with which he had been treated, such an affection is incredible; and even De Solis is obliged to acknowledge, that it must be looked upon as one of the miracles which God had wrought to facilitate the conquest, lib. iv. c. 7. The truth is, Montezuma, however much overawed by his dread of the Spaniards, was extremely impatient to recover his liberty.

NOTE [117]. p. 129.—These words I have borrowed from the anonymous Account of the European Settlements in America, published by Dodsley, in two volumes 8vo.; a work of so much merit, that I should think there is hardly any writer in the age who ought to be ashamed of acknowledging himself to be the author of it.

NOTE [118]. p. 130.—The contemporary historians differ considerably with respect to the loss of the Spaniards on this occasion. Cortes in his second despatch to the Emperor, makes the number only 150. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 219. A. But it was manifestly his interest, at that juncture, to conceal from the court of Spain the full extent of the loss which he had sustained. De Solis, always studious to diminish every misfortune that befell his countrymen, rates their loss at about two hundred men. Lib. iv. c. 19. B. Diaz affirms that they lost 870 men, and that only 440 escaped from Mexico, c. 128. B. Palafox, Bishop of Los Angeles, who seems to have inquired into the early transactions of his countrymen in New Spain with great attention, confirms the account of B. Diaz with respect to the extent of their loss. Virtudes del Indio, p. 22. Gomara states their loss at 450 men. Cron. c. 109. Some months afterwards, when Cortes had received several reinforcements, he mustered his troops, and found them to be only 590. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 255. E. Now, as Narvaez brought 880 men into New Spain, and about 400 of Cortes's soldiers were then alive, it is evident that his loss, in the retreat from Mexico, must have been much more considerable than what he mentions. B. Diaz, solicitous to magnify the dangers and sufferings to which he and his fellow conquerors were exposed, may have exaggerated their loss; but, in my opinion, it cannot well be estimated at less than 600 men.

NOTE [119]. p. 132.—Some remains of this great work are still visible, and the spot where the brigantines were built and launched is still pointed out to strangers. Torquemada viewed them. Monarq. Indiana, vol. i. p. 531.

NOTE [120]. p. 133.—The station of Alvarado on the causeway of Tacuba was the nearest to the city. Cortes observes, that there they could distinctly observe what passed when their countrymen were sacrificed. Relat. ap. Ramus. iii. p. 273. E. B. Diaz, who belonged to Alvarado's division, relates what he beheld with his own eyes. C. 151. p. 148. b. 149. a. Like a man whose courage was so clear as to be above suspicion, he describes with his usual simplicity the impression which this spectacle made upon him. "Before (says he) I saw the breasts of my companions opened, their hearts yet fluttering, offered to an accursed idol, and their flesh devoured by their exulting enemies; I was accustomed to enter a battle not only without fear, but with high spirit. But from that time I never advanced to fight with the Mexicans without a secret horror and anxiety; my heart trembled at the thoughts of the death which I had seen them suffer." He takes care to add, that as soon as the combat began, his terror went off; and indeed, his adventurous bravery on every occasion is full evidence of this. B. Diaz, c. 156. p. 157. a.

NOTE [121]. p. 133.—One circumstance in this siege merits particular notice. The account which the Spanish writers give of the numerous armies employed in the attack or defence of Mexico seems to be incredible. According to Cortes himself, he had at one time 150,000 of auxiliary Indians in his service. Relat. Ramus. iii. 275. E. Gomara asserts that they were above 200,000. Cron. c. 136. Herrera, an author of higher authority, says they were about 200,000. Dec. iii. lib. i. c. 19. None of the contemporary writers ascertain explicitly the number of persons in Mexico during the siege. But Cortes on several occasions mentions the number of Mexicans who were slain, or who perished for want of food; and, if we may rely on those circumstances, it is probable that above two hundred thousand must have been shut up in the town.

But the quantity of provisions necessary for the subsistence of such vast multitudes assembled in one place, during three months, is so great, that it requires so much foresight and arrangement to collect these, and lay them up in magazines, so as to be certain of a regular supply, that one can hardly believe that this could be accomplished in a country where agriculture was so imperfect as in the Mexican empire, where there were no tame animals, and by a people naturally so improvident, and so incapable of executing a complicated plan, as the most improved Americans. The Spaniards, with all their care and attention, fared very poorly, and were often reduced to extreme distress for want of provisions. B. Diaz, p. 142. Cortes Relat. 271. D. Cortes on one occasion mentions slightly the subsistence of his army; and, after acknowledging that they were often in great want, adds, that they received supplies from the people of the country, of fish, and of some fruit, which he calls the cherries of the country. *Ibid.* B. Diaz says that they had cakes of maize, and serasas de la tierra; and when the season of these was over, another fruit, which he calls *Tunas*; but their most comfortable subsistence was a root which the Indians use as food, to which he gives the name of *Quilites*, p. 142. The Indian auxiliaries had one means of subsistence more than the Spaniards. They fed upon the bodies of the Mexicans whom they killed in battle. Cortes Relat. 176. C. B. Diaz confirms his relation, and adds, that when the Indians returned from Mexico to their own country, they carried with them large quantities of flesh of the Mexicans salted or dried, as a most acceptable present to their friends, that they might have the pleasure of feeding upon the bodies of their enemies in their feasts, p. 157. De Solis, who seems to consider it as an imputation of discredit to his countrymen, that they should act in concert with auxiliaries who fed upon human flesh, is solicitous to prove that the Spaniards endeavored to prevent their associates from eating the bodies of the Mexicans, lib. v. c. 24. But he has no authority for this from the original historians. Neither Cortes himself nor B. Diaz seems to have had any such scruple; and on many occasions they mention the Indian repasts, which were become familiar to them, without any mark of abhorrence. Even with this additional stock of food for the Indians, it was hardly possible to procure subsistence for armies amounting to such numbers as we find in the Spanish writers. Perhaps the best solution of the difficulty is, to adopt the opinion of B. Diaz del Castillo, the most artless of all the *Historiadores primitivos*. "When Gomara (says he) on some occasions relates, that there were so many thousand Indians our auxiliaries, and on others, that there were so many thousand houses in this or that town, no regard is to be paid to his enumeration, as he has no authority for it, the numbers not being in reality the fifth of what he relates. If we add together the different numbers which he mentions, that country would contain more millions than there are in Castile." C. 129. But though some considerable deduction should certainly be made from the Spanish accounts of the Mexican forces, they must have been very numerous; for nothing but an immense superiority in number could have enabled them to withstand a body of nine hundred Spaniards, conducted by a leader of such abilities as Cortes.

NOTE [122]. p. 135.—In relating the oppressive and cruel proceedings of the conquerors of New Spain, I have not followed B. de las Casas as my guide. His account of them, Relat. de la Destruyc. p. 18, &c. is manifestly exaggerated. It is from the testimony of Cortes himself, and of Gomara who wrote under his eye, that I have taken my account of the punishment of the Panurans, and they relate it without any disapprobation. B. Diaz, contrary to his usual custom, mentions it only in general terms, c. 162. Herrera, solicitous to extenuate this barbarous action of his countrymen, though he mentions 63 caziques, and 400 men of note, as being condemned to the flames, asserts that 30 only were burnt, and the rest pardoned. Dec. 3. lib. v. c. 7. But this is contrary to the testimony of the original historians, particularly of Gomara, whom it appears he had consulted, as he adopts several of his expressions in this passage. The punishment of Guatimozin is related by the most authentic of the Spanish writers. Torquemada has extracted from a history of Tezeuco, composed in the Mexican tongue, an account of this transaction, more favorable to Guatimozin than that of the Spanish authors. Mon. Indiana, i. 575. According to the Mexican account, Cortes had scarcely a shadow of evidence to justify such a wanton act of cruelty. B. Diaz affirms, that Guatimozin and his

fellow-sufferers asserted their innocence with their last breath, and that many of the Spanish soldiers condemned this action of Cortes as equally unnecessary and unjust, p. 200. b. 201. a.

NOTE [123]. p. 135.—The motive for undertaking this expedition was, to punish Christoval de Olid, one of his officers who had revolted against him, and aimed at establishing an independent jurisdiction. Cortes regarded this insurrection as of such dangerous example, and dreaded so much the abilities and popularity of its author, that in person he led the body of troops destined to suppress it. He marched, according to Gomara, three thousand miles, through a country abounding with thick forests, rugged mountains, deep rivers, thinly inhabited, and cultivated only in a few places. What he suffered from famine, from the hostility of the natives, from the climate, and from hardships of every species, has nothing in history parallel to it, but what occurs in the adventures of the other discoverers and conquerors of the New World. Cortes was employed in this dreadful service above two years; and though it was not distinguished by any splendid event, he exhibited, during the course of it, greater personal courage, more fortitude of mind, more perseverance and patience than in any other period or scene in his life. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. vii. viii. ix. Gomara, Cron. c. 163—177. B. Diaz, 174—190. Cortes, MS. *pene me*. Were one to write a life of Cortes, the account of this expedition should occupy a splendid place in it. In a general history of America, as the expedition was productive of no great event, the mention of it is sufficient.

NOTE [124]. p. 135.—According to Herrera, the treasure which Cortes brought with him, consisted of fifteen hundred marks of wrought plate, two hundred thousand pesos of fine gold, and ten thousand of inferior standard, many rich jewels, one in particular worth forty thousand pesos, and several trinkets and ornaments of value. Dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. lib. iv. c. 1. He afterwards engaged to give a portion with his daughter of a hundred thousand pesos. Gomara Cron. c. 237. The fortune which he left his sons was very considerable. But, as we have before related, the sum divided among the conquerors, on the first reduction of Mexico, was very small. There appears, then, to be some reason for suspecting that the accusations of Cortes's enemies were not altogether destitute of foundation. They charged him with having applied to his own use a disproportionate share of the Mexican spoils; with having concealed the royal treasures of Montezuma and Guatimozin; with defrauding the king of his fifth; and robbing his followers of what was due to them. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 15. dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 8. Some of the conquerors themselves entertained suspicions of the same kind with respect to this part of his conduct. B. Diaz, c. 157.

NOTE [125]. p. 136.—In tracing the progress of the Spanish arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himself as our most certain guide. His despatches to the Emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with respect to them, and other transactions in Peru, is derived, however, from contemporary and respectable authors.

The most early account of Pizarro's transactions in Peru was published by Francisco de Xerez, his secretary. It is a simple, unadorned narrative, carried down no further than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and, soon after he landed, printed at Seville his short History of the Conquest of Peru, addressed to the Emperor.

Don Pedro Sancho, an officer who served under Pizarro, drew up an account of his expedition, which was translated into Italian by Ramusio, and inserted in his valuable collection, but has never been published in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the same time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both these authors relate concerning the progress and operations of Pizarro; but the residence of the Spaniards in Peru had been so short, at the time when they left it, and their intercourse with the natives was so slender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and customs is very imperfect.

The next contemporary historian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who published his Cronica del Peru at Seville in 1553. If he had finished all that he purposes in the general division of his work, it would have been the most complete history which had been published of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to

execute it, having served during seventeen years in America, and having visited in person most of the provinces concerning which he had occasion to write. But only the first part of his chronicle has been printed. It contains a description of Peru, and several of the adjacent provinces, with an account of the institutions and customs of the natives, and is written with so little art, and such an apparent regard for truth, that one must regret the loss of the other parts of his work.

This loss is amply supplied by Don Augustine Zarate, who published, in 1553, his Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Peru. Zarate was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru, as comptroller-general of the public revenue. His history, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit: as he had an opportunity to be well informed, and seems to have been inquisitive with respect to the manners and transactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his testimony.

Don Diego Fernandez published his Historia del Peru in 1571. His sole object is to relate the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he served in a public station in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country and with the principal actors in those singular scenes which he describes, as he possessed sound understanding and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among those of the historians most distinguished for their industry in research, or their capacity in judging with respect to the events which they relate.

The last author who can be reckoned among the contemporary historians of the conquest of Peru is Garcilasso de la Vega, Inca. For though the first part of his work, entitled *Comentarios Reales del Origen de los Incas Reyes del Peru*, was not published sooner than the year 1609, seventy-six years after the death of Atahualpa the last Emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the son of an officer of distinction among the Spanish conquerors, by a *Coya*, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of Inca; as he was master of the language spoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other historians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spanish writers of the Peruvian story, and composed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himself gives of it, lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them servilely. Even in explaining the institutions and rites of his ancestors, his information seems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almost the same with that of Acosta. He produces no specimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early missionary, whose memoirs have never been published. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for composition, arrangement, or a capacity of distinguishing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one searches for them in vain in the commentaries of the Inca. His work, however, notwithstanding its great defects, is not altogether destitute of use. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preserved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct some errors of the Spanish writers, and he has inserted in it some curious facts taken from authors whose works were never published, and are now lost.

NOTE [126]. p. 136.—One may form an idea both of the hardships which they endured, and of the unhealthy climate in the regions which they visited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In less than nine months 130 of these died. Few fell by the sword; most of them were cut off by diseases. Xerez, p. 180.

NOTE [127]. p. 137.—This island, says Herrera, is rendered so uncomfortable by the unwholesomeness of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of insects and reptiles, that it is seldom any softer epithet than that of *infernal* is employed in describing it. The sun is almost never seen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceases to rain. Dec. iii. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched at this island in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favorable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruise on the coast, visited most of the places where Pizarro landed, and his description of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spanish historians.

NOTE [128]. p. 138.—By this time horses had multiplied greatly in the Spanish settlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518, though his armament was more considerable than that of Pizarro, and composed of persons superior in rank to those who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than sixteen horses.

NOTE [129]. p. 139.—In the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa and D. George Joan travelled from Guayaquil to Motupe by the same route which Pizarro took. From the description of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The sandy plains between St. Michael de Pieora and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary stretch of burning sand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE [130]. p. 139.—This extravagant and unreasonable discourse of Valverde has been censured by all historians, and with justice. But though he seems to have been an illiterate and bigotted monk, nowise resembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the absurdity of his address to Atahualpa must not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a translation or paraphrase of that form, concerted by a junto of Spanish divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their king to the sovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they should take possession of any new country. See Note 23. The sentiments contained in Valverde's harangue must not then be imputed to the bigotted imbecility of a particular man, but to that of the age. But Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumstance concerning Valverde, which, if authentic, renders him an object not of contempt only but of horror. They assert, that during the whole action Valverde continued to excite the soldiers to slaughter, calling to them to strike the enemy not with the edge but with the points of their swords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Histor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behavior was very different from that of the Roman Catholic clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly exerted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

NOTE [131]. p. 139.—Two different systems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spanish writers, in order to justify the violence of their countrymen, contend that all the Inca's professions of friendship were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalea, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpose he advanced with such a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this scheme. This is the account given by Xerez and Zarate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to destroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march through the desert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the passes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with so much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalea with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable that of so great a body of men, prepared for action, not one should attempt to make resistance, but all tamely suffer themselves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview has the aspect of a peaceable procession, not of a military enterprise. He himself and his followers were in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of solemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and false; yet if a scheme of deception and treachery must be imputed either to a monarch that had no great reason to be alarmed at a visit from strangers who solicited admission into his presence as friends, or to an adventurer so daring and so little scrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot hesitate in determining where to fix the presumption of guilt. Even amidst the endeavors of the Spanish writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives that it was his intention, as well as his interest, to seize the Inca, and that he had taken measures for that purpose previous to any suspicion of that monarch's designs.

Garcilasso de la Vega, extremely solicitous to vindicate his countrymen the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the destruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no less afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed

another system. He relates, that a man of majestic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in a vision to Viracocha, the eighth Inca, and declared that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honor of this person, and erected an image of him, resembling as nearly as possible the singular form in which he had exhibited himself to his view. In this temple divine honors were paid to him by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards first appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dress they wore, struck every person so much with their likeness to the image of Viracocha, that they supposed them to be children of the Sun, who had descended from heaven to earth. All concluded that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new possessors. Atahualpa himself, considering the Spaniards as messengers from heaven, was so far from entertaining any thoughts of resisting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From these sentiments flowed his professions of love and respect. To those were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the submissive reverence with which he himself advanced to visit the Spanish general in his quarters; but from the gross ignorance of Philipillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his answer to it, were so ill explained, that, by their mutual inability to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencontre at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful consequences was occasioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this superstitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards are to be found either in Xeres, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former served under Pizarro at that time, and the latter visited Peru soon after the conquest. If either the Inca himself, or his messengers, had addressed the Spaniards in the words which Garcilasso puts in their mouths, they must have been struck with such submissive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themselves of them to accomplish their own designs with greater facility. Garcilasso himself, though his narrative of the intercourse between the Inca and the Spaniards, preceding the rencontre at Caxamalca, is founded on the supposition of his believing them to be Viracochas, or divine beings, p. ii. lib. i. c. 17, &c., yet, with his usual inattention and inaccuracy, he admits in another place that the Peruvians did not recollect the resemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal disasters subsequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. v. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe the Spanish writers, their countrymen were considered as divine beings who had descended from heaven. But in this instance, as in many which occur in the intercourse between nations whose progress in refinement is very unequal, the ideas of those who used the expression were different from those who heard it. For such is the idiom of the Indian languages, or such is the simplicity of those who speak them, that when they see any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin, they say that it came down from heaven. Nunez. Ram. iii. 327. C.

The account which I have given of the sentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and consistent than either of the two preceding, and is better supported by the facts related by the contemporary historians.

According to Xeres, p. 200, two thousand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the slain six or seven thousand. Ram. iii. 274. D. By Garcilasso's account, five thousand were massacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being the medium between the extremes, may probably be nearest the truth.

NOTE [132]. p. 139.—Nothing can be a more striking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from Caxamalca to Cuzco. The distance between them is six hundred miles. In every place throughout this great extent of country, they were treated with all the honors which the Peruvians paid to their sovereigns, and even to their divinities. Under pretext of amassing what was wanting for the ransom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the priests were unwilling to alienate those sacred ornaments, and the people refused to violate the shrine of their God, the three Spaniards, with their own

hands, robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treasure; and such was the reverence of the natives for their persons, that though they beheld this act of sacrilege with astonishment, they did not attempt to prevent or disturb the commission of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. 375. D.

NOTE [133]. p. 141.—According to Herrera, the spoil of Cuzco after setting apart the King's fifth, was divided among 480 persons. Each received 4000 pesos. This amounts to 1,920,000 pesos. Dec. v. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general and other officers were entitled to a share far greater than that of the private men, the sum total must have risen much beyond what I have mentioned. Gomara, c. 123, and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 5, satisfy themselves with asserting in general, that the plunder of the Cuzco was of greater value than the ransom of Atahualpa.

NOTE [134]. p. 141.—No expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardships endured. Many of the persons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had served under Cortes, inured to all the rigor of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of perusing the striking description of their sufferings by Zarate, or Herrera, may form some idea of the nature of their march from the sea-coast to Quito, by consulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the same route. Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c., or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo to Quito by the same road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spanish leader, and by the comparison gives a most striking idea of the boldness and patience of Alvarado in forcing his way through so many obstacles. Voyage de Perou, p. 28, &c.

NOTE [135]. p. 141.—According to Herrera, there was entered on account of the king in gold, 155,300 pesos, and 5,400 marks (each 8 ounces) of silver, besides several vessels and ornaments, some of gold and others of silver: on account of private persons, in gold 499,000 pesos, and 54,000 marks of silver. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE [136]. p. 142.—The Peruvians not only imitated the military arts of the Spaniards, but had recourse to devices of their own. As the cavalry were the chief objects of their terror, they endeavored to render them incapable of acting by means of a long thong with a stone fastened to each end. This, when thrown by a skilful hand, twisted about the horse and its rider, and entangled them so as to obstruct their motions. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have observed, p. 113, this weapon is common among several barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable that the Peruvians had observed the dexterity with which they used it in hunting, and on this occasion adopted it themselves. The Spaniards were considerably annoyed by it. Herrera, *ibid.* Another instance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deserves mention. By turning a river out of its channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of the enemy was posted, so suddenly, that it was with the utmost difficulty the Spaniards made their escape. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE [137]. p. 142.—Herrera's account of Orellana's voyage is the most minute and apparently the most accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himself. But the dates are not distinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, began early in February, 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of August, having spent near seven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine in the year 1743, sailed from Cuenca to Para, a settlement of the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in less than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of science led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardships which she suffered, of the dangers to which she was exposed, and of the disasters which befell her, is one of the most singular and affecting stories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a striking picture of the fortitude

which distinguishes the one sex, mingled with the sensibility and tenderness peculiar to the other. Lettre de M. Godin a M. de la Condamine.

NOTE [138]. p. 142.—Herrera gives a striking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of distinction under Almagro, lodged in the same house, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occasion to appear in public, while the rest, from the want of a decent dress were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were so much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durst not entertain, or even converse with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accustomed to power and opulence, when they felt themselves poor and despised, without a roof under which to shelter their heads, while they beheld others, whose merits and services were not equal to theirs, living in splendor in sumptuous edifices. Dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 6.

NOTE [139]. p. 145.—Herrera, whose accuracy entitles him to great credit, asserts, that Gonzalo Pizarro possessed domains in the neighborhood of Chiquisaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the Archbishop of Toledo, the best endowed see Europe. Dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 3.

NOTE [140]. p. 147.—All the Spanish writers describe his march, and the distresses of both parties, very minutely. Zarate observes, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in history, either with respect to the length of the retreat, or the ardor of the pursuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thousand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE [142]. p. 148.—It amounted, according to Fernandez, the best informed historian of that period, to one million four hundred thousand pesos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE [142]. p. 149.—Carvajal, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gasca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold course which he originally suggested, he recommended to him a timely submission to his sovereign as the safest measure. When the president's offers were first communicated to Carvajal, "By our Lady, (says he in that strain of buffoonery which was familiar to him,) the priest issues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap; let us not only accept them, but wear them as reliques about our necks." Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE [143]. p. 149.—During the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, seven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of these were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of those put to a violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE [144]. p. 150.—In my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuscript of Don Alonso de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience at Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II., in order to discover the mode of levying tribute from his Indian subjects, that would be most beneficial to the crown, and least oppressive to them, addressed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to answer certain queries which he proposed to them concerning the ancient form of government established among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they had been accustomed to pay taxes to their kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had resided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he passed in New Spain, composed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his sovereign, that he made it an object, during his residence in America, and in all its provinces which he had visited, to inquire diligently into the manners and customs of the natives; that he had conversed for this purpose with many aged and intelligent Indians, and consulted several of the Spanish Ecclesiastics, who understood the Indian language most perfectly, particularly some of those who landed in New Spain soon after the conquest. Corita appears to be a man of some learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his testimony from one circumstance.

His work was not composed with a view to publication, or in support of any particular theory, but contains simple though full answers to queries proposed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his history, I should suppose, from several facts of which he takes notice, as well as from several expressions which he uses, that this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE [145]. p. 151.—The early Spanish writers were so hasty and inaccurate in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns in America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with any degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houses or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, asserts, that there were 120,000 houses or families in Mexico, and consequently about 600,000 inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire, by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramusio, iii. 399. A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE [146]. p. 151.—It is to P. Torribio de Benavente that I am indebted for this curious observation. Palafox, Bishop of Ciudad de la Puebla Los Angeles, confirms and illustrates it more fully. The Mexican (says he) is the only language in which a termination indicating respect, *silabas reverenciales y de cortesia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final syllable *zin* or *azin* to any word, it becomes a proper expression of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in speaking to an equal, the word Father is to be used, it is *Tati*, but an inferior says *Tatzin*. One priest speaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a person of inferior rank calls him *Teopixactzin*. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was *Montezuma*; but his vassals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palafox, *Virtudes del Indio*, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which these are formed from the verbs in common use is explained by D. Jos. Aug. Aldama y Guevara in his Mexican Grammar, No. 188.

NOTE [147]. p. 152.—From comparing several passages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect, with some degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the Mexicans contributed towards the support of government. Some persons of the first order seem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and as their only duty to the public, were bound to personal service in war, and to follow the banner of their sovereign with their vassals. 2. The immediate vassals of the crown were bound not only to personal military service, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Those who held offices of honor or trust paid a certain share of what they received in consequence of holding these. 4. Each *Capulla*, or association, cultivated some part of the field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and deposited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the public markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artists and manufacturers, was demanded for the public use, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques* or *adscripti glebae*, were bound to cultivate certain districts in every province, which may be considered as *crown lands*, and brought the increase into public storehouses. Thus the sovereign received some part of whatever was useful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the soil, or acquired by the industry of the people. What each contributed towards the support of government seems to have been inconsiderable. Corita, in answer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico by Philip II., endeavors to estimate in money the value of what each citizen might be supposed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four *reals*, about eighteen pence or two shillings a head.

NOTE [148]. p. 152.—Cortez, who seems to have been as much astonished at this, as with any instance

of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it. Along one of the causeways, says he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is necessary to clean or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the causeway, through which the salt water of the lakes flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramus. 241. A.

NOTE [149]. p. 152.—In the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid are shown suits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are composed of thin lacquered copperplates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges, they are evidently eastern. The forms of the silver ornaments upon them, representing dragons, &c. may be considered a confirmation of this. They are infinitely superior, in point of workmanship, to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received from them the Philippine islands. The only unquestionable specimen of Mexican art, that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is said to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5oz. 12dw. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is represented on this cup. On one side the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relief is said to have been produced by punching the inside of the cup, so as to make the representation of a face on the outside. The features are gross, but represented with some degree of art, and certainly too rude for Spanish workmanship. This cup was purchased by Edward Earl of Oxford, while he lay in the harbor of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this information to my respectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington. In the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*, p. 107, is published an account of some masks of Terra Cotta, brought from the burying ground on the American continent, about seventy miles from the British settlement on the Mosquito shore. They are said to be likenesses of chiefs, or other eminent persons. From the descriptions and engravings of them, we have an additional proof of the imperfect state of arts among the Americans.

NOTE [150]. p. 153.—The learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted, in this part of my work, to the guidance of the Bishop of Gloucester, who has traced the successive steps by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progress, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the first, as far as I know, who formed a rational and consistent theory concerning the various modes of writing practised by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moses, iii. 69, &c. Some important observations have been added by M. le President de Brosses, the learned and intelligent author of the *Traite de la Formation Mecanique des Langues*, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the most curious monuments extant of the earliest mode of writing, it will not be improper to give some account of the means by which they were preserved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the public. For the most early and complete collection of these published by Purchas, we are indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt. Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed those paintings a proper present for Charles V., the ship in which they were sent to Spain was taken by a French cruiser, and they came into the possession of Thevet, the King's geographer, who, having travelled himself into the New World, and described one of its provinces, was a curious observer of whatever tended to illustrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchased by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the English ambassador to the French court; and being left by him to Purchas, were published at the desire of the learned antiquary, Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065. They were translated from English into French by Melchizedeck Thevenot, and published in his collection of voyages, A. D. 1683.

The second specimen of Mexican picture-writing was published by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two

copper-plates. The first is a map, or representation of the progress of the ancient Mexicans on their first arrival in the country, and of the various stations in which they settled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The second is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, representing the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. He received both from Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Congorra, a diligent collector of ancient Mexican Documents. But as it seems now to be a received opinion (founded, as far as I know, on no good evidence), that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous *Giro del Mundo* is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned these paintings in the text. They have, however, manifestly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be so by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or supposititious. M. Clavigro likewise admits them to be genuine paintings of the ancient Mexicans. To me they always appeared to be so, though from my desire to rest no part of my narrative upon questionable authority, I did not refer to them. The style of painting in the former is considerably more perfect than any other specimen of Mexican design; but as the original is said to have been much defaced by time, I suspect that it has been improved by some touches from the hand of a European artist. Carreri, Churchill, iv. p. 487. The Chronological Wheel is a just delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as described by Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2. It seems to resemble one which that learned Jesuit had seen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial or arbitrary characters, which represented several things besides numbers. Each month is there represented by a symbol expressive of some work or rite peculiar to it.

The third specimen of Mexican painting was discovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci set out for New Spain, and was led by several incidents to study the language of the Mexicans, and to collect the remains of their historical monuments. He persisted nine years in his researches, with the enthusiasm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he published at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the result of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Historical Museum, arranged under thirty-six different heads. His idea of a New History appears to me the work of a whimsical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is much larger than one could have expected. Unfortunately a ship, in which he had sent a considerable part of them to Europe, was taken by an English privateer during the war between Great Britain and Spain, which commenced in the year 1739; and it is probable that they perished by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himself incurred the displeasure of the Spanish court, and died in an hospital at Madrid. The history of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a *prospectus*, was never published. The remainder of his Museum seems to have been dispersed. Some part of it came into the possession of the present Archbishop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain: and he published from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

The only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majesties I have obtained such a specimen of these as I desired, in eight paintings made with so much fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be distinguished from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a present from Emmanuel, King of Portugal, to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1523. After passing through the hands of several illustrious proprietors, it fell into those of the Cardinal of Saxe-Eisenach, who presented it to the Emperor Leopold. These paintings are manifestly Mexican, but they are in a style very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify such of my readers as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of sufficient importance, it might perhaps be possible, by recourse to the plates of Purchas, and the Archbishop of Toledo, as a key, to form plausible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are evidently similar. A. A. are targets and darts, almost in the same form with those published by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly resembling those in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113, and in Lorenzana. Plate II. C

is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almost every plate of Purchas and Lorenzana. E. E. E. seem to be Mexican captains in their war dress, the fantastic ornaments of which resemble the figures in Purchas, p. 1110, 1111, 2113. I should suppose this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently. D. D. D., &c. According to Boturini, the mode of enumeration by the number of knots was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85, and the manner in which the number of units is represented in the Mexican paintings in my possession seems to confirm this opinion. They plainly resemble a string of knots on a cord or slender rope.

Since I published the former edition, Mr. Waddilove, who is still pleased to continue his friendly attention to procure me information, has discovered, in the Library of the Escorial, a volume in folio, consisting of forty sheets of a kind of pasteboard, each the size of a common sheet of writing paper, with great variety of uncouth and whimsical figures of Mexican painting, in very fresh colors, and with an explanation in Spanish to most of them. The first twenty-two sheets are the signs of the months, days, &c. About the middle of each sheet are two or more large figures for the month, surrounded by the signs of the days. The last eighteen sheets are not so filled with figures. They seem to be signs of Deities, and images of various objects. According to this Calendar in the Escorial, the Mexican year contained 236 days, divided into 22 months of 13 days. Each day is represented by a different sign, taken from some natural object, a serpent, a dog, a lizard, a reed, a house, &c. The signs of days in the Calendar of the Escorial are precisely the same with those mentioned by Boturini. Idea, &c. p. 45. But, if we may give credit to that author, the Mexican year contained 360 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days. The order of days in every month was computed, according to him, first by what he calls a *tridennary* progression of days from one to thirteen, in the same manner as in the Calendar of the Escorial, and then by a *septenary* progression of days from one to seven, making in all twenty. In this Calendar, not only the signs which distinguish each day, but the qualities supposed to be peculiar to each month are marked. There are certain weaknesses which seem to accompany the human mind through every stage of its progress in observation and science. Slender as was the knowledge of the Mexicans in astronomy, it appears to have been already connected with judicial astrology. The fortune and character of persons born in each month are supposed to be decided by some superior influence predominant at the time of nativity. Hence it is foretold in the Calendar, that all who are born in one month will be rich, in another warlike, in a third luxurious, &c. The pasteboard, or whatever substance it may be on which the Calendar in the Escorial is painted, seems, by Mr. Waddilove's description of it, to resemble nearly that in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In several particulars the figures bear some likeness to those in the plate which I have published. The figures marked D, which induced me to conjecture that this painting might be a tribute-roll similar to those published by Purchas and the Archbishop of Toledo, Mr. Waddilove supposes to be signs of days: and I have such confidence in the accuracy of his observations, as to conclude his opinion to be well founded. It appears, from the characters in which the explanations of the figures are written, that this curious monument of Mexican art has been obtained soon after the conquest of the Empire. It is singular that it should never have been mentioned by any Spanish author.

NOTE [151]. p. 153.—The first was called the Prince of the Deathful Lance; the second the Divider of Men; the third the Shedder of Blood; the fourth the Lord of the Dark-house. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 25.

NOTE [152]. p. 154.—The temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewise the most considerable. But it was nothing more than a mound of solid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the base, and rose to the height of forty fathoms. Mon. Ind. lib. iii. c. 19. Even M. Clavigero acknowledges that all the Mexican temples were solid structures, or earthen mounds, and of consequence cannot be considered as any evidence of their having made any considerable progress in the art of building. Clavig. ii. 207.

From inspecting various figures of temples in the paintings engraved by Purchas, there seems to be some reason for suspecting that all their temples were con-

structed in the same manner. See vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110, 1113.

NOTE [153]. p. 154.—Not only in Tlascala and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itself, the houses of the people were mere huts built with turf or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low and slight, and without any furniture but a few earthen vessels. Like the rudest Indians, several families resided under the same roof, without having any separate apartments. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 23.

NOTE [154]. p. 154.—I am informed by a person who resided long in New Spain, and visited almost every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vast empire, any monument or vestige of any building more ancient than the conquest, nor of any bridge or highway, except some remains of the causeway from Guadalupe to that gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. penes me. The author of another account in manuscript observes, "That at this day there does not remain even the smallest vestige of the existence of any ancient Indian building, public or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, says he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biscay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having observed any monument worth notice, except some ruins near an ancient village in the valley de Casas Grandes, in lat. N. 3°. 46'. long. 258°. 24'. from the island of Tenerife, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico." He describes these ruins minutely, and they appear to be the remains of a paltry building of turf and stone, plastered over with white earth or lime. A missionary informed that gentleman, that he had discovered the ruins of another edifice similar to the former, about a hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro. MS. penes me.

These testimonies derive great credit from one circumstance, that they were not given in support of any particular system or theory, but as simple answers to queries which I had proposed. It is probable, however, that when these gentlemen assert that no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be discovered in the Mexican empire, they meant that there were no such ruins or monuments as conveyed any idea of grandeur or magnificence in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the testimony of several Spanish authors, that in Otumba, Tlascala, Cholula, &c. some vestiges of ancient buildings are still visible. Villa Segnor Theatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzana, formerly Archbishop of Mexico, and now of Toledo, in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he published at Mexico, mentions some ruins which are still visible in several of the towns through which Cortes passed in his way to the capital, p. 4, &c. But neither of these authors gives any description of them, and they seem to be so very inconsiderable, as to show only that some buildings had once been there. The large mound of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the name of temple, still remains, but without any steps by which to ascend, or any facing of stone. It appears now like a natural mound, covered with grass and shrubs, and possibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute description of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is composed of large stones, fitted to each other as nicely as those in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a square of twenty-five yards; but as it rises in height it diminishes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted suddenly at regular distances, so that it must have resembled the figure B. in the plate. It terminated, it is said, in a spire.

NOTE [155]. p. 154.—The exaggeration of the Spanish historians, with respect to the number of human victims sacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thousand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in some years they amounted to fifty thousand. Cron. c. 229. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpose, and two of Cortes's officers, who had counted them, informed Gomara that their number was a hundred and thirty-six thousand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is still more incredible, that the number of victims was so great, that five thousand

have been sacrificed in one day, nay, on some occasions, no less than twenty thousand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance; for he asserts that twenty thousand children, exclusive of other victims, were slaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The most respectable authority in favor of such high numbers is that of Zumurruga, the first Bishop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter-general of his order, A. D. 1631, asserts, that the Mexicans sacrificed annually twenty thousand victims. Davila. Teatro Eccles. 126. In opposition to all these accounts, B. de las Casas observes, that if there had been such an annual waste of the human species, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populousness for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards first landed there. This reasoning is just. If the number of victims in all the provinces of New Spain had been so great, not only must population have been prevented from increasing, but the human race must have been exterminated in a short time. For besides the waste of the species by such numerous sacrifices, it is observable that wherever the fate of captives taken in war is either certain death or perpetual slavery, as men can gain nothing by submitting speedily to an enemy, they always resist to the uttermost, and war becomes bloody and destructive to the last degree. Las Casas positively asserts, that the Mexicans never sacrificed more than fifty or a hundred persons in a year. See his dispute with Sepulveda, subjoined to his Brevisima Relacion, p. 105. Cortes does not specify what number of victims was sacrificed annually; but B. Diaz del Castillo relates that, an inquiry having been made with respect to this by the Franciscan monks who were sent into New Spain immediately after the conquest, it was found that about two thousand five hundred were sacrificed every year in Mexico, C. 207.

NOTE [156]. p. 155.—It is hardly necessary to observe, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obscure, but repugnant to conclusions deduced from the most accurate and extensive observations, concerning the time that elapses during each reign, in any given succession of Princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acosta and Garcilasso de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. According to this rule of computing, the duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had subsisted four hundred years. Acosta, lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account each reign is extended at a medium to thirty-three years, instead of twenty, the number ascertained by Sir Isaac Newton's observations; but so imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE [157]. p. 155.—Many of the earliest Spanish writers assert that the Peruvians offered human sacrifices. Xeres, p. 190. Zarate, lib. i. c. 11. Acosta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilasso de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized ancestors, it was totally abolished by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This assertion, and the plausible reasons with which he confirms it, are sufficient to refute the Spanish writers, whose accounts seem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themselves had observed. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their festivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread moistened with blood drawn from the arms, the eyebrows, and noses of their children. Id. lib. vii. c. 6. This rite may have been derived from their ancient practice, in their uncivilized state, of sacrificing human victims.

NOTE [158]. p. 156.—The Spaniards have adopted both those customs of the ancient Peruvians. They have preserved some of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i. 422. 477. They likewise continue to use *guano*, or the dung of sea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a description of the almost incredible quantity of it in the small islands near the coast. Ibid. 481.

NOTE [159]. p. 156.—The temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Icatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are described by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inspected them with great care. M. de Condamine published a curious memoir concerning

the ruins of Atun-Cannar. *Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin*, A. D. 1746, p. 435. Acosta describes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined. *Lib. vi. c. 14.* Garcilasso, in his usual style, gives pompous and confused descriptions of several temples and other public edifices. *Lib. iii. c. 1. c. 21. lib. vi. c. 4.* Don. —Zapata, in a large treatise concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been published, communicates some information with respect to several monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. *MS. penes me. Articulo xx.* Ulloa describes some of the ancient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewise works of great extent and solidity. *Tom. i. 391.* Three circumstances struck all those observers; the vast size of the stones which the Peruvians employed in some of their buildings. Acosta measured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and six in thickness; and yet, he adds, that in the fortress at Cuzco there were stones considerably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move these, and raise them to the height even of twelve feet. The second circumstance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perseverance natural to Americans, stones may be forced into any shape, merely by rubbing one against another, or by the use of hatchets or other instruments made of stone; but with such rude tools little progress can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortise two beams together, or give any degree of union or stability to any work composed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the use of arches in building; nor can the Spanish authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for these ample structures which they raised.

The third circumstance is a striking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furnish, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no less astonishing. None of the stones employed in those works were formed into any particular or uniform shape, which could render them fit for being compacted together in building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raised out of the quarries. Some were square, some triangular, some convex, some concave. Their art and industry were employed in joining them together, by forming such hollows in the one as perfectly corresponded to the projections or risings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been so easily abridged by adapting the surface of the stones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inspecting the remains of those buildings. It gives them a very singular appearance to a European eye. There is no regular layer or stratum of building, and no one stone resembles another in dimensions or form. At the same time, by the persevering but ill-directed industry of the Indians, they are all joined with that minutely which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this observation concerning the form of the stones in the fortress of Atun-Cannar. *Voy. i. p. 387.* Penito gives a similar description of the fortress of Cuzco, the most perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata *MS. penes me.* According to M. de Condamine, there were regular strata of building in some parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as singular, and as a proof of some progress in improvement.

NOTE [160] p. 156.—The appearance of those bridges which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents in Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They form those hanging bridges so strong and broad, that loaded mules pass along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of such a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, *tom. i. p. 358.* A more simple contrivance was employed in passing smaller streams: A basket, in which the traveller was placed, being suspended from a strong rope stretched across the stream, it was pushed or drawn from one side to the other. *Ibid.*

NOTE [161] p. 158.—My information with respect to those events is taken from *Noticia breve de la expedicion militar de Sinora y Cinaloa*, su exito feliz, y vantajoso estado, en que por consecuencia de ello, se han puesto ambas provincias, published at Mexico, June 17th, 1771, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the merchants, who had furnished the viceroy with money

for defraying the expense of the armament. The copies of this *Noticia* are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one, which has enabled me to communicate these curious facts to the public. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato in Cinaloa a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed sixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was sent to Spain as a present fit for the king, and is now deposited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

NOTE [162] p. 158.—The uncertainty of geographers with respect to this point is remarkable, for Cortes seems to have surveyed its coasts with great accuracy. The Archbishop of Toledo has published from the original in the possession of the Marquis del Valle, the descendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1511, by the pilot Domingo Castillo, in which California is laid down as a peninsula, stretching out nearly in the same direction which is now given to it in the best maps; and the point where Rio Colorado enters the gulf is marked with precision. *Hist. de Nueva Espagna, 327.*

NOTE [163] p. 158.—I am indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbe Raynal, *tom. iii. 103*; and upon consulting an intelligent person, long settled on the Mosquito shore, and who has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find that ingenious author has been well informed. The logwood cut near the town of St. Francis of Campechy is of much better quality than that on the other side of Yucatan: and the English trade in the Bay of Honduras is almost at an end.

NOTE [164] p. 160.—P. Torribio de Benevento, or Motolina, has enumerated ten causes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of these are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the small pox. This disease was first brought into New Spain in the year 1520, by a Negro-slave, who attended Narvaez in his expedition against Cortes. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces visited with this distemper died. To this mortality, occasioned by the small pox, Torquemada adds the destructive effects of two contagious distempers which raged in the year 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000, in the latter, above two millions perished, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. *Mon. Ind. i. 642.* The small pox was not introduced into Peru for several years after the invasion of the Spaniards; but, there, too, that distemper proved very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origin, p. 88. 2. The numbers who were killed or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the siege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all the people engaged, either on one side or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something similar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provision made for their subsistence, and subjected to all the rigor of cold in these elevated regions. 7. The immense labor of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with such precipitate ardor as destroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to servitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the silver mines. These, marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. 9. The nature of the labor to which they were subjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate, and scarcity were so fatal, that Torribio affirms the country round several of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures and other voracious birds hovered about for their prey, that the sun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, destroyed many of the natives whom they compelled to serve them as *Tanemes*, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they suffered in similar services, and how fast they were wasted by them. Torribio, *MS. Curita*, in his *Breve y Summaria Relacion*,

illustrates and confirms several of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. *MS. penes me.*

NOTE [165] p. 160.—Even Montesquieu has adopted this idea, *lib. viii. c. 18.* But the passion of that great man for system sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

NOTE [166] p. 160.—A strong proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the queen have been adopted in the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title *Of the good treatment of the Indians.* *Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.*

NOTE [167] p. 160.—In the seventh Title of the first book of the *Recopilacion*, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend them from oppression either with respect to their persons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honorable and humane office, but the ecclesiastics of America actually exercise it.

Innumerable proofs of this might be produced from Spanish authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not disposed to ascribe any merit to the popish clergy to which they were not fully entitled. *Survey, p. 142. 192, &c.* Henry Hawks, an English merchant, who resided five years in New Spain previous to the year 1572, gives the same favorable account of the popish clergy. *Hakluyt, iii. 466.* By a law of Charles V. not only bishops, but other ecclesiastics, are empowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indian is deprived of his just liberty and rights; *Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14.* and thus were constituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spanish ecclesiastics refused to grant absolution to such of their countrymen as possessed *Encomiendas*, and considered the Indians as slaves, or employed them in working their mines. *Gonz. Davil. Teatro. Eccles. i. 157.*

NOTE [168] p. 160.—According to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families; and he mentions it only as one of the largest Indian towns in America, p. 104.

NOTE [169] p. 160.—It is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the state of population in those kingdoms of Europe where the police is most perfect, and where science has made the greatest progress. In Spanish America, where knowledge is still in its infancy, and few men have leisure to engage in researches merely speculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the several provinces in America, to make an actual survey of the people under their jurisdiction, and to transmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In consequence of this order, the Conde de Fuca-Clara, Viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Jos. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez to execute that commission in New Spain. From the reports of the magistrates in the several districts, as well as from his own observations and long acquaintance with most of the provinces, Villa Segnor published the result of his inquiries in his *Teatro Americano*. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceses, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has published an account of five only, viz. the archbishop of Mexico, the bishoprics of Puebla de los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca and Nova Galicia. The bishoprics of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatemala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his survey of the extensivo diocese of Nova Galicia, the situation of the different Indian villages is described, but he specifies the number of people only in a small part of it. The Indians of that extensive province, in which the Spanish dominion is imperfectly established, are not registered with the same accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual state of population in the five dioceses above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, in the dioceses of

	Families.
Mexico	105,202
Los Angeles	30,600
Mechosacan	30,840
Oaxaca	7,296
Nova Galicia	16,770
	190,708

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 953,540

Indian families in the diocese of Mexico	119,511
Los Angeles	88,240
Mechosacan	36,196
Oaxaca	44,222
Nova Galicia	6,222
	294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with great certainty on this computation of the number of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or register, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceses of nine are totally omitted, and in that of Nova Galicia the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards, &c. seems not to be equally complete. Of many places, Villa Segnor observes in general terms, that several Spaniards, negroes, and people of mixed race, reside there, without specifying their number. If, therefore, we make allowance for these, and for all who resided in the four dioceses omitted, the number of Spaniards, and of those of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In some places Villa Segnor distinguishes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, and marks their number separately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion observable in those places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the state of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifest that the number of negroes and persons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

Defective as this account may be, I have not been able to procure such intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally satisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the viceroyalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and persons under age are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought by that account to be 2,449,120. MS. *penes me*.

I shall mention another mode by which one may compute, or at least form a guess concerning the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada exported to Peru on each new publication, is, 1,171,953; to New Spain, 2,649,326. I am informed that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race; so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount, by this mode of computation, to at least three millions.

The number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate but popular notion entertained in Great Britain concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. It is remarkable that Torquemada, who wrote his *Monarquia Indiana* about the year 1612, reckons the inhabitants of Mexico at that time to be only 7000 Spaniards and 8000 Indians. Lib. iii. c. 26. Tuelva de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Segnor, p. 247. Guadalajara contains above 30,000 exclusive of Indians. Ibid. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. De Cosme Buena Descr. de Peru, 1764. Cartagena contains 25,000. Potosi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a second class are still more numerous. The cities in the most thriving settlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with these.

Such are the detached accounts of the number of people in several towns, which I found scattered in

authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the public, both to gratify curiosity, and to rectify the mistaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Francisco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Besides the city, there are in the *Corregimiento* twenty-nine *curas* or parishes established in the principal villages, each of which has smaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of these are mostly Indians and mestizos. St. Juan de Pasto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, besides twenty-seven dependent villages. St. Miguel de Ibarra, 7000 citizens and ten villages. The district of Havalla, between 18 and 20,000 people. The district of Tacuna, between 10 and 12,000. The district of Ambato, between 8 and 10,000, besides sixteen depending villages. The city of Riobamba, between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and nine depending villages. The district of Chimbo, between 6 and 8000. The city of Guayaquil, from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and fourteen depending villages. The district of Atunsi, between 5 and 6000 inhabitants, and four depending villages. The city of Cuenza, between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and nine populous depending villages. The town of Laxa, from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and fourteen depending villages. This degree of population, though slender if we consider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spanish America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton stuffs, and coarse woollen cloths are made there in such quantities as to be sufficient not only for the consumption of the province, but to furnish a considerable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be considered as the cause or the effect of its populousness. But among the ostentatious inhabitants of the New World, the passion for every thing that comes from Europe is so violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are so much undervalued as to be on the decline.

NOTE [170]. p. 161.—These are established at the following places:—St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firme, Santiago in Guatemala, Guadalajara in New Galicia, Santa Fe in the New Kingdom of Granada, La Plata in the country of Los Charcos, St. Francisco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos Ayres. To each of these are subjected several large provinces, and some so far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their jurisdiction. The Spanish writers commonly reckon up twelve Courts of Audience, but they include that of Manilla, in the Philippine islands.

NOTE [171]. p. 161.—On account of the distance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of such bulk as wine and oil across the isthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in those provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives: but they are strictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to any of the provinces on the Pacific Ocean, which are in such a situation as to receive them from Spain. Reco. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15—18.

NOTE [172]. p. 162.—This computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the discovery of America. Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the spirit of a malecontent, disposed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is considerably too low.

NOTE [173]. p. 162.—My information with respect to the division and transmission of property in the Spanish colonies is imperfect. The Spanish authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended sufficiently to the effects of their own institutions and laws. Solorzano de Jere Ind. (vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16.) explains in some measure the introduction of the tenure of *Mayorazgo*, and mentions some of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a singular consequence of it. He observes, that in some of the best situations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houses once erected upon it; and adds, that as this ground is held by right of *Mayorazgo*, and cannot be alienated, that desolation and those ruins become perpetual. Teatr. Amer. vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE [174]. p. 162.—There is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclesiastic. On the contrary, there are many *Cedulas*, which recommend the conferring places of trust indiscriminately on the natives of Spain and America. Betancourt y Figueroa Derocho, &c. p. 5. 6. But, notwithstanding such repeated recommendations, preferment in almost every line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author last quoted. From the discovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and sixty-nine bishops, or archbishops, have been appointed to the different dioceses in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40. This predilection for Europeans seems still to continue. By a royal mandate, issued in 1776, the chapter of the cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European ecclesiastics of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to supply vacant benefices. MS. *penes me*.

NOTE [175]. p. 162.—Moderate as this tribute may appear, such is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegua Itiner. par Paroches de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE [176]. p. 163.—In New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country previous to the discovery of the mines of Sa catecos, the *encomiendas* were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE [177]. p. 163.—D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians, who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and several of the Indians, when the legal term of their service expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. *Entreten*, p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labor, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be. D. Hern. Carillo Altamirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, says he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest of America, though neither the soil nor climate be so favorable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert Collect. In another memorial presented to Philip III. in the year 1609, Captain Juan Gonzales de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru where the Indians are compelled to labor in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE [178]. p. 163.—As labor of this kind cannot be prescribed with legal accuracy, the tasks seem to be in a great measure arbitrary, and, like the services exacted by feudal superiors in *vinca prato*, *aut messe*, from their vassals, are extremely burdensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Pagna Itiner. par Paroches de Indios.

NOTE [179]. p. 163.—The turn of service known in Peru by the name of *Mita* is called *Tanda* in New Spain. There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No person is called to serve at a greater distance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is less oppressive to the Indians than that established in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE [180]. p. 163.—The strongest proof of this may be deduced from the laws themselves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuses, we may form an idea of the number of abuses that prevail. Though the laws have wisely provided that no Indian shall be obliged to serve in any mine at a greater distance from his place of residence than thirty miles; we are informed, in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano presented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to serve in mines at the distance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are situated in parts of the country so barren and so distant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the necessity of procuring laborers

to work there has obliged the Spanish monarchs to dispense with their own regulations in several instances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to resort to those mines. Escalona Gazophyl. Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But, in justice to them, it should be observed that they have been studious to alleviate this oppression as much as possible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method in order to induce the Indians to settle in some part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. *ibid*.

NOTE [181]. p. 163.—Torquemada, after a long enumeration which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monasteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of Monasteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa Segnor Theat. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning those for nuns, he says that a small town might be peopled out of them, the number of persons shut up there is so great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III. in a letter to the Viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, observes, that the number of convents in Lima was so great, that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The first monastery in New Spain was founded A. D. 1525, four years only after the conquest. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

According to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 810 convents. Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Ind. Occident. Vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jesuits was expelled from all the Spanish dominions, the colleges, *professed* houses, and residences which it possessed in the province of New Spain were thirty, in Quito sixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru seventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all, a hundred and twelve. Collection General de Providencias hasta aqui tomadas sobre estranamiento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jesuits, priests, and novices in all these amounted to 2245. MS. *pence ms.*

In the year 1644 the city of Mexico presented a petition to the king, praying that no new monastery might be founded, and that the revenues of those already established might be circumscribed, otherwise the religious houses would soon acquire the property of the whole country. The petitioners request likewise, that the bishops might be laid under restrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above six thousand clergymen without any living. *Ibid*. p. 16. These abuses must have been enormous indeed, when the superstition of American Spaniards was shocked, and induced to remonstrate against them.

NOTE [182]. p. 166.—This description of the manners of the Spanish clergy I should not have ventured to give upon the testimony of Protestant authors alone, as they may be suspected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any Protestant to view the interior state of Spanish America, describes the corruption of the church which he had forsaken with so much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I should have distrusted his evidence, though it communicates some very curious and striking facts. But Benzon mentions the prodigality of ecclesiastics in America at a very early period after their settlement there. Hist. lib. ii. c. 19. 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent observer, and zealous for his own religion, paints the dissolute manners of the Spanish ecclesiastics in Peru, particularly the regulars, in stronger colors than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account. Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumstances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reason to believe that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are still extremely indecent. Acosta himself acknowledges that great corruption of manners had been the consequence of permitting monks to forsake the retirement and discipline of the cloister, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian parishes. De Procer. Ind. Salute. lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly those vices of which I have taken notice and considers the temptations to them as so formidable, that he leans to the opinion of those who hold that the regular clergy should not be employed as parish priests. Lib. v. c. 20. Even the advocates of the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when set free from the restraint of

monastic discipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought against them was not destitute of truth. In the French colonies the state of the regular clergy is nearly the same as in the Spanish settlements, and the same consequences have followed. M. Bict. superior of the secular priests in Cayenne, inquires, with no less appearance of piety than of candor, into the causes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the jurisdiction and censures of their diocessans; to the temptations to which they are exposed; and to their engaging in commerce. Voy. p. 320. It is remarkable, that all the authors who censure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with the greatest severity, concur in vindicating the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastic orders, or animated by that concern for the honor of the society which takes such full possession of every member of the order, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintain a most irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil. i. 31. The same praise is likewise due to the bishops and most of the dignified clergy. Frez. *Ibid*.

A volume of the Gazette de Mexico for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a striking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the spirit of low illiberal superstition prevalent in Spanish America. From the newspapers of any nation one may learn what are the objects which chiefly engross its attention, and which appear to it most interesting. The Gazette of Mexico is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, autos de fe, &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence. From the titles of new books, which are regularly inserted in this Gazette, it appears that two-thirds of them are treatises of scholastic theology or of monkish devotion.

NOTE [183]. p. 161.—Solorzano, after mentioning the corrupt morals of some of the regular clergy, with that cautious reserve which became a Spanish layman in touching on a subject so delicate, gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmness, against committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the testimony of several respectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. De Jure Ind. ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A striking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Esquilache to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were presented to the king by the procurators for the monastic orders, and replies were made to these in name of the secular clergy. An eager and even rancorous spirit is manifest on both sides in the conduct of this dispute.

NOTE [184]. p. 164.—Not only the native Indians, but the *Mestizos*, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the priesthood, and refused admission into any religious order. But by a law issued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain such mestizos born in lawful wedlock, as they should find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monastery where they had gone through a regular novitiate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard seems to have been paid to this law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a representation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he issued a new edict, enforcing the observation of it, and professing his desire to have all his subjects, Indians and mestizos, as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges. Such, however, was the aversion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians and their race, that this seems to have produced little effect; for in the year 1795 Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But so unsurmountable are hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the present king has been constrained to enforce the former edicts anew, by a law published September 11, 1774. Real Cedula, MS. *pence ms.*

M. Clavigero has contradicted what I have related concerning the ecclesiastical state of the Indians, particularly their exclusion from the sacrament of the eucharist, and from holy orders, either as seculars or regulars, in such a manner as cannot fail to make a deep impression. He, from his own knowledge, asserts, "that in New Spain not only are Indians permitted to

partake of the sacrament of the altar, but that Indian priests are so numerous that they may be counted by hundreds; and among these have been many hundreds of rectors, canons, and doctors, and, as report goes, even a very learned bishop. At present there are many priests, and not a few rectors, among whom have been three or four our own pupils." Vol. II. 348, &c. I owe it, therefore, as a duty to the public as well as to myself, to consider each of these points with care, and to explain the reasons which induced me to adopt the opinion which I have published.

I knew that in the Christian church there is no distinction of persons, but that men of every nation, who embrace the religion of Jesus, are equally entitled to every Christian privilege which they are qualified to receive. I knew likewise that an opinion prevailed, not only among most of the Spanish laity settled in America, but among "many ecclesiastics (I use the words of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. c. 15), that the Indians were not perfect or rational men, and were not possessed of such capacity as qualified them to partake of the sacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion." It was against this opinion that Las Casas contended with the laudable zeal which I have described in Books III. and VI. But as the Bishop of Darien, Doctor Sepulveda, and other respectable ecclesiastics, vigorously supported the common opinion concerning the incapacity of the Indians, it became necessary, in order to determine the point, that the authority of the Holy See should be interposed; and accordingly Paul III. issued a bull, A. D. 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of those who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beasts, should be reduced to servitude, he declares that they were really men, and as such were capable of embracing the Christian religion, and participating of all its blessings. My account of this bull, notwithstanding the cavils of M. Clavigero, must appear just to every person who takes the trouble of perusing it; and my account is the same with that adopted by Torquemada, lib. xvi. c. 25, and by Garcia, Orig. p. 311. But even after this decision, so low did the Spaniards residing in America rate the capacity of the natives, that the first council of Lima (I call it by that name on the authority of the best Spanish authors) discountenanced the admission of Indians to the holy communion. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20. In New Spain the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament was still more explicit. *Ibid*. After two centuries have elapsed, and notwithstanding all the improvement that the Indians may be supposed to have derived from their intercourse with the Spaniards during that period, we are informed by D. Ant. Ulloa, that in Peru, where, as will appear in the sequel of this note, they are supposed to be better instructed than in New Spain, their ignorance is so prodigious that very few are permitted to communicate, as being altogether destitute of the requisite capacity. Voy. i. 341, &c. Solorz. Polit. Ind. i. 203.

With respect to the exclusion of Indians from the priesthood, either as seculars or regulars, we may observe that while it continued to be the common opinion that the natives of America, on account of their incapacity, should not be permitted to partake of the holy sacrament, we cannot suppose that they would be clothed with that sacred character which entitled them to consecrate and to dispense it. When Torquemada composed his *Monarquia Indiana* it was almost a century after the conquest of New Spain; and yet in his time it was still the general practice to exclude Indians from holy orders. Of this we have the most satisfying evidence. Torquemada having celebrated the virtues and graces of the Indians at great length, and with all the complacency of a missionary, he starts as an objection to what he had asserted, "If the Indians really possess all the excellent qualities which you have described, why are they not permitted to assume the religious habit? Why are they not ordained priests and bishops, as the Jewish and Gentile converts were in the primitive church, especially as they might be employed with such superior advantage to other persons in the instruction of their countrymen?" Lib. xvii. c. 13.

In answer to this objection, which establishes, in the most unequivocal manner, what was the general practice at that period, Torquemada observes, that although by their natural dispositions the Indians are well fitted for a subordinate situation, they are destitute of all the qualities requisite in any station of dignity and authority; and that they are in general so addicted to drunkenness, that upon the slightest temptation one cannot promise on their behaving with the decency suitable to the clerical character. The propriety of excluding them from it, on these accounts, was, he ob-

served, so well justified by experience, that when a foreigner of great erudition, who came from Spain, condemned the practice of the Mexican church, he was convinced of his mistake in a public disputation with the learned and most religious Father D. Juan de Ganna, and his retraction is still extant. Torquemada indeed acknowledges, as M. Clavigero observes with a degree of exaltation, that in his own time some Indians had been admitted into monasteries; but, with the art of a disputant, he forgets to mention that Torquemada specifies only two examples of this, and takes notice that in both instances those Indians had been admitted by mistake. Relying upon the authority of Torquemada with regard to New Spain, and of Ulloa with regard to Peru, and considering the humiliating depression of the Indians in all the Spanish settlements, I concluded that they were not admitted into the ecclesiastical order, which is held in the highest veneration all over the New World.

But when M. Clavigero, upon his own knowledge asserted facts so repugnant to the conclusion I had formed, I began to distrust it, and to wish for further information. In order to obtain this, I applied to a Spanish nobleman, high in office, and eminent for his abilities, who, on different occasions, has permitted me to have the honor and benefit of corresponding with him. I have been favored with the following answer: "What you have written concerning the admission of Indians into holy orders, or into monasteries, in Book VIII., especially as it is explained and limited in Note LXXXVIII. of the quarto edition, is in general accurate, and conformable to the authorities which you quote. And although the congregation of the council resolved and declared, Feb. 13. A. D. 1682, that the circumstance of being an Indian, or mulatto, or mestizo, did not disqualify any person from being admitted into holy orders, if he was possessed of what was required by the canons to entitle him to that privilege; this only proves such ordinations to be legal and valid (of which Solorzano and the Spanish lawyers and historians quoted by him, Pol. Ind. lib. ii. c. 22, were persuaded), but it neither proves the propriety of admitting Indians into holy orders, nor what was then the common practice with respect to this; but, on the contrary, it shows that there was some doubt concerning the ordaining of Indians, and some repugnance to it.

Since that time there have been some examples of admitting Indians into holy orders. We have now at Madrid an aged priest, a native of Tlascala. His name is D. Juan Cerillo de Castilla Aquihual Cathehuttle, descended of a cazique converted to Christianity soon after the conquest. He studied the ecclesiastical sciences in a seminary of Puebla de los Angeles. He was a candidate, nevertheless, for ten years, and it required much interest before Bishop Abren would consent to ordain him. This ecclesiastic was a man of unexceptionable character, modest, self-denied, and with a competent knowledge of what relates to his clerical functions. He came to Madrid above thirty-four years ago with the sole view of soliciting admission for the Indians into the colleges and seminaries in New Spain, that is, after being well instructed and tried, they should find an inclination to enter into the ecclesiastical state, they might embrace it, and perform its functions with the greatest benefit to their countrymen, whom they could address in their native tongue. He has obtained various regulations favorable to his scheme, particularly that the first college which became vacant in consequence of the exclusion of the Jesuits should be set apart for this purpose. But neither these regulations, nor any similar ones inserted in the laws of the Indies, have produced any effect, on account of objections and representations from the greater part of persons of chief consideration employed in New Spain. Whether their opposition be well founded or not is a problem difficult to resolve, and towards the solution of which several distinctions and modifications are requisite.

According to the accounts of this ecclesiastic, and the information of other persons who have resided in the Spanish dominions in America, you may rest assured, that in the kingdom of Tierra Firme no such thing is known as either an Indian secular priest or monk; and that in New Spain there are very few ecclesiastics of Indian race. In Peru, perhaps, the number may be greater, as in that country there are more Indians who possess the means of acquiring such a learned education as is necessary for persons who aspire to the clerical character."

NOTE [185]. p. 165.—Uztariz, an accurate and cautious calculator, seems to admit, that the quantity of

silver which does not pay duty, may be stated thus high. According to Herrera there was not above a third of what was extracted from Potosi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano asserts likewise, that the quantity of silver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly stamped, after paying the fifth. De Ind. Jure, vol. ii. lib. v. p. 846.

NOTE [186]. p. 165.—When the mines of Potosi were discovered in the year 1545, the veins were so near the surface, that the ore was easily extracted, and so rich that it was refined with little trouble and at a small expense, merely by the action of fire. The simple mode of refining by fusion alone continued until the year 1574, when the use of mercury in refining silver, as well as gold, was discovered. Those mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now sunk so deep, that the expense of extracting the ore is greatly increased. Besides this, the richness of the ore, contrary to what happens in most other mines, has become less as the vein continued to dip. The vein has likewise diminished to such a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards should persist in working it. Other rich mines have been successively discovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreased so much, while the expense of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain in the year 1736 reduced the duty payable to the king from a fifth to a tenth. All the quicksilver used in Peru is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabellca, discovered in the year 1563. The crown has reserved the property of this mine to itself; and the persons who purchase the quicksilver pay not only the price of it, but likewise a fifth, as a duty to the king. But in the year 1761 this duty on quicksilver was abolished, on account of the increase of expense in working mines. Ulloa, *Entretenimientos*, xii.—xv. Voyage, i. p. 505. 523. In consequence of this abolition of the fifth, and some subsequent abatements of price, which became necessary on account of the increasing expense of working mines, quicksilver which was formerly sold at eighty pesos the quintal, is now delivered by the king at the rate of sixty pesos. Campomanes, *Educ. Popul.* ii. 132, note. The duty on gold is reduced to a twentieth, or five per cent. Any of my readers who are desirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate description of the ancient method by Acosta, lib. iv. c. 1—13, and of their more recent improvements in the metallurgic art, by Gamboa *Comment. a las ordenanz. de Minas*, c. 22.

NOTE [187]. p. 165.—Many remarkable proofs occur of the advanced state of industry in Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was considerable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The causes of this I have explained. Hist. of Cha. V. p. 68. Wherever cities are populous that species of industry which is peculiar to them increases: artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to these is manifest from a singular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own industry for the supply of its own colonies, so much work was bespoke from the manufacturers, that it was supposed they could hardly finish it in less than six years. Campomanes, i. 406. Such a demand must have put much industry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in silk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 persons had occupation in carrying on these manufactures. Campomanes, ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have the satisfaction to find my ideas concerning the early commercial intercourse between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illustrated by D. Bernardo Ward, of the Junta de Comercio at Madrid, in his *Proyecto Economico*, part ii. c. i. "Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II." says he, "the manufactures of Spain and of the Low Countries subject to her dominion were in a most flourishing state. Those of France and England were in their infancy. The republic of the United Provinces did not then exist. No European

power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could supply her settlements there with the productions of her own soil, the fabrics wrought by the hands of her own artisans, and all she received in return for these belonged to herself alone. Then the exclusion of foreign manufactures was proper, because it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impose what restraints she deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and successive revolutions had occasioned an alteration in all these circumstances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreign fabrics, the original maxims and regulations of Spain should have been accommodated to the change in her situation. The policy that was wise at one period became absurd in the other."

NOTE [188]. p. 166.—No bale of goods is ever opened, no chest of treasure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the persons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined silver that was brought from Peru to Porto-bello in the year 1654 was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of base metal. The Spanish merchants, with sentiments suitable to their usual integrity, sustained the whole loss, and indemnified the foreigners by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa, *Retablis. de Manuf.*, &c. liv. ii. p. 102.

NOTE [189]. p. 167.—Many striking proofs occur of the scarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immense sums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, Mucadaza asserts, that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of pesos, one-half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Restaur. de Espagna, &c. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who published his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did not remain a hundred million. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonstrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III., relates, as a certain proof how scarce cash had become, that persons who lent money received a third of the sum which they advanced as interest and premium. Educ. Popul. i. 417.

NOTE [190]. p. 167.—The account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto-bello, which was opened to them by the Assiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, president of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionysio was a person of such respectable character for probity and discernment, that his testimony in any point would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this case, as he was an eye-witness of the transactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation, being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, discover a portion of the acrimonious spirit natural at that juncture. His detail of facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practised in the transactions of the annual ship, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonorable arts of their factors and agents. The company itself sustained a considerable loss by the Assiento trade. Many of its servants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE [191]. p. 168.—Several facts with respect to the institution, the progress, and the effects of this company, are curious, and but little known to English readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four-hundred miles along the coast, and is one of the most fertile in America, it was so much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the establishment of the company, only five

ships sailed from Spain to that province; and, during sixteen years, from 1706 to 1722, not a single ship arrived from the Caracas in Spain. *Noticias de Real Campaña de Caracas*, p. 28. During this period Spain must have been supplied almost entirely with a large quantity of cacao, which it consumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caracas into Spain. *Ibid.* p. 117. Since the commercial operations of the company, begun in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increased amazingly. During thirty years subsequent to 1701, the number of *fanegas* of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caracas was 643,215. During eighteen years subsequent to 1731, the number of *fanegas* imported was 869,247; and if we suppose the importation to be continued in the same proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 *fanegas*, which is an increase of 805,531 *fanegas*. *Id.* p. 148. During eight years subsequent to 1756, there have been imported into Spain by the company 88,482 *arrobas* (each twenty-five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. *Id.* p. 161. Since the publication of the *Noticias de Campaña*, in 1715, its trade seems to be on the increase. During five years subsequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 *fanegas* of cacao into Spain, 36,208 *arrobas* of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 pesos in specie. *Campomanes*, ii. 162. The last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But, besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raised in the province is double what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tithes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. *Notic.* p. 60. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the *fanega* to forty. *Ibid.* 61. Since the publication of the first edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extensive provinces situated on the banks of Orinoco, the Islands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caracas had liberty of trade by their former charters. *Real Cedula*, Nov. 19, 1776. But I have likewise been informed, that the institution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have ascribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppressive spirit of monopoly is still conspicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be necessary to enter into minute details, which are not suited to the nature of this work.

NOTE [192]. p. 168.—This first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has produced effects so remarkable, as to merit some further illustration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville, for the province of Andalusia; Alicante and Cartagena, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Aragon; Santander, for Castile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias. *Append. ii. a la Educ. Popul.* p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the custom house at the Havana were computed to be 104,208 pesos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan the duties have arisen from 8000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola, from 2500 to 5600. In Porto Rico, from 1200 to 7000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pesos. *Educ. Popul.* i. 450, &c.

NOTE [193]. p. 169.—The two treatises of Don Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, *Fiscal del real Consejo y Supremo* (an officer in rank and power nearly similar to that of Attorney-General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of History, the one entitled *Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria Popular*; the other *Discurso sobre la Educacion Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento*; the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a striking proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect

to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestic as well as foreign, is examined in the course of these works; and there are not many authors, even in the nations most eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with a more thorough knowledge of those various subjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm researches of philosophy with the ardent zeal of a public spirited citizen. These books are in high estimation among the Spaniards; and it is a decisive evidence of the progress of their own ideas, that they are capable of relishing an author whose sentiments are so liberal.

NOTE [194]. p. 169.—The galeon employed in that trade, instead of the six hundred tons to which it is limited by law, *Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15*, is commonly from twelve hundred to two thousand tons burden. The ship from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anson, instead of the 500,000 pesos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 pesos, besides uncoined silver equal in value to 43,611 pesos more. *Anson's Voy.* 384.

NOTE [195]. p. 169.—The price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different persons. Those in the lowest order who are servants or slaves, pay two reals of plate, or one shilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and those in public office, or who hold encomiendas, sixteen reals. *Solarz. de Jure Ind.* vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an English merchant who resided long in the Spanish settlements, the bull of Cruzado bore a higher price in the year 1570, being then sold for four reals at the lowest. *Hakluyt*, iii. 461. The price seems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in the last *Predicacion* will appear from the ensuing table, which will give some idea of the proportional numbers of the different classes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were issued for New Spain—

Bulls at 10 pesos each	-	-	-	4
at 2 pesos each	-	-	-	22,601
at 1 peso each	-	-	-	164,220
at 2 reals each	-	-	-	2,462,500
				2,649,325
For Peru—				
at 16 pesos 4½ reals each	-	-	-	3
at 3 pesos 3 reals each	-	-	-	14,202
at 1 peso 5½ reals each	-	-	-	78,822
at 4 reals each	-	-	-	410,325
at 3 reals each	-	-	-	668,601
				1,171,953

NOTE. [196] p. 169.—As Villa Segnor, to whom we are indebted for this information contained in his *Theatro Americano*, published in Mexico A. D. 1746, was accompanant-general in one of the most considerable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had access to proper information, his testimony with respect to this point merits great credit. No such accurate detail of the Spanish revenues in any part of America has hitherto been published in the English language; and the particulars of it may appear curious and interesting to some of my readers.

From the bull of Cruzado, published every two years, there arises an annual revenue in pesos	-	-	-	150,000
From the duty on silver	-	-	-	700,000
From the duty on gold	-	-	-	60,000
From tax on cards	-	-	-	70,000
From tax on pulque, a drink used by the Indians	-	-	-	161,000
From tax on stamped paper	-	-	-	41,000
From ditto on ice	-	-	-	15,522
From ditto on leather	-	-	-	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder	-	-	-	71,550
From ditto on salt	-	-	-	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechoachan	-	-	-	1,000
From ditto on alum	-	-	-	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos	-	-	-	21,100
From the half of ecclesiastical annats	-	-	-	49,000
				1,381,172

From royal ninth of bishoprics, &c.	-	-	-	1,381,172
From the tribute of Indians	-	-	-	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on sale of goods	-	-	-	721,875
From the Almajorifazgo, custom house	-	-	-	373,333
From the mint	-	-	-	357,500
				3,552,680

This sum amounts to \$19,161 sterling; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the sale of 5000 quintals of quicksilver, imported from the mines of Almadan, in Spain, on the King's account, and what accrues from the *Arcia*, and some other taxes which Villa Segnor does not estimate, the public revenue in new Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. *Theat. Mex.* vol. i. p. 38, &c. According to Villa Segnor, the total produce of the Mexican mines amounts at a medium to eight millions of Pesos in silver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold. *Ibid.* p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the course of the history; some of which there was no occasion of mentioning, require a particular illustration. The right to the *tithes* in the New World is vested in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: One fourth is allotted to the bishop of the diocese, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these, under the denomination of *los dos Novenos reales*, are paid to the crown, and constitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other seven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and support of churches, and other pious uses. *Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley, 23, &c.* *Avendano Thesaur. Indic.* vol. i. p. 184.

The *Alcalala* is a duty levied by an excise on the sale of goods. In Spain it amounts to ten per cent. In America to four per cent. *Salorzano, Polit. Indiana.* lib. vi. c. 8. *Avendano*, vol. i. 186.

The *Almajorifazgo*, or custom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen per cent. *Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley, i.* *Avendano*, vol. i. p. 188.

The *Averia*, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ships sailing to and from America, was first imposed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. *Avendano*, vol. i. p. 189. *Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley, 43, 44.*

I have not been able to procure any accurate detail of the several branches of revenue in Peru later than the year 1614. From a curious manuscript containing a state of that vicerealty in all its departments, presented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, accompanant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears that the public revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes states his accounts, amounted in ducats at 4s. 11d. to - - - - - 2,372,768

Expenses of government	-	-	-	1,242,992
Net free revenue	-	-	-	1,129,776
The total in sterling money	-	-	-	£583,303
Expenses of government	-	-	-	305,568
Net free revenue	-	-	-	277,735

But several articles appear to be omitted in this computation, such as the duty on stamped paper, leather, ecclesiastical annats, &c. so that the revenue of Peru may be well supposed equal to that of Mexico.

In computing the expense of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a standard. There the annual establishment for defraying the charge of administration exceeds one half of the revenue collected, and there is no reason for supposing it to be less in New Spain.

I have obtained a calculation of the total amount of the public revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two last articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Excise) and Aduanas (Customs), &c. in pesos fuertes	-	-	-	2,500,000
Duties on gold and silver	-	-	-	3,000,000
				5,500,000

Brought forward	5,500,000
Bull of Cruzado - - - -	1,600,000
Tribute of the Indians - - - -	2,000,000
By sale of quicksilver - - - -	200,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and sold in the royal warehouses - - - -	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other small duties - - - -	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark - - - -	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coasting trade from province to province	500,000
Assiento of Negroes - - - -	200,000
From the trade of <i>Mathe</i> , or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jesuits - - - -	500,000
From other revenues formerly belonging to that order - - - -	400,000
Total	12,000,000
Total in sterling money	£2,700,009

Deduct half, as the expense of administration, and there remains net free revenue £1,350,000

NOTE [197]. p. 169.—An author long conversant in commercial speculation has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone the king receives annually, as his fifth, the sum of two millions of our money. Harris, *Collect. of Voy. ii.* p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines must be ten millions sterling; a sum so exorbitant, and so little corresponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded must evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of pesos, which, at at four shillings and sixpence a peso, amounts to 7,425,000*l.* sterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000*l.* But from this sum must be deducted what is lost by a fraudulent withholding of the fifth due to the crown, as well as the sum necessary for defraying the expense of administration. *Educ. Popular. vol. ii.* p. 131. note. Both these sums are considerable.

NOTE [198]. p. 169.—According to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As most of the goods with which Spain supplies her colonies are foreign, such a tax upon a trade so extensive must yield a considerable revenue. *Retablis. de Manuf. et du Commerce d'Esp.* p. 151. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America to be about two millions and a half sterling. p. 97.

NOTE [199]. p. 169.—The Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of salt, and by embarking deeply in the manilla trade, as well as in that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase from the Conde Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was successful in his suit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the usual time.

THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JAMES GRAHAME, ESQ.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

HAVING presented to our readers two interesting works, "Belknap's Biographica of the Early Discoverers of America," and "Robertson's History of South America," works which will hold a high rank in the estimation of many generations yet unborn, we shall now begin in good earnest, upon the History of the North American Colonies which in little more than two centuries have grown up into a great nation, whose history will hereafter be sought for, not only by Americans, but by every civilized nation under the sun, as most of the reform going on in the world sprung from the influence of our institutions. Several writers of distinction have made great researches among the worm-eaten pages of manuscripts, pamphlets, and partial histories to obtain a knowledge of the rise and progress of this nation from its beginning up to its present growth. Foreigners have taken a deep interest in the subject, and several of them have written on it with great candor and ability. Among these historians no one stands higher, in the estimation of the judicious and discriminating, than James Grahame, Esq. He writes without prejudice, in a style of neatness and perspicuity which often rises to eloquence. As yet, he has only given us two volumes of his work, which contain the events of the first half century of our history, but has, in his preface, promised more, but has not up to this time fulfilled it, but we are informed that a continuation of his labors will soon be published. If an additional volume should reach us before we have reprinted the two on our table, we shall lose no time in presenting it to our readers; but if it should not arrive in season, we shall draw our matter from other approved sources which we believe will afford an abundant supply. We are happy to find that the subject of American history is attracting all classes of men. A society for collecting and preserving the neglected or half forgotten events of the revolutionary and late war, is now about being formed in the city of New York. From the character and talents of the persons zealously engaged in the praiseworthy undertaking we augur favorably for the results. There is no danger of doing too much. Every history adds something to enlighten the public. Like stars in the *milky way* although of different magnitude and brightness these works shed a lustre on each other and increase the glory of the hemisphere of knowledge. From time to time we shall add some notes when we think the text requires them.

PREFACE.

THE composition which I now deliver to the public, is the first of a threefold series of works, which, when completed, will form *The History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the English Colonies to the Establishment of their Independence*. My plan is restricted to the history of those provinces of North America (originating all except New York and Delaware, from British colonization,) which, at the era of the American Revolution, were included in the United States; the illustration of the rise and formation of this great republic, being the end of my labors.

The present work, the first of the projected series, embraces the rise of such of those States, comprehended within my general plan, as were founded prior to the British Revolution in 1688, and traces their progress till that epoch. In some instances I have found it necessary to carry forward the history of particular states, somewhat beyond this precise boundary; partly because the influence of the British Revolution did not immediately extend to them, and partly in order to exhibit a complete view of certain interesting transactions, of

which the account would otherwise be broken and defective. A second performance, for which I have already collected a considerable mass of materials, will embrace the further history of these earlier states, together with the rise and progress of those which were subsequently formed, till the commencement of the American Revolution. This second work, which like the present, will occupy, I believe, two volumes, I consider the most difficult and important portion of my labors. Two additional volumes, I trust, will enable me to complete my general plan, and embrace the history of the revolutionary war, and the establishment and consolidation of the North American Republic.

In the collection of materials for the composition of this work, I have been obliged to incur a degree of labor and expense, which, had I originally foreseen, I doubt if I could have ventured to encounter. Considering the connection that so long subsisted between Great Britain and the American States, the information concerning the early history of many of these provinces, which the public libraries of Great Britain are capable of supplying, is amazingly scanty. Many valuable works illustrative of the history and statistics both of particular states and of the whole North American

commonwealth; * a defect the more discreditable, as these works have long enjoyed a high repute at the seats of learning on the continent of Europe, and as the greater part of them might be procured without difficulty in London or from America.

After borrowing all the materials that I could so procure, and purchasing as many more as I could find in Britain, my collection proved still so defective in many respects, that in the hope of enlarging it, I undertook a journey to Gottingen; and in the library of this place, as I had been taught to expect, I found an ample col-

* In the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh, for example, there is not a single separate history of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Maryland, New Jersey, or Pennsylvania; there is not one of the statistical works of Pitkin or Seybert; and although there are the first volumes, respectively, of Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, and of Hazard's *Historical Collections*, none of the posterior volumes of these interesting works have ever been procured. But the negative catalogue of the Advocates' Library, in this department, is too copious for further quotation.

To the British Museum I am indebted for the perusal of several works of very great rarity; particularly Denton's description of New York, and Archdale's Description of Carolina. But this collection, though much richer than the Advocates' Library, is yet exceedingly defective in American history.

lection of North American literature, than any or indeed all the libraries of Britain could supply. From the resources of the Gottingen Library, aided by the liberality with which its administrators are always willing to render it subservient to the purposes of literary inquiry, I have derived the greatest advantage and assistance. Yet even this admirable repository of history is not entirely perfect; and I have still to lament my inability to procure some works illustrative of my subject, which, whatever may be their value, it would have been satisfactory to have had an opportunity of perusing. Hopkin's History of Providence in particular, Vanderdonck's History of New Netherlands, and Holm's History of Swedeland in America, are books which I have been hitherto unable to procure. The learned Ebeling has characterized the first of these as a book not easily met with; and that I am not chargeable with negligent inquiry, may be inferred, I think, from the fact, that I have succeeded in procuring and consulting various works which Ebeling confesses his inability to obtain, besides many of whose existence he seems not to have been aware.* Even those which for the present I am obliged to dispense with, as well as various other works of infrequent occurrence and applicable to a later portion of time, I still hope to procure for the elucidation of the vast and varied subject of my second composition.

History addresses her lessons to all mankind: but when she records the fortunes of an existing people, it is to them that her admonitions are especially directed. There has never been a people on whose character their own historical recollections were calculated to exercise a more animating or salutary influence, than the nation whose history I have undertaken to relate.

In national societies established after the manner of the United States of North America, history does not begin with obscure or fabulous legends. The origin of the nation, and the rise and progress of all its institutions, may be distinctly known. The people may obtain an accurate and familiar acquaintance with the character of their earliest national ancestors, and of every succeeding generation through which the inheritance of the national name and fortunes has devolved to themselves. When this interesting knowledge is blended with the information that their existence as a people originated in the noblest efforts of wisdom, fortitude, and magnanimity, and that every successive acquisition by which their liberty and happiness have been extended and secured, has arisen from the exercise of the same qualities, and evinced their faithful preservation and unimpaired efficacy,—respect for antiquity becomes the motive and the pledge of virtue; the whole nation feels itself ennobled by ancestors whose renown will continue to the end of time the honor or reproach of their successors; and the love of virtue is so interwoven with patriotism and with national glory, as to prevent the one from becoming a selfish principle, and the other a splendid or mischievous illusion. If an inspired apostle might with complacency proclaim himself a citizen of no mean city, a North American may feel grateful exultation in avowing himself the native of no ignoble land,—but of a land that has yielded as great an increase of glory to God and of happiness to man, as any other portion of the world, since the first syllable of recorded time, has ever had the honor of producing. A nobler model of human character could hardly be proposed to the inhabitants of New England, Pennsylvania, and others of the North American States, than that which their own early history supplies. It is at once their interest and their honor to preserve with sacred care a model so richly fraught with the instructions of wisdom and the incitements of duty. The memory of the saints and heroes whom they claim as their natural or national ancestors will bless all those who account it blessed; and the ashea of their fathers will give forth a nobler influence than the bones of the prophet of Israel, in reviving piety and invigorating virtue. So much, at the same time, of human weakness and imperfection is discernible in the conduct, or is attested by the avowals of these eminent men, and so steady and explicit was their reference to heavenly aid, for all the good they were enabled to perform or attain, that the admiration they so strongly claim never exceeds a just subordination to the glory of the Most High, and enforces the

scriptural testimony to the riches of divine grace, and the reflected lustre of human virtue.

The most important requisite of historical compositions, and that in which, I suspect, they are commonly most defective, is truth—a requisite, of which even the sincerity of the historian is insufficient to assure us. In tracing ascertained and important facts, either backward into their original, or forward into their operation, the historian frequently encounters, on either hand, a perplexing variety of dissimilar causes and diverging effects; among which it is no less difficult than important to discriminate the peculiar springs of action, and to preserve the moral stream of events. Indiscriminate detail would produce intolerable fatigue and confusion; while selection inevitably infers the risk of error. The sacred historians often record events with little or no reference to their historical pedigree; and have thus given to some parts of the only history that is infallibly authentic, an appearance of improbability, which the more reasoning productions of uninspired narrators have exchanged, at least as frequently, for substantial misrepresentation. It may be thought an imprudent avowal, and yet I have no desire to conceal, that, in examining and comparing historical records, I have often been forcibly reminded of Sir Robert Walpole's assurance to his son, that "*History must be false.*"* Happily, this apothegm applies, if not exclusively, at least most forcibly to that which Walpole probably regarded as the main trunk of history, but which is really the most insignificant branch of it,—the intrigues of cabinets, the secret machinations and designs of ministers, and the contests of trading politicians.

In surveying the contests of human beings, it is difficult, or rather it is impossible, for a man of like feelings with themselves, to escape entirely the contagion of those passions which the contests arose from or engendered. Thus partialities are secretly insinuated into the mind; and in balancing opposite testimony, these partialities find a sure, though secret means of exerting their influence. I am not desirous of concealing that I feel such partialities within myself; and if my consciousness of their existence should not exempt me from their influence, I hope the avowal, at least, will prevent the error from extending to my readers. I am sensible of a strong predilection in favor of America, and the colonial side in the great controversies between her people and the British government, which must occupy so prominent a place in the ensuing pages. Against the influence of this predilection, I hope I am sufficiently on my guard; and my apprehensions if it are moderated by the recollection that there is a wisdom which is divinely declared to be *without partiality, and without hypocrisy*, and attainable by all who seek it in sincerity from its heavenly source.

I am far from thinking or from desiring it should be thought, that every part of the conduct of America throughout these controversies to which I have alluded, was pure and blameless. Much guile, much evil passion, violence, and injustice, dishonored many of the councils and proceedings of the leaders and assemblies of America; and it was the conduct of one of the States, the most renowned for piety and virtue, that suggested to her historian the melancholy observation, "that in all ages and countries communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals of whom they consisted would, acting separately, have been ashamed."† But mingled masses are justly denominated from the elements and qualities that preponderate in their composition; and sages and patriots will be equally voted out of the world if we can never recognize the lineaments of worth and wisdom under the rags of mortal imperfection. There exists in some romantic speculative minds, a platonic love of liberty, as well as virtue, that consists with a cordial disgust for every visible and actual incarnation of either

* Horace Walpole's works.—A curious illustration of historical inaccuracy was related by the late President Jefferson to an intelligent English traveler. The Abbe Raynal, in his History of the British Settlements in America, has recounted a remarkable story which implies the existence of a particular law in New England. Some Americans being in company with the Abbe at Paris, questioned the truth of the story, alleging that no such law had ever existed in New England. The Abbe maintained the authenticity of his history, till he was interrupted by Dr. Franklin, who was present, and after listening for some time in silence to the dispute, said, "I can account for all this: you took the anecdote from a newspaper, of which I was at that time editor, and, happening to be very short of news, I composed and inserted the whole story." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States, p. 382, 383.

† Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 156. This observation referred to the dispute between Massachusetts and the confederated States of New England in 1649.

of these principles; and which, when not corrected by sense and experience, conducts to endless error or incurable misanthropy.

Whoever examines the histories of individuals or communities, must expect to be disappointed and perplexed by numberless inconsistencies. Much error is produced and continued in the world by unwillingness or inability to make candid concessions, or indeed to distinguish candor from sincerity—to admit in an adversary the excellence that condemns our vehement hate; in a friend or hero, the defects that sully the pleasing image of virtue, that diminish our exultation, bid us *cease from man*, and shew us *the end of all perfection*. With partial views, we encounter the opposite partialities of antagonists, and by mutual commission and perception of injustice, render each other's misapprehensions incurable. It should be the great end of his history to correct the errors by which experience is thus rendered useless: and this end I have proposed, in humble reliance on Divine Guidance, to pursue.

Hastings, January, 1827.

BOOK I.

VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

CABOT despatched by Henry the Seventh—visits the Coast of North America—Neglect of Henry to profit by Cabot's Discovery—and of his immediate Successors—Reign of Elizabeth—favorable to maritime Adventures—Rise of the Slave Trade—Sir Walter Raleigh—projects a colony in North America—first Expedition fails—Elizabeth names the Country Virginia—Greenville despatched by Raleigh—establishes a Colony at Roanoke—Misfortunes of the Colonists—their Return—Use of Tobacco introduced in England—Further Efforts of Raleigh—terminate unsuccessfully—Accession of James to the English Crown—Gosnold's Voyage—its Effects—James divides North America between two Companies—Tenor of their Charters—Royal Code of Laws—The first Body of Colonists embarked by the London Company—arrive in the Bay of Chesapeake—found James Town—Dissensions of the Colonists—Hostility of the Indians—Distress and Confusion of the Colony—Services of Captain Smith—he is taken Prisoner by the Indians—his Liberation—he preserves the Colony—The Colonists deceived by Appearances of Gold—Smith surveys the Bay of Chesapeake—elected President of the Colony—New Charter—Lord Delaware appointed Governor—Newport, Gates, and Somers sent out to preside till Lord Delaware's Arrival—are wrecked on the Coast of Bermuda—Captain Smith Returns to England.

It was on the third of August, 1492, a little before sun-rise, that Christopher Columbus, undertaking the most memorable enterprise that human genius ever planned or human skill and courage ever performed, set sail from Spain for the discovery of the western world. On the 13th of October, about two hours before midnight, a light in the island of San Salvador was descried by Columbus from the deck of his vessel, and America for the first time beheld by European eyes.* Of the vast and important consequences that depended on this spectacle, perhaps not even the comprehensive mind of Columbus was fully sensible; but to the end of time, the heart of every human being who reads the story will confess the interest of that eventful moment, and partake the feelings of that illustrious man. On the following day, the adventurers, preceded by their commander, took possession of the soil; and a connexion that was to subsist for ever was established between Europe and America. The cross was planted on the shores of the western world; and in the hour that witnessed this great re-union of mankind, the knee was bowed to that Being who has proclaimed himself the brother of the whole human race, and the author of a common salvation to all the ends of the earth.

The intelligence of this successful voyage was received in Europe with the utmost surprise and admiration. In England, more especially, it was calculated to produce a very powerful impression, and to awaken at once emulation and regret. While Columbus was proposing his schemes with little prospect of success at the court of Spain, he had despatched his brother

* Dr. Robertson is of opinion that the Ancients had no notion of the existence of the western world, and has collected from ancient writers many proofs, not only of ignorance, but of most barbarous error respecting the territorial resources of the earth: Hist. of America, B. I. Yet a Roman writer, to whose sentiments he has not adverted, is supposed to have prophesied the discovery of America 1400 years before this event took place. The passage occurs in one of Seneca's tragedies.

"Venient annus
Secula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
Patet tellus, Tiphysique novos
Detegat orbis; nec sit terra
Ultima Thule."

MEDUS. Act II. Chorus.

* I am indebted to the private collections of various individuals for the perusal of some very rare and not less interesting works; and in particular I beg leave to acknowledge the kindness with which the valuable library of the late George Chalmers was submitted to my examination, by his nephew and executor, Mr. James Chalmers of London.

Bartholomew to the court of Henry the VIIIth in England, there to solicit patronage and offer the fruits of discovery. Bartholomew was taken prisoner by pirates, and after a long detention was reduced to such poverty that on his arrival in London he was compelled, by the labor of his hands, to procure the means of arraying himself in habiliments suited to his interview with a monarch. On such slight circumstances the fates of nations, at times, seem to depend; while in reality, they are over-ruled, not by circumstances, but by that Being who arranges and disposes circumstances in harmony with the predeterminations of his own will. The propositions of Bartholomew were favorably received by Henry: but before a definitive arrangement was concluded, Bartholomew was recalled by the intelligence that his brother's plans had at length been sanctioned and adopted by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

If the cautious temper and frugal disposition of Henry contributed to diminish his regrets for the abandonment of a hazardous and expensive undertaking, the astonishing success with which its actual prosecution by others had been attended, revived the former projects of his mind, and whetted it to a degree of enterprise that abated him both instructed and provoked by his disappointment. In this disposition he listened readily to the proposals of one Gabato or Cabot, a Venetian, residing in Bristol; who, from considering the discoveries of Columbus towards the southwest, had formed the opinion that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west, and now offered the king to conduct an expedition in this direction. Henry, prompted by his avarice and stung by his disappointment, eagerly embraced the proposals of Cabot, and not only granted him a commission of discovery, but, on two subsequent occasions, issued similar commissions for the discovery and appropriation of unknown territories.

The commission to Cabot, the only one which was productive of interesting consequences, was granted on the 5th of March, 1495, (about two years after the return of Columbus from America,) and empowered this adventurer and his sons to sail under the flag of England in quest of countries yet unoccupied by any christian state; to take possession of them in the name of Henry, and plant the English banner on the walls of their castles and cities, and to maintain with the inhabitants a traffic exclusive of all competitors, and exempted from customs; under the condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. About two years after the date of his commission, [1497,] Cabot, with his second son, Sebastian, embarked at Bristol, in a ship furnished by the king, and was attended by four small vessels equipped by the merchants of that city. Sebastian Cabot appears to have greatly excelled his father in genius and nautical science; and it is to him alone that historians have ascribed all the discoveries with which the name of Cabot is associated.

The navigators of that age were not less influenced by the opinions than incited by the example of Columbus, who erroneously supposed that the islands he had discovered in his first voyage were outskirts or dependencies of India, and not far remote from the Indian continent. Influenced by this notion, Sebastian Cabot conceived the hope that by steering to the north-west he might fulfil the design, and even improve the performance of Columbus, and reach India by a shorter course than his predecessor had taken. Pursuing this track, he discovered the islands of Newfoundland and St. John; and still continuing to hold a westerly course, soon reached the continent of North America, and sailed along it from the confines of Labrador to the coast of Virginia. Thus conducted by Cabot, who was himself guided by the genius of Columbus, did the English achieve the honor of being the second nation that had visited the western world, and the first that had discovered that vast continent that stretches from the Gulf of Mexico towards the North Pole. For it was not till the following year [1498] that Columbus, in his second voyage, was enabled to complete his own discovery, and proceed beyond the islands he had first visited, to the continent of America.

Cabot, disappointed in his main object of finding a western passage to India, returned to England to relate the discoveries he had already effected, without attempting either by settlement or conquest to gain a footing on the American continent.* He would wil-

lingly have resumed his voyages in the service of England, but he found that in his absence the king's ardor for discovery had greatly abated. Seated on a throne which he had gained by conquest in a country exhausted by civil wars, involved in hostilities with Scotland, and harassed by the insurrections of his subjects and the machinations of pretenders to his crown, Henry had little leisure for the execution of distant projects; and his sordid disposition found little attraction in the prospect of a colonial settlement, which was not likely to be productive of immediate pecuniary gain. He was engaged, too, at this time, in negotiating the marriage of his son with the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, and must, therefore, have felt himself additionally disinclined to pursue a project that could not fail to give umbrage to this jealous prince, who claimed the whole continent of America, in virtue of a donation from the Pope. Nor were the subjects of Henry in a condition to avail themselves of the ample field that Cabot's discovery had opened to their enterprise and activity. The civil wars had dissipated wealth, repressed commerce, and even excluded the English people from sharing in the general improvement which the nations of Europe had now begun to experience. All the advantages, then, that England, for the present, derived from the voyage of Cabot was, that right of property which is supposed to arise from priority of discovery—a right which, from the extent of the territory, the mildness of its climate, and the fertility of its soil, afforded an ample prospect of advantageous colonization. But from the circumstances in which the nation was placed, or rather from the designs of that Providence which governs circumstances, and renders them subservient to the destinies of nations and individuals, was England prevented from occupying this important field, till the moral and religious advancement which her people were soon to undergo, had qualified her to become the parent of North America. Cabot finding that Henry had abandoned his colonial projects, soon after transferred his services to the Spaniards; and the English seemed contented to surrender their discoveries and the discoverer to the superior fortune of that successful people. The only immediate fruit that England derived from his enterprise is said to have been the importation from America of the first turkeys* that had ever been seen in Europe.

It is remarkable, that of these first expeditions to the western world, by Spain and England, not one was either projected or commanded by a citizen of the state which supplied the subordinate adventurers, defrayed the expense of the equipment, and reaped the benefit of the enterprise. The honor of the achievement was thus more widely distributed. The Spanish adventurers were conducted by Columbus, a native of Genoa; the English, by John Cabot, a citizen of Venice: and though Sebastian Cabot, whose superior genius soon assumed the chief direction of the enterprise, had himself been born in England, it was by the experience and instructions of his father that his genius had been trained to naval affairs, and it was to the father that the projection of the voyage was due, and the chief command intrusted. Happily for the honor of the English nation, the parallel extends no farther; and the treatment which the two discoverers experienced from the countries that had employed them, differed as widely as the histories of the two empires which they respectively contributed to found. Columbus was loaded with chains in the country which he had the glory of discovering, and died the victim of ingratitude and disappointment among the people whom he had conducted to so much wealth and renown. Cabot, after spending some years in the service of Spain, also experienced her ingratitude; and returning, in his old age, to England, he obtained a kind and honorable reception from the nation which had, as yet, derived only barren hopes, and a seemingly relinquished title from his expedition. He received the dignity of knighthood, the appointment of Grand Pilot of England, and a pension that enabled him to spend his old age in circumstances of honor and comfort.

From this period till the reign of Elizabeth, no general or deliberate design was formed in England for the acquisition of territory, or the establishment of colonies in America. During the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the vigor and attention of the English government were

suspended in the Privy Gallery at Whitehall, and is supposed to have perished by the fire which destroyed that Gallery, in the reign of William the IIIrd. Entick's Gen. Hist. of the Late War, vol. i. p. 169.

* Why this bird received the name it enjoys in England, has never been satisfactorily explained. By the French it was called "coq d'Inde," on account of its American origin; America being then generally termed Western India.

for many years absorbed by the wars and intrigues of the continent; and the innovations in religious doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution that attended its close, found ample employment at home for the minds of the king, and of the great bulk of the people. It was during this reign that the full light of the Reformation broke forth in Germany, and was rapidly diffused over Europe. Henry, at first, resolutely opposed himself to the adversaries of the church of Rome, and even attempted, by his pen, to stem the progress of the innovations. But his subsequent controversy with the Papal See excited and sanctioned a spirit of inquiry among his own subjects, which spread far beyond his expectations and desires, and eluded all his attempts to control and restrain it. A discussion of the pretensions of the church of Rome naturally begot inquiry into her doctrines; for her grand pretensions to infallibility formed the only authority to which many of these doctrines were indebted for their reception. The very art that had been employed (says an ingenious philosopher) to weave the whole of the popish institutions into one coherent system, and to make every superstitious device repose on the authority and conduce to the aggrandisement of the church of Rome, now contributed to accelerate and complete her downfall. In a system so overgrown with abuses, the spirit of inquiry, wherever it obtained admission, could not fail to detect error; and even a single instance of such detection, by loosening the cornerstone of infallibility, shook the whole edifice to its foundation. The progress of this spirit of inquiry exercised a powerful and salutary influence on the character and fortune of every nation in which it gained admission. A subject of intellectual exercise had at length been found, that could interest the dulllest, and engross the most vigorous faculties; the contagion of fervent zeal and earnest inquiry was rapidly propagated; a universal promotion of mind attended the spread of the reformed doctrines, and every nation into which they flowed was elevated in the scale of moral and intellectual being. Introduced into England by the power of a haughty, capricious, and barbarous tyrant, whose object was not the emancipation of his subjects, but the deliverance of himself from a power which he wrested from the Pope only to exercise with his own hands; it was some time before these doctrines worked their way into the minds of the people, and, expelling the corruptions and adulterations of the royal teacher, attained their full maturity of influence and vigor. Besides leavening the national creed with much of the ancient superstition, Henry encumbered the national worship with many of the popish institutions: retaining whatever was calculated to prove a useful auxiliary to royal authority, or to gratify the pomp and pride of his own sensual imagination. In the composition of the ecclesiastical body, he preserved the powerful hierarchy, and in the solemnities of worship the gorgeous ceremonial of the church of Rome. But he found it easier to establish ecclesiastical constitutions, than to limit the stream of human opinion, or stay the heavenly shower by which it was slowly but gradually reinforced and enlarged; and in an after age, the repugnance that manifested itself between the constitution of the English church and the religious sentiments of the English people, produced consequences of very great importance in the history of England and the settlement of America.

The rupture between Henry the VIIIth and the Roman see removed whatever obstacle the popish doctrine to Spain might have interposed to the appropriation of American territory by the English crown: but of the two immediate successors of that monarch, the one neglected this advantage, and the other renounced it. During the reign of Edward the VIth, the court of the royal minor was distracted by faction, or occupied by the war with Scotland; and the attention of the king and people was engrossed by the care of extending and confirming the establishment of the protestant doctrines. Introduced by Henry, and patronized by Edward, these doctrines multiplied their converts with a facility that savored somewhat of the weight of human authority, and the influence of secular interests; till, under the direction of Providence, the same earthly power that had been employed to facilitate the introduction of truth, was permitted to attempt its suppression. The royal authority, which Henry had blindly made subservient to the establishment of the protestant doctrines, was now employed by Mary with equal blindness as an instrument to sift and purify the protestant body, to separate the genuine from the unsound, and to enable the true believers, by more than mortal fortitude, faithfulness, and patience, to make full proof

* Churchill's Collection of Voyages, iii. 211. He composed, on his return, a chart of the whole North American continent. This interesting document (attached to which was a portrait of the Navigator, and a brief account of his voyage) was long

of christian character and divine grace. This prince restoring the connexion between England and the church of Rome, and united in marriage to Philip of Spain, was bound by double ties to refrain from contesting the Spanish claims on America. It was not till the reign of Elizabeth, that the obstacles created by the pretensions of Spain were finally removed, and the prospect of collision with the designs of that power, so far from appearing objectionable, presented the strongest attractions to the minds of the English.

But, although during this long period the occupation of America had been utterly neglected, the naval resources adapted to the formation and maintenance of colonies were diligently cultivated in England, and a vigorous impulse was communicated to the spirit of commercial enterprise. Under the directions of Cabot, in the reign of Henry the VIIIth, the English merchanta visited the coast of Brazil, and traded with the settlements of the Portuguese. In the reign of Edward the VIth, the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, which had been previously established, were extended and encouraged; and an association of adventurers for the discovery of new countries was incorporated by royal charter. Even Mary contributed to promote this direction of the national spirit; she founded the Corporation of Merchants to Russia, and endeavored to protect their traffic, by establishing a friendly relation with the sovereign of that country. During her reign, an attempt highly creditable to the national energy, and not wholly unsuccessful, was made to reach India by land; and a commercial intercourse was established with the coast of Africa. Many symptoms conspired to indicate with what steady vigor and persevering ardor the people of England might be expected to improve every opportunity of exercising and extending their resources, and how high a rank they were destined to hold in the scale of nations, when the strength of their character should be thoroughly developed by the progress of their recent improvement, and the principles and policy of their government should more happily concur with the genius and sentiments of the people.

The Spaniards in the meantime had extended their settlements over the continent of South America, and achieved an extent of conquest and accession of treasure that dazzled the eyes and excited the emulation of all Europe. The more active spirits among the Spanish people, restrained at home by the illiberal genius of their government, eagerly rushed into the outlet of enterprise presented to them on the vast theatre of Mexico and Peru. The paganism of the natives of these regions allured the invasion of bigots long wedded to a faith that recognised compulsion as an instrument of conversion; and their wealth and effeminacy not less powerfully tempted the cupidity of men in whom pride inflamed the desire of riches, while it inspired contempt of industry. Thus every prospect that could address itself prevailing to human desires, or to the peculiarities of Spanish character, contributed to promote that series of rapid and vigorous invasions, by which the Spaniards overran so large a portion of the continent of South America. The real and lasting effect of their acquisitions has corresponded in a manner very satisfactory to the moral eye, with the character and merit of the achievements by which they were earned. The history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the mind of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure—how signally he is capable of misdirecting the energies with which his Creator has endowed him—and how fatally disposed to exercise them more vigorously in the commission of wickedness than the practice of virtue. Wholly revolted from God, in the darkness of a disordered nature, and never wholly returning in this life to an entire subordination, men seem to be capable of obtaining a more perfect co-operation of their active faculties, and more extensive contribution of the resources of their nature to the production of evil than to the prosecution of good.* To consider the courage, the patience, the vigor, the fortitude, evinced by the conquerors of South America, in conjunction with the sordid, unjust, and barbarous ends to which they were made subservient, might degrade these virtues for ever in our esteem, if we did not recollect that energy is the gift of God, and the abuse of it the invention of man; and that genius and valor, even when employed to debase and oppress mankind, are

not more justly obnoxious to reproach, than the wine which often wastes the strength it was given to restore, or the food which sometimes abridges the life it was meant to prolong. The inflexible pride and deliberate tyranny of these adventurers, their arrogant disregard of the rights of human nature, and calm survey of the desolation of empires and destruction of happiness and life, is rendered the more striking and instructive by the humility of their own original circumstances, which seemed to level and unite them by habit and sympathy with the mass of mankind. Whence we reasonably conclude, that the illusions of royalty are not indispensably requisite to distend the heart with pride and to harden it with cruelty, and that Pyrrhus and Alexander were composed of the same materials with Cortes and Pizarro. The conquests of the Spaniards were accomplished with such rapidity, and followed with such barbarous oppression, that a very few years sufficed not only entirely to subjugate, but almost wholly to exterminate, the slothful and effeminate idolaters whom it was the will of God to destroy by their hands. The settlements that were founded in the conquered countries produced, from the nature of the soil, a vast influx of gold and silver into Spain, and finally exercised a most pernicious influence on the liberty, industry, and prosperity of her people. But it was long before the bitter harvest of this golden shower was reaped; and in an age so ignorant of political science, it could not be foreseen through the pomp and renown with which the acquisition of so much empire, and the administration of so much treasure, seemed to invest the Spanish monarchy. The achievements of the original adventurers, embellished by the romantic genius of Spain, and softened by national partiality,* had now occupied the pens of Spanish historians, and excited a thirst for similar projects, and hopes of similar enrichment in every nation where the tidings were made known. The study of the Spanish language, and the acquaintance with Spanish literature which the marriage of Philip and Mary introduced into England, awakened the more active spirits in this country to similar views and projects, and gave to the rising spirit of adventure a strong determination towards the continent of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of the first attempts that the English had ever made to establish a permanent settlement in America. But many causes contributed to enfeeble their exertions for this purpose, and to retard the accomplishment of this great design. The civil government of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign was highly acceptable to her subjects; and her commercial policy, though frequently perverted by the interests of arbitrary power, and the principles of a narrow and erroneous system, was in the main, perhaps, not less laudably designed than judiciously directed to the cultivation of their resources and the promotion of their prosperity. By permitting a free exportation of corn, she promoted at once the agriculture and the commerce of England; and by treaties with foreign powers, she endeavored to establish commercial relations between their subjects and her own.† Sensible how much the strength and safety of the state and the prosperity of the people must depend on a naval force, she took every means to encourage navigation; and so much increased the shipping of the kingdom both by building large vessels herself, and by promoting ship-building among the merchants, that she was styled by her subjects the Restorer of naval glory, and the Queen of the northern seas. Rigidly just in discharging the ancient debts of the crown, as well as in fulfilling all her own engagements, yet forbearing towards her people in the imposition of taxes; frugal in the expenditure of her resources, and yet evincing a steady vigor in the prosecution of well directed projects; the policy of her civil government at once conveyed the wisest lessons to her subjects,

* Truth is proverbially the daughter of Time; and the proverb has been remarkably verified by the progress of human opinion with respect to the conduct of the Spanish conquerors of South America. Some specimens of the ignorance that prevailed at a pretty late period in England on this subject will be found in Note II.

† She obtained from John Basilides, the czar of Muscovy, a patent which conferred the whole trade of his dominions on the English. With this grant the tyrant, who lived in continual dread of a revolt of his subjects, purchased from Elizabeth the assurance of an asylum from their fury in England. But his son Theodore revoked it, and answered to the Queen's remonstrances, that he was determined to rob neither his own subjects nor foreigners by subjecting to monopolies what should be free to all mankind. Camden, p. 493. So superior was the commercial policy which natural justice taught this barbarian, to the system which Elizabeth derived from her boasted learning and renowned ability, and which loaded the freedom and industry of her people with patents, monopolies, and exclusive companies.

and happily concurred with the general frame of their sentiments and character. Perhaps there never was a human being (assuredly never a woman) so little smiable, who, as a sovereign, was so popular and so much respected.

During a reign so favorable to commercial enterprise, the spirit that had been long growing up in the minds of the English was called forth into vigorous and persevering exertion. Under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and conducted by Martin Frobisher, an expedition was despatched for the discovery of a north-west passage to India; but after exploring the coasts of Labrador and Greenland, Frobisher was compelled to return with the tidings of disappointment. [1578.] If the ardor of the English was damped by the result of this enterprise, it was quickly revived by the successful expedition of Sir Francis Drake, who, with a feeble squadron, undertook and accomplished the same enterprise that for sixty years had formed the peculiar glory of the Portuguese navigator Magellan, and obtained for England the honor of being the second nation that had completely circumnavigated the globe. A general enthusiasm was excited by this splendid achievement, and a passion for naval exploits laid hold of the spirits of almost all the eminent leaders of the age.

But still no project of effecting a permanent settlement abroad had been entertained or attempted in England. The happiness that was enjoyed by the subjects of Elizabeth enforced those attractions that bind the hearts of men to their native land, and which are rarely surmounted but by the experience of intolerable hardships at home, or the prospect of sudden enrichment abroad.* But the territory of North America held out none of the allurements that had invited and rewarded the Spanish adventurers; it presented no hopes but of distant gain, and invited no exertions but of patient industry. The prevalence of the protestant doctrines in England, and the increasing influence of a sense of religion on the minds of the people, disinclined many to abandon the only country where the Reformation appeared to be securely established; engrossed the minds of others with schemes for the improvement of the constitution and ritual of their national church; and probably repressed in some ardent spirits the epidemical thirst of adventure, and reconciled them to that moderate competency which the state of society in England rendered easily attainable, and the simplicity of manners preserved from contempt.

But if the immediate influence of religious principle was unfavorable to projects of emigration, it was to the further development of this noble principle that England was soon to be indebted for her greatest and most illustrious colonial establishment. The ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth was far from giving the same general satisfaction that her civil government afforded to her subjects. Inheriting the arrogant temper, the lofty pretensions, and ambitious taste of her father, with little of his zeal and none of his bigotry, religious considerations often mingled with her policy; but religious sentiments had but little, if any, influence on her heart. Like him, she wished to adapt the establishments of christianity to the pomp and vanity of royalised human nature; and by a splendid hierarchy and gorgeous ceremonial, mediate an agreement between the loftiness of her heart and the humility of the gospel. But the persecution that the English protestants had undergone from Mary had not only deepened and purified the religious sentiments of a great body of the people, but associated with many of the ceremonies retained in the national church the idea of popery and the recollection of persecution. This repugnance between the sentiments of the men who now began to be termed puritans, and the ecclesiastical policy of the English government, continued to increase during the whole reign of Elizabeth: but as the influence which it exercised on the colonization of America did not appear till the following reign, I shall defer the further account of it till we come to trace its effects in the rise and progress of the colonies of New England.

During this reign, there was introduced into England a branch of that inhuman traffic in negro slaves, which afterwards engrossed so large a portion of her commercial wealth and adventure, and converted a numerous body of her merchants into a confederacy of robbers, and much of what she termed her trade into

* Who is he that hath judgment, courage, and any industry or quality, with understanding, will leave his country, his hopes at home, his certain estate, his friends, pleasures, liberty, and the preferment that England doth afford to all degrees, were it not to advance his fortunes by enjoying his deserts? Smith's Hist. of Virginia, &c. B. vi.

* If some examples in the history of the world, and even in the colonization of (Northern) America, seem to dispute this position, they can only turn a universal into a general maxim.

acts of deliberate fraud and atrocious violence. The first Englishman who brought this guilt upon himself and his country was Sir John Hawkins, who afterwards attained so much nautical celebrity, and was created an admiral and treasurer of the British navy. His father, an expert English seaman, having made several voyages to the coast of Guinea, and from thence to Brazil and the West Indies, had acquired considerable knowledge of these countries, which he transmitted to his son in the copious journals of his voyages and observations, which he left behind him at his death. In these compositions he described the soil of America and the West Indies as endowed with extraordinary richness and fertility, but utterly neglected from the want of cultivators. The natives of Europe were represented as unequal to the toil of agriculture in so sultry a climate; but those of Africa as peculiarly well adapted to this employment. Forcibly struck with these remarks, Hawkins deduced from them the project of transporting Africans into the western world; and having drawn up a plan for the execution of this design, he laid it before some of his opulent neighbors, and solicited their approbation and concurrence. A subscription was opened and speedily completed by Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, and others, who plainly perceived the vast emolument that might be derived from such a traffic. By their assistance Hawkins was enabled to set sail for Africa in the year 1562, and, having reached Sierra Leone,* he began his commerce with the negroes. While he trafficked with them in the usual articles of barter, he took occasion to give them an inviting description of the country to which he was bound, contrasting the fertility of its soil and the enjoyments of its inhabitants with the barrenness of Africa and the poverty of the African tribes. Finding that the unsuspecting negroes listened to him with implicit belief, and were greatly delighted with the European luxuries and ornaments which he displayed to them, he offered, if any of them were willing to exchange their destitute circumstances for a happier condition, to transport them to this more bountiful region, where he assured them of a kind reception, and of an ample participation of the luxuries with which he had made them acquainted, as the certain recompense of easy labor. The negroes were ensnared by his flattering promises, and three hundred of them, accepting his offer, consented to embark along with him for Hispaniola. On the night before their embarkation, they were attacked by a hostile tribe; and Hawkins hastening with his crew to their assistance, repulsed the assailants, and carried a number of them as prisoners on board his vessels. The next day he set sail with his mixed cargo of human creatures, and during the passage treated the negroes who had voluntarily accompanied him in a different manner from his prisoners of war. On his arrival at Hispaniola he disposed of the whole cargo to great advantage, and endeavored to inculcate on the Spaniards who bought the negroes, the same distinction in the treatment of them which he himself had observed. But having now put the fulfilment of his promises out of his own power, it was not permitted to him so to limit the evil consequences of his perfidy; and the Spaniards having purchased all the Africans at the same rate, considered them as slaves of the same condition, and consequently treated them all alike.

When Hawkins returned to England with a rich freight of pearls, sugar, and ginger, which he had received in exchange for his slaves, the success of his voyage excited universal interest and curiosity respecting this novel and extraordinary description of trade. At first the nation was shocked with the barbarous aspect of a traffic in the persons of men; and the public feeling having penetrated into the court, the queen sent for Hawkins to inquire in what manner this new branch of commerce was conducted; declaring to him that "if any of the Africans were carried away without their own consent, it would be detestable, and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertakers." Hawkins, in reply, assured her that no expedition where he had the command should any of the natives of Africa be carried away without their own free will and consent, except such captives as might be taken in war; and he declared that so far from feeling any scruple concerning the justice of his undertaking, he considered it an act of humanity to carry men from a worse condition to a better; from a state of heathen barbarism

to an opportunity of sharing the blessings of civil society and the christian religion. It is believed, indeed, and seems consonant with probability, that Hawkins, so far from intending that the negroes whom he sold should be consigned to a state of perpetual slavery, expected that they would be advanced to the condition of free servants whenever their labors had yielded to their masters an equivalent for the expense of their purchase. The queen appeared to be satisfied with his account, and dismissed him with the assurance that, while he and his associates acted with humanity and justice, they should enjoy her countenance and protection.

The very next voyage that Hawkins undertook, demonstrated still more clearly the deceitfulness of that union which he had applied to his conscience, and the futility even of those intentions of which the fulfilment seemed to depend entirely on himself. In his passage he met with an English ship of war, which joined itself to the expedition, and accompanied him to the coast of Africa. On his arrival, he began as formerly to traffic with the negroes, and endeavored, by reiteration of his former topics of persuasion, to induce them to embark in his vessels. But they had now become reserved and jealous of his designs, and as none of their neighbors had returned, they were apprehensive that the English had killed and devoured them; a supposition which, however offensive to the English, did greatly and erroneously extenuate the inhumanity of which they had been actually guilty. The crew of the ship of war, observing the Africans backward and suspicious, began to deride the gentle and dilatory methods of proceeding to which Hawkins confined himself, and proposed having immediate recourse to violence and compulsion. The sailors belonging to his own fleet joined with the crew of the man of war, and, applauding the proposal, began to make preparations for carrying it into effect. Hawkins protested against such unwarrantable cruelty, and vainly endeavored to prevail on them to desist from their purpose; the instructions of the queen and the dictates of conscience were ineffectually cited to men whom he had initiated in piracy and injustice, and who were not able to discover the moral superiority of calm treachery over undisguised violence. They pursued their design, and after several unsuccessful attacks, in which many of them lost their lives, the cargo was at length completed by force and barbarity. Such was the origin of the English branch of the slave trade, which I have related the more minutely, not only on account of the remarkable and instructive circumstance that attended the commencement of the practice, [See Note 1] but on account of the influence which it subsequently exercised on the colonization and condition of some of the provinces of North America.

The spirit of adventure which had been excited in England found a more inviting scene for its exertion in the southern than in the northern regions of America: and when, after twenty years of peace, Elizabeth was involved in hostilities with Philip, the prospect of enrichment and renown by the plunder of the Spanish colonies opened a new career, which was eagerly embraced and successfully prosecuted by the enterprising spirit of adventurers of all ranks in England. Accordingly, for many years, the most eminent and popular exploits of the English were performed in the predatory wars which they waged with the colonies and colonial commerce of Spain. Even in scenes so unfavorable to the production or display of the better qualities of human nature, the manly character and moral superiority of the English were frequently and signally evinced. Drake and many others of the adventurers in the same career were men equally superior to avarice and fear, and who, how willing soever to encounter danger in quest of wealth, thought it not valuable enough to be obtained by cruelty or fraud.

And yet it was to this spirit, so unfavorable to industrious colonization, and so strongly attracted to a more congenial sphere in the south, that North America was indebted for the first attempt to colonize her territory. Thus irregular and incalculable (to created wisdom) is the influence of human passions on the stream of human affairs.

The most illustrious adventurer in England was Sir Walter Raleigh, a man endowed with brilliant genius, unbounded ambition, and unconquerable activity; whose capacious mind, strongly impregnated with the enthusiasm, credulity, and sanguine expectation peculiar to the age, no single project, however vast, could fill, and whose ardent spirit no single enterprise, however arduous, could absorb. The extent of his capacity combined acquisitions that are commonly

esteemed remote, and almost incompatible with each other. He was, at once, the most industrious scholar and the most accomplished courtier of his age; a profound and indefatigable projector, yet a gallant soldier; so contemptible (says an old writer) that he might have been judged unfit for action; so active that he seemed to have no leisure for speculation. Whatever was sublime and brilliant, touched his kindred soul; and whatever he undertook, he seemed to have been born for. Uncontrolled by steady principle and sober calculation, his fancy and his passions so far prevailed over his moral sentiments, as sometimes to sully his character,* and something of the boundless and transcendent so mingled with his designs, as frequently to mar his conduct, and discomfit his undertakings. But, though adversity might cloud his fortunes, it could never depress his spirit, or strip his genius of a single ray. The frustration of his efforts and the wreck of his projects served only to display the exhaustless opulence and indestructible vigor of that mind, of which no accumulation of disaster nor variety of discouragement could either repress the ardor or narrow the range. Amidst disappointment and impoverishment, pursued by royal hatred, and forsaken by his popularity, he continued to project and attempt the foundation of empires; and in old age and a prison he composed the History of the World. Perhaps there never was a distinguished reputation so much indebted to genius, and so little to success. So powerful indeed is the association that connects merit with success, and yet so strong the claim of Raleigh to evade the censure that this rule implies, that it is with the greatest difficulty that, even amidst uninterrupted disaster, we can bring ourselves to consider him an unsuccessful man. He had unfortunately adopted the maxim that "whatever is not extraordinary, is nothing;"† and his mind (till the last scene of his life) was not sufficiently pervaded by religion to recognize that nobility of purpose which ennobles the commonest actions, and directs to the attainment of a dignity that consist less in performing things great in themselves, than in doing ordinary things with an extraordinary elevation of soul. Whatever judgment may be formed of his character, we must acknowledge that in genius he was worthy of the honor which he may perhaps be considered to have attained, of originating the settlements that grew up into the North American republic.

In conjunction with his half-brother and kindred spirit, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Raleigh projected the establishment of a colony in that quarter of America which Cabot had visited; and a patent for this purpose was procured without difficulty in favor of Gilbert, from Elizabeth. [1578] This patent authorized him to discover and appropriate all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by christian powers, and to hold them of the crown of England, with the obligation of paying the fifth part of the produce of all gold or silver mines; it permitted the subjects of Elizabeth to accompany the expedition,‡ and guaranteed to them a continuance of the enjoyment of all the rights of free denizens of England; it invested Gilbert with the powers of civil and criminal legislation over all the inhabitants of the territory he might occupy; but with this provision, that his laws should be framed with as much conformity as possible to the statutes and policy of England, and should not derogate from the supreme allegiance due

* One of the most formidable charges to which the character of Raleigh has been exposed is derived from the monstrous fictions with which his account of Guiana is replete. But Hume and the other writers who have loaded him with the guilt of these fictions have very unfairly omitted to notice that not one of them is related on his own authority. He has merely repeated (no doubt in a manner very little creditable to his own judgment) the fables that were related to him by the natives with whom he conversed. Savages and barbarians are very prone to practise such deceptions upon travellers. The Barbary Moors not only described a petrifed city to Bruce, but persisted in their story till they came near to the place.

† Lloyd, 671. This will remind the classical reader of the vision of aliquid immensum infinitumque, that warmed the fancy of Cicero, but could not actuate his disposition or influence his conduct with the same power which it exerted over the conceptions, the undertakings, and the fortunes of Raleigh. To the Englishman may, with equal justice, be applied that beautiful apostrophe to the memory of the Roman—"admirabile posteros vigebris ingenium; et uno proscriptus sæculo, proscribit tyrannum omnibus."

‡ Strange as it may appear, this provision was absolutely necessary to evade the obstruction of the existing law of England. By the ancient law, as declared in the Great Charter of King John, all men might go freely out of the kingdom, saving their faith due to the king. But no such clause appears in the charter of his successor; and during the reign of Elizabeth it was enacted, that any subject departing the realm without a license under the Great Seal should forfeit his personal estate, and lose the profits of his lands for life. 23 Eliz. cap. III. Even now a king of England may enjoin any of his subjects not to leave the kingdom, or having left it, to return, and enforce his injunction by the severest penalties.

* It is remarkable that this should be the very spot where, two centuries after, the most distinguished efforts of the English have been made to promote the liberty and happiness of the Africans.

to the English crown. The endurance of this patent, in so far as related to the appropriation of territory, was limited to six years; and all persons were prohibited from establishing themselves within two hundred leagues of any spot which the adventurers might occupy during that period.

The extraordinary powers thus committed to the leader of the expedition did not prevent the accession of a numerous body of subordinate adventurers. Gilbert had gained distinction by his services both in France and Ireland; and the weight of his character concurring with the spirit of the times, and powerfully aided by the zeal of Raleigh, whose admirable genius peculiarly fitted him to obtain an ascendancy over the minds of men, and to spread the contagion of his own enthusiasm, soon collected a sufficient body of associates, and effected the equipment of the first expedition of British emigrants to America. But in the composition of this body there were elements very ill fitted to establish an infant society on a solid or respectable basis; the officers were disunited, the crew licentious and ungovernable; and happily for the credit of England, it was not the will of Providence that the adventurers should gain a footing in any new region. Gilbert approaching the continent too far towards the north, was dismayed by the inhospitable aspect of the coast of Cape Breton; his largest vessel was shipwrecked; [1580] and two voyages, in the last of which he himself perished, finally terminated in the frustration of the enterprise and dispersion of the adventurers.*

But the ardor of Raleigh, neither daunted by difficulties nor damped by miscarriage, and continually refreshed by the suggestions of a fertile and uncurbed imagination, was incapable of abandoning a project that had gained his favor and exercised his genius. Applying to the queen, in whose esteem he then held a distinguished place, he easily prevailed with her to grant him a patent, in all respects similar to that which had been previously intrusted to Gilbert. [1584.] Not less prompt in executing than intrepid in projecting his schemes, Raleigh quickly despatched two small vessels commanded by Amadas and Barlow, to visit the districts he intended to occupy, and to examine the accommodations of their coasts, the productions of the soil, and the circumstances of the inhabitants. These officers, avoiding the error of Gilbert in holding too far north, steered their course by the Canaries, and, approaching the North American continent by the Gulf of Florida, anchored in Roanoke bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Worthy of the trust reposed in them, they behaved with great courtesy to the inhabitants, whom they found living in all the rude independence and laborless, but hardly, simplicity of savage life, and of whose hospitality, as well as of the mildness of the climate and fertility of the soil, they published the most flattering accounts on their return to England. The intelligence diffused general satisfaction, and was so agreeable to Elizabeth, that, in exercise of the parents she proposed to assume over the country, and as a memorial that this acquisition originated with a virgin queen, she thought proper to bestow on it the name of Virginia.

This encouraging prospect not only quickened the diligence of Raleigh, but, by its influence on the public mind, enabled him the more rapidly to complete his preparations for a permanent settlement; and he was soon enabled to equip and despatch a squadron of seven ships under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the most generous spirits of the time, and eminent for valor in the age of the brave. But this gallant leader unfortunately was more infected with the spirit of predatory enterprise then so prevalent among the English, than endued with the qualities which his peculiar duty required; and commencing his expedition by cruising among the West India islands and capturing the vessels of Spain, he familiarized his followers to habits and views very remote from pacific industry, patience, and moderation. At length he landed a hundred and eight men [Aug. 1585] at Ro-

anoke, and left them there to attempt, as they best could, the arduous task of founding and maintaining a social establishment. The command of this feeble body was committed to Captain Lane, assisted by some persons of note; of whom the most eminent were Amadas, who had conducted the former voyage, and Thomas Hariot, the celebrated improver of algebraical calculation, a man whose sense and virtue might have saved the colony, if they had been aided by his associates, and whose unremitting endeavors to instruct the savages, and diligent inquiries into their habits and character, by adding to the stock of human knowledge, and by extending the example of virtue, rendered the expedition not wholly unproductive of benefit to mankind, and honor to their Creator. The selection of such a man to accompany and partake the enterprise reflects additional honor on his friend and patron Raleigh. Hariot endeavored to avail himself of the admiration expressed by the savages for the guns, the clock, the telescopes, and other implements that attested the superiority of the colonists, in order to lead their minds to the great Source of all sense and science. But while they hearkened to his instructions, they accommodated their import to their own depraved notions of Divine Nature; they acknowledged that the God of the strangers was more powerful and more beneficent to his people than the deities they served, and discovered a great anxiety to touch and embrace the Bible, and apply it to their breasts and heads.* In the hands of an artful or superstitious priest, such practices, and dispositions would probably have produced a plentiful crop of pretended miracles and imaginary cures, and terminated in an exchange of superstition, instead of a renovation of nature. But Hariot was incapable of flattering or deceiving the savages by encouraging their idolatry and merely changing its direction: he labored to convince them that salvation was to be attained by acquiescence with the contents of the Bible, and not by an ignorant veneration of the exterior of the book. By these labors, which were too soon interrupted, and which have obtained but little notice from the historians of the visible kingdoms of this world, he succeeded in making such impression on the minds of the Indians, that Wingina, the king, when attacked by a severe disorder, rejected the assistance of his own priests, and sent to beg the attendance and prayers of the English; and his example was followed by many of his subjects.

But unfortunately for the stability of the settlement, the majority of the colonists were much less distinguished by piety or prudence than by a vehement impatience to acquire sudden wealth: their first pursuit was gold; and smitten with the persuasion that every part of America was pervaded by the mines that enriched the Spanish colonies, their chief efforts were directed to the discovery and attainment of treasures that happily had no existence. The natives soon discovering the object which they sought with such avidity, amused them with tales of a neighboring country abounding in mines, and where pearl was so plentiful, that even the walls of the houses glittered with it. Eagerly listening to these agreeable fictions, the adventurers consumed their time and endured amazing hardships in pursuit of a phantom, to the utter neglect of the means of providing for their future subsistence. The detection of the imposture produced mutual suspicion and disgust between them and the savages, and finally led to open enmity and acts of bloodshed. The stock of provisions brought from England was exhausted; the additional supplies they had been taught to expect did not arrive; and the hostility of the Indians left them no other dependence than on the precarious resources of the woods and rivers. Thus straitened for provisions and surrounded by enemies, the colonists were reduced to the extremity of distress and danger, when a prospect of deliverance was unexpectedly presented to them by the arrival of Sir Francis Drake with a fleet which he was conducting home from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Drake agreed to furnish them with a reinforcement to their numbers, and a liberal supply of provisions; and if this had been effected, it seems probable that, from the ample aid soon after transmitted by Raleigh, the colonists might have been able to maintain their footing in America. But Drake's intentions were frustrated by a violent storm which carried out to sea the very ship which he had freighted with these necessary supplies. And as he could not afford to weaken his fleet by a further contribution for their

defence or subsistence, the adventurers, now completely exhausted and discouraged, unanimously determined to abandon the country. In compliance with their united request, Drake accordingly received them on board his vessels, and reconducted them to England. [1586.] Such was the abortive issue of the first colony planted by the English in America.

Of the political consequences that resulted from this expedition, the catalogue, though not very copious, is by no means devoid of interest. An important accession was made to the scanty stock of knowledge respecting North America; the spirit of mining adventure received a signal check; and the use of tobacco, already introduced by the Spaniards and Portuguese into other parts of Europe, was now imported into England. This herb the Indians esteemed their principal medicine, and ascribed its virtues to the inhabitation of one of those spiritual beings which they supposed to reside in all the extraordinary productions of nature. Lane and his associates, acquiring a relish for its properties, brought a quantity of tobacco with them to England, and taught the use of it to their countrymen. Raleigh eagerly adopted, and with the help of some young men of fashion, encouraged the practice, which soon established and spread itself with a vigor that outran the help of courtiers, and defied the hindrance of kings, and, creating a new and almost universal appetite in human nature, formed an important source of revenue to England and multiplied the ties that united Europe with America.*

But the disasters that attended this unsuccessful undertaking did not terminate with the return of Lane and his followers to England. A few days after their departure from Roanoke, a vessel, despatched by Raleigh, reached the evacuated settlement with a plentiful supply of whatever they could require; and only a fortnight after this bark set sail to return from its fruitless voyage, a still stronger reinforcement of men and provisions arrived in three ships equipped by Raleigh, and commanded by Sir Richard Grenville. Disappointed of meeting the vessel that had preceded him, and unable to obtain any tidings of the colony, yet unwilling to abandon the possession of the country, Grenville landed fifty men at Roanoke, and leaving them in possession of an ample supply of provisions, returned to England to communicate the state of affairs and obtain further directions.

This succession of disasters excited much gloomy speculation and superstitious surmise in England, but could neither vanquish the hopes nor exhaust the resources of Raleigh. In the following year [1587] he fitted out and despatched three ships under the command of Captain White, with directions to join the small body that Grenville had established at Roanoke, and thence to transfer the settlement to the bay of Chesapeake, of which the superior advantages had been discovered in the preceding year by Lane. A charter of incorporation was granted to White and twelve of his more eminent associates, as Governor and Assistants of the city of Raleigh, in Virginia. Instructed by the calamities that had befallen the former expeditions, more efficacious means were adopted in the equipment of this squadron for preserving and continuing the colony. The stock of provisions was more abundant; the number of men greater, and the means of recruiting their numbers afforded by a competent intermixture of women. But the full extent of the preceding calamities had yet to be learned: and on landing at Roanoke in quest of the detachment that Grenville had placed there, White and his companions could find no other trace of them than the significant memorial presented by a ruined fort and a parcel of scattered bones. The apprehensions excited by this melancholy spectacle were confirmed by the intelligence of a friendly native, who informed them that their countrymen had fallen victims to the enmity of the Indians. Instructed rather than discouraged by this calamity, they endeavored to effect a reconciliation with the savages; and, determining to remain at Roanoke, they proceeded to repair the houses and revive the colony. One of the natives was baptised into the christian faith, and, retaining an unshaken attachment to the English, contributed his efforts to pacify and conciliate his countrymen. But finding themselves destitute of many articles which they judged essential to their comfort and preservation in a country covered

* Hakluyt, iii. 143. Hakluyt has preserved (p. 11) a very masterly performance from the pen of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, entitled "A Discourse to prove a passage by the northwest, to the East Indies," &c. The style of this treatise places this author on a level with the most distinguished writers of his age. In the House of Commons he was highly admired for his eloquence, and not less esteemed for his patriotism and integrity. The most admirable feature in his character was his strong and fervent piety. In the extremity of danger at sea, he was observed sitting unmoved in the stern of his ship with a Bible in his hand, and often heard to say, "Courage, my lads! we are as near heaven at sea as at land."

† Smith, B. i. Robertson has erroneously stated the number at a hundred and eighty.

* Hariot, apud Smith, B. i. p. 11. Hariot has not escaped the imputation of deism. But from this charge he was defended by Bishop Corbet, who declared that "Hariot's deep mine was without dross," Stith, p. 20.

* In the year 1622, that is, thirty-six years after its first introduction into England, and seven years after its first cultivation in an English colony, the annual import of tobacco into England amounted to an hundred and forty-two thousand and eighty-five pounds weight. Stith, p. 246. Yet this quantity appears quite insignificant when compared with the present consumption of tobacco in Britain.

with forests and peopled only by a few scattered tribes of savages, the colonists deputed their governor to solicit for them the requisite supplies; and White proceeded for this purpose to England. On his voyage thither, he touched at a port in Ireland, where he is said to have left some specimens of the potatoe plant which he had brought with him from America. But whether this memorable importation was due to him, or, as some writers have maintained, to certain of the earlier associates of Raleigh's adventures, it must be acknowledged that to the enterprise of Raleigh and the soil of America Great Britain is indebted for her acquaintance with the potatoe, and with tobacco, the staple article of diet, and the most cherished as well as most innocent luxury of a great proportion of her people.

White arrived at a juncture the most unfavorable for the success of his mission. All England was now engrossed with the more immediate concern of self-preservation: the formidable armada of Spain was preparing to invade her, and the whole naval and military resources of the empire were under requisition for the purposes of national defence. The hour of his country's danger could not fail to find ample employment for the generous spirit of Raleigh: yet he mingled with his distinguished efforts to repel the enemy some exertions for the preservation of the colony he had planted. For this purpose, he had with his usual promptitude equipped a small squadron which he committed to the conduct of Sir Richard Grenville, when the queen interposed to detain the ships of force, and to prohibit Grenville from leaving England at such a crisis. [1588.] White, however, was enabled to reembark for America with two vessels; but yielding to the temptation of trying his fortune by the way, in a cruise against the Spaniards, he was beaten by a superior force, and totally disabled from pursuing his voyage. The colony at Roanoke was therefore left to depend on its own feeble resources, which probably the hope of foreign succour contributed to render the less available. What its fate was may be easily guessed, but never was known. [1589.] An expedition conducted by White in the following year found the territory evacuated of the colonists, and no further tidings of their destiny were ever obtained.

This last expedition was not despatched by Raleigh, but by his successors in the American patent. And our history is now to take leave of that illustrious man, with whose schemes and enterprises it ceases to have any further connexion. The ardor of his mind was not exhausted, but diverted by a multiplicity of new and not less arduous undertakings. Intent on peopling and improving a large district in Ireland which the queen had conferred on him; involved in the conduct of a scheme, and expense of an armament for establishing Don Antonio on the throne of Portugal; and already revolving his last and wildest project of an expedition for the discovery of mines in Guiana; it became impossible for him to continue the attention and prolong the efforts he had devoted to his Virginia colony. Desirous, at the same time, that a project which he had carried so far should not be entirely abandoned, and hoping that the spirit of commerce would preserve an intercourse with Virginia that might terminate in a colonial establishment, he consented to assign his patent to Sir Thomas Smith, and a company of merchants in London, who undertook to establish and maintain a traffic between England and Virginia. The patent which he thus transferred had already cost him the enormous sum of 40,000*l.*, without affording him the slightest return of pecuniary profit: yet the only personal consideration for which he stipulated with the assignees was a small share of whatever gold or silver ore they might eventually discover. It is impossible to consider the fate of this his earliest and most illustrious project—the unrivalled genius to which it owed its conception—the steady vigor with which it was pursued—the insurmountable patience with which it was revived from disaster and disappointment—and the surprising train of incidents by which the design was so often baffled, and success only brought so near, that it might seem as if by some fatality to elude his grasp, without acknowledging that the course of this world is overruled by a higher Power than the wisdom of man, and that human exertion has, in itself, no efficacy to accomplish its designs. The same Almighty Being that enables created agency to advance a certain length, enjoins that it prevails no farther; and is glorified alike by the magnitude of human efforts, and the failure of human designs.

It appeared very soon that Raleigh had transferred his patent to hands very different from his own. The

last mentioned expedition, which was productive of nothing but tidings of the destruction of those adventurers whom White had conducted, was the most considerable effort that the London company performed. Satisfied with a paltry traffic carried on by a few small vessels, they made no attempt to take possession of the country: and at the period of Elizabeth's death, not a single Englishman was settled in America. The exertions of Raleigh, however, had united the views and hopes of his countrymen, by a strong association, with settlements in Virginia, and given a bias to the national mind which only the encouragement of more favorable circumstances was wanting to develop. But the war with Spain, that endured till the close of Elizabeth's reign, allured men of enterprise and activity into the career of predatory adventure, and obstructed the formation of peaceable and commercial settlements.

[1603.] The accession of James to the English crown, was by a singular coincidence, an event no less favorable to the colonization of America, than fatal to the illustrious projector of this design. Peace was immediately concluded with Spain; and England, in the enjoyment of uninterrupted tranquillity, was enabled to direct to more bloodless pursuits the energies matured in a war which had strongly excited the spirit of the nation without impairing its strength. From the inability of government in that age to collect and blend all the resources and wield with its own hand all the disposable force of the empire, war was chiefly productive of a series of partial efforts and privateering expeditions, which widely diffused the allurements of ambition, and multiplied the opportunities of advancement. This had been remarkably exemplified in the war with Spain; and many ardent spirits to which it had supplied opportunities of animating exertion and flattering ascendancy became impatient of the restraint and inactivity to which the peace consigned them, and began to look abroad for a new sphere of enterprise and exertion.

The prevalence of this disposition naturally led to a revival of the projects for colonizing North America, and was the more readily guided into that direction by the success of a voyage that had been undertaken in the last year of Elizabeth's reign. Bartholomew Gosnold, who planned and performed this voyage in a small vessel containing only thirty men, was led by his experience in navigation to suspect that the right track had not yet been discovered, and that in steering by the Canary Islands and the Gulf of Florida, a circuit of at least a thousand leagues was unnecessarily made. In prosecution of this conjecture, he abandoned the southern track, and, steering more to the westward, was the first who reached America by this directer course. He found himself further north than any of Raleigh's colonists had gone, and landing in the region which now forms the province of Massachusetts* bay, he carried on an advantageous trade with the natives, and freighted his vessel with abundance of rich peltry. He visited two adjacent islands, one of which he named Martha's Vineyard, the other Elizabeth's Island. The aspect of the country appeared so inviting, and the climate so salubrious, that twelve of the crew at first determined to remain there: but reflecting on the melancholy fate of the colonists at Roanoke, their resolution failed; and the whole party reluctantly quitting this agreeable quarter, returned to England after an absence of less than four months.

The report of this voyage produced a strong impression on the public mind, and led to important consequences. Gosnold had discovered a route that greatly shortened the voyage to North America, and found a healthy climate, a fertile soil, and a coast abounding with excellent harbours. He had seen many fruits esteemed in Europe growing plentifully in the woods; and having sown some European grain, had found it grow with rapidity and vigor. Encouraged by his success, and perhaps not insensible to the hope of finding gold and silver or some new and lucrative subject of commerce in the unexplored interior of so fine a country, he endeavored to procure associates in an undertaking to transport a colony to America. Similar plans began to be formed in various parts of the kingdom; but the spirit of adventure was controlled by a salutary caution awakened by the recollection of past disappointments.

These projects were powerfully aided by the judicious counsel and zealous encouragement of Richard

* He appears to have been the second Englishman who landed in New England. The first was Sir Francis Drake, who remained there a few days and traded with the natives in his return from the West Indies in 1586. It is even said that Drake persuaded one of the Indian chiefs of that region to declare his territories subject to queen Elizabeth. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i. 25.

Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, the correspondent of the leaders who conducted them, and the historian of the exploits they gave rise to. [1603.] By his persuasion two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, and despatched to examine the discoveries of Gosnold, and verify his statement. They returned with an ample confirmation of his veracity. [1605.] A similar expedition was equipped and despatched by Lord Arundel of Wardour, which not only produced additional testimony to the same effect, but reported so many additional particulars in favor of the country, that all doubts were removed; and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful, to attempt a settlement being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for his sanction of the plan and the interposition of his authority towards its execution.

The attention of James had been already directed to the advantages that might be derived from colonies, at the time when he attempted to civilize the more barbarous clans of his ancient subjects by planting detachments of industrious traders in the Highlands of Scotland. Well pleased to resume a favorite speculation, and willing to encourage a scheme that opened a safe and peaceful career to the active genius of his new subjects, he listened readily to the application, and, highly commending the plan, acceded to the wishes of its projectors. Letters patent were issued [1606,] to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates, granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, together with all islands situated within a hundred miles of their shores. The design of the patentees is declared to be "to make habitation, plantation, and to deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America commonly called Virginia;" and, as the main recommendation of the design, it set forth, that "so noble a work may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his Divine Majesty, in propagating of christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The patentees were required to divide themselves into two distinct companies, the one consisting of London adventurers, termed the first or southern colony, the second or northern colony composed of merchants belonging to Plymouth and Bristol. The territory appropriated to the first or southern colony was generally called Virginia, and retained that appellation after the second or northern colony obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The adventurers were authorized to transport to their respective territories as many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, and to make shipments of arms and provisions for their use, with exemption from customs for the space of seven years. The colonists and their children were to enjoy the same liberties and privileges in the American settlements as if they had remained or were born in England.* The administration of each of the colonies was committed to two boards of council; the supreme government being vested in a board resident in England, to be nominated by the king, and directed by such ordinances as he might enact for their use; and the subordinate jurisdiction devolving on a colonial council equally indebted to the appointment and subjected to the instructions of the king. Liberty to search for and open mines (which, under all the feudal governments, were supposed to have been originally reserved by the sovereign), was conferred on the colonists, with an appropriation of part of the produce to the crown; and the more valuable privilege of unrestrained liberty of trade with other nations was also extended to them. The president and council within the colonies were authorised to levy duties on foreign commodities, which, for twenty-one years, were to be applied to the use of the adventurers, and afterwards to be paid into the royal exchequer.

* This provision (whether suggested by the caution of the prince or the apprehension of the colonists) occurs in almost all the colonial charters. It is, however, omitted in the most accurate of them all, the charter of Pennsylvania, which was attentively revised and adjusted by that eminent lawyer the Lord Keeper Guildford. When King William was about to renew the charter of Massachusetts, after the Revolution, he was advised by the ablest lawyers in England that such a provision was nugatory; the law necessarily inferring that the colonists were Englishmen, and both entitled to the rights and burdened with the duties attached to that character. Chalmers's Annals, p. 15.

The terms of this charter strongly illustrates both the character of the monarch who granted, and the designs of the persons who procured it. Neither of these parties seem to have intended or foreseen the foundation of a great and opulent society. The arbitrary spirit of the royal grantor is discernible in the subjection of the emigrant body to a corporation in which they were not represented, and over whose deliberations they had no control. There is likewise a manifest inconsistency between the reservation to the colonists of all the privileges of Englishmen, and the assumption of legislative power by the king, the control of whose legislative functions constitutes the most valuable political privilege that Englishmen enjoy. But we have no reason to suppose that the charter was unacceptable to the patentees; on the contrary, its most objectionable provisions are not more congenial to the character of the king than conformable to the views which the leading members of that body plainly appear to have adopted. Their object (notwithstanding the more liberal designs professed in the charter) was rather to explore the continent and appropriate its treasures by the agency of a body of adventurers over whom they retained a complete control, than to establish a permanent and extensive settlement. The instructions to the colonial governors which accompanied the second shipment sent out by the London company demonstrated (very disagreeably to the wiser emigrants, and very injuriously to the rest), that the chief objects of their concern were not patient industry and colonization, but territorial discovery and immediate gain. In furtherance of these views they took care, by mixing no women with the first emigrants, to retain the colony in dependence upon England for its supplies of men, and to give free scope to the cupidity and the roving spirit of minds undivided by the hopes and unfixed by the comforts and attachments of domestic life.

Lightly as we must esteem the wisdom and liberality of James's institutions, it will enhance our estimate of the difficulty of his task, and abate our censure of his performance, if we compare him as a maker of constitutions with the most eminent philosopher that England has produced, aided too by the knowledge and experience of an additional century. The materials for this judgment will be supplied when the progress of our history shall have reached the settlement of Carolina. but I will venture to anticipate it by affirming, that, unfortunately for the credit of philosophy, the production of James will rather gain than lose by comparison with the performance of Locke.

The king appears to have been more honestly occupied with genuine colonizing ideas than the patentees. While their leaders were employed in making preparations to secure the benefits of the grant, James was assiduously engaged in the task, which his vanity rendered a rich enjoyment, and the too well guarded liberties of England a rare one, of digesting a code of laws for the colonies that were about to be planted. This code being at length prepared, was issued under the sign manual and privy seal of England. [1606.] It enjoined the preaching of the gospel and the observance of divine worship, in conformity with the doctrines and rites of the church of England. The legislative and executive powers within the colonies were vested in the colonial councils; but with this important provision, that laws originating there should in substance be consonant to the English laws, that they should continue in force only till modified or repealed by the king or the supreme council in England, and that their penal inflictions should not extend to death or demerit. Persons attempting to withdraw the people from their allegiance to the English crown were to be imprisoned; or, in cases highly aggravated, to be remitted for trial to England. Tumults, mutiny, and rebellion, murder and incest, were to be punished with death; and for these the criminal was to be tried by a jury. Inferior crimes were to be punished in a summary way at the discretion of the president and council. Lands were to be holden by the same tenures that were established in England; but for five years after the settlement of each colony, a community of labor and gains was to have place among the colonists. Kindness to the heathen, and the communication of religious instruction to them, were enjoined. And finally, a power was reserved to the king and his successors to enact further laws, provided they should be consistent with the jurisprudence of England.

These regulations in the main are creditable to the sovereign who enacted them. No attempt was made nor right pretended to legislate for the Indian tribes; and if the ancient territories which they rather claimed

than occupied, were appropriated and disposed of without any regard to their pretensions, at least, no jurisdiction was assumed over their actions, and, in point of personal liberty, they were regarded as an independent people. This was an advance in equity beyond the practice of the Spaniards, and the ideas of queen Elizabeth, whose patents asserted the jurisdiction of the English crown and of the colonial laws over the old as well as the new inhabitants of her projected colonies. In the criminal legislation of this code, we may observe a distinction which trial by jury has enabled to prevail over that ingenious and perhaps necessary principle of ancient colonial policy, which intrusted the proconsular governors with the power of inflicting death, but restrained them from awarding less formidable penalties, as more likely to give scope to the operation of interest or caprice. If the charter evinced a total disregard of political liberty, the code, by introducing trial by jury, interwove with the very origin of society a habit and practice well adapted to keep alive the spirit and principles of freedom.

The London company, to which the plantation of the southern colony was committed applied themselves immediately to the formation of a settlement. But though many persons of distinction were included among the proprietors, their funds at first were scanty, and their first efforts proportionably feeble. Three small vessels, of which the largest did not exceed a hundred tons burthen, under the command of Captain Newport, formed the first squadron that was to execute what had been so long and so vainly attempted, and sailed [Dec.] with a hundred and five men destined to remain in America. Several of these were of distinguished families, particularly George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland; and several were officers of reputation, of whom we may notice Bartholomew Gosnold the navigator, and Captain John Smith, one of the most remarkable persons of an age that was prolific of memorable men.

Thus at length, after a research fraught with perplexity and disappointment, but I hope not devoid of interest, into the sources of the great transatlantic commonwealth, we have reached the first inconsiderable spring, whose progress, feebly opposed to innumerable obstructions, and nearly diverted in its very outset, yet always continuous, expands under the eye of patient inquiry into the majestic stream of American population. After the lapse of a hundred and ten years from the discovery of the continent by Cabot, and twenty-two years after its first occupation by Raleigh, were the number of the English colonists limited to a hundred and five; and this handful of men proceeded to execute the arduous task of peopling a remote and uncultivated land, covered with woods and marshes, and inhabited only by tribes of savages and beasts of prey. Under the sanction of a charter which bereaved Englishmen of their most valuable rights, and banished from the American constitution the first principles of liberty, were the foundations laid of the colonial greatness of England, and of the freedom and prosperity of America. From this period, or at least very shortly after, a regular and connected history arises out of the progress of Virginia and New England, the two eldest born colonies, by whose example all the others were engendered, and under whose shelter they were successively planted and reared.*

Newport and his squadron, pursuing for some unknown reason the ancient circuitous track to America, did not accomplish their voyage in a shorter period than four months; but its termination was rendered peculiarly fortunate by the effect of a storm which overruled their destination to Roanoke, and carried them into the bay of Chesapeake. [April, 1607.] As they advanced into the bay that seemed to invite their approach, they beheld all the advantages of this spacious haven, replenished by the waters of so many great rivers that fertilize the soil of that extensive district of America, and affording commodious inlets into the interior parts, facilitate their foreign commerce and mutual communication. Newport first landed on a promontory forming the southern boundary of the bay, which, in honor of the Prince of Wales, he named Cape Henry. Thence coasting the southern shore, he entered a river which the natives called Powhatan, and explored its banks for the space of forty miles from

its mouth. Strongly impressed with the superior advantages of the coast and region to which they had been thus happily conducted, the adventurers unanimously determined to make this the place of their abode. They gave to their infant settlement, as well as to the neighboring river, the name of their king; and Jamestown retains the distinction of being the oldest existing habitation of the English in America.

But the dissensions that broke out among the colonists soon threatened to deprive them of all the advantages of their well-selected station. Their animosities were powerfully inflamed by an arrangement which, if it did not originate with the king, at least evinces a strong affinity to that ostentatious mystery and driftless artifice which he affected as the perfection of political dexterity. The names of the colonial council were not communicated to the adventurers when they departed from England; but the commission which contained them was inclosed in a sealed packet, which was directed to be opened within twenty-four hours after their arrival on the coast of Virginia, when the counsellors were to be installed in their office, and to elect their own president. The dissensions incident to a long voyage and a body of adventurers rather conjoined than united, had free scope among men unaware of the relations they were to occupy towards each other, and of the subordination which their relative stations might imply; and when the names of the council were proclaimed, they were far from giving general satisfaction. Captain Smith, whose superior talents and courage had excited the envy and jealousy of his colleagues, was excluded from the seat in council which the commission conferred on him, and even accused of traitorous designs so unproved and improbable, that none less believed the charge than the parties who preferred it. The privation of his counsel and services in the difficulties of their outset was a serious loss to the colonists, and might have been attended with ruin to the settlement, if his merit and generosity had not been superior to their mean injustice. The jealous suspicions of the person who had been elected president restrained the use of arms, and discouraged the construction of fortifications; and a misunderstanding having arisen with the Indians, the colonists, unprepared for hostilities, suffered severely from one of the sudden attacks characteristic of the warfare of these savages.

Newport had been ordered to return with the ships to England; and as the time of his departure approached, the accusers of Smith, affecting a humanity they did not feel, proposed that he should return with Newport, instead of being prosecuted in Virginia. But, happily for the colony, he scorned so to compromise his integrity; and demanding a trial, was honorably acquitted, and took his seat in the council.

The fleet had been better victualled than the stores of the colony; and while it remained with them, the colonists were permitted to share the abundance enjoyed by the sailors. But when Newport set sail for England, [June,] they found themselves limited to scanty supplies of unwholesome provisions; and the sultry heat of the climate, and moisture of a country overgrown with wood, concurring with the defects of their diet, brought on diseases that raged with fatal violence. Before the month of September one half of their number had perished, and among them was Bartholomew Gosnold, who had planned the expedition, and eminently contributed to its accomplishment. This scene of distress was heightened by internal dissensions. The President was accused of embezzling the stores, and finally detected in an attempt to seize a pinnace and escape from the colony and its calamities. At length, in the extremity of their distress, when ruin seemed alike to impend from famine, and the fury of the savages, the colony was delivered from danger by a supply which the piety of Smith is not ashamed to ascribe to the influence of God in suspending the passions and controlling the sentiments of men. The savages, actuated by a sudden change of feeling, presented them with a supply of provisions so abundant as at once to dissipate their apprehensions of famine and hostility.

Resuming their spirit, the colonists now proved themselves not entirely uninstructed by their misfortunes. In seasons of exigency merit is illustrated, and the envy that pursues it absorbed by interest and alarm. Their sense of common and inevitable danger suggested and enforced submission to the man whose talents were most likely to extricate them from the difficulties with which they were surrounded. Every eye was now turned on Smith, and all willingly devolved on him the authority which they had formerly evinced

* It is only, or at least generally, their accomplishment, which produces the historical predictions of poetry. The subsequent progress of America has enabled one of her scholars to direct our attention to this stage of her history in the following lines:—

"Ingenuum, pietas, artes ac bellica virtus,
Huc profugæ venient, et regna illustra condent;
Et domina his Virtus erit, et Fortuna ministra."

so much jealousy of his acquiring. This eminent person, whose name will be for ever associated with the foundation of civilized society in America was descended of a respectable family in Lincolnshire, and born to a competent fortune. At a very early age his ardent mind had been strongly smitten with the spirit of adventure that prevailed so powerfully in England during the reign of Elizabeth; and, yielding to his inclinations, he had passed through a vast variety of military service, with little gain, but great reputation, and with the acquisition of an experience the more valuable that it was obtained without exhausting his ardor or tainting his morals. The vigor of his constitution had preserved his health unimpaired amidst the general sickness; his undaunted temper retained his spirits unbroken, and his judgment unclouded, amidst the general misery and dejection; and the ardor of his disposition, which once subjected him to the reproach of overweening ambition, was now felt to diffuse an animating glow of hope and courage among all around him. A strong sense of religion predominated in the mind of this superior man, combined and duly subordinated all his faculties, refreshed his confidence, extended and yet regulated his views, and gave dignity to his character, and consistency to his conduct. Assuming the direction of the affairs of the colonists, he instantly adopted the only plan that could save them from destruction. Under his directions Jamestown was fortified by such defences as were sufficient to repel the attacks of the savages; and, by dint of great labor, which he was always the foremost to share, the colonists were provided with dwellings that afforded shelter from the weather, and contributed to restore and preserve their health. Finding the supplies of the savages discontinued, he put himself at the head of a detachment of his people, and penetrated into the country; and by courtesy and liberality to the tribes whom he found well disposed, and vigorously repelling the hostilities of such as were otherwise minded, he obtained for the colony the most abundant supplies.

In the midst of his successes he was surprised on an expedition by a hostile body of savages, who, having succeeded in making him prisoner, after a gallant and nearly successful defence, prepared to inflict on him the usual fate of their captives. His eminent faculties did not desert him on this trying occasion. He desired to speak with the sachem or chief, and, presenting him with a mariner's compass, expatiated on the wonderful discoveries to which it had led, described the shape of the earth, the vastness of its lands and oceans, the course of the sun, the varieties of nations, and the singularity of their relative positions, which made some of them antipodes to the others. With equal prudence and magnanimity he refrained from all solicitations for his life, which would only have weakened the impression which he hoped to produce. The savages listened with amazement and admiration. They had handled the compass, and viewing with surprise the play of the needle, which they plainly saw, but found it impossible to touch, from the intervention of the glass, this marvellous object prepared their minds for the reception of those vast impressions by which their captive endeavored to gain ascendancy over them. For an hour after he had finished his harangue they seem to have remained undecided: till their habitual sentiments reviving, they resumed their suspended purpose, and, having bound him to a tree, prepared to despatch him with their arrows. But a stronger impression had been made on their chief; and his soul, enlarged for a season by the admission of knowledge, or subdued by the influence of wonder, revolted from the dominion of habitual ferocity. This chief was named Opechancanough, and destined at a future period to invest his barbarous name with horror and celebrity. Holding up the compass in his hand, he gave the signal of reprieve, and Smith, though still guarded as a prisoner, was conducted to a dwelling where he was kindly treated and plentifully entertained.* But the strongest impressions

pass away, while the influence of habit remains. After vainly endeavoring to prevail on their captive to betray the English colony into their hands, they referred his fate to Powhatan, the king or principal sachem of the country, to whose presence they conducted him in triumphal procession. The king received him with much ceremony, ordered a plentiful repast to be set before him, and then adjudged him to suffer death by having his head laid on a stone and beat to pieces with clubs. At the place appointed for this barbarous execution, he was again rescued from impending fate by the interposition of Pocahontas, the favorite daughter of the king, who, finding her first entreaties disregarded, threw her arms around the prisoner, and declared her determination to save him or die with him. Her generous affection prevailed over the cruelty of her tribe, and the king not only gave Smith his life, but soon after sent him back to Jamestown, where the beneficence of Pocahontas continued to follow him with supplies of provisions that delivered the colony from famine.

After an absence of seven weeks Smith returned to Jamestown, barely in time to prevent the desertion of the colony. His associates, reduced to the number of thirty-eight, impatient of farther stay in a country where they had met with so many discouragements, and where they seemed fated to re-enact the disasters of Roanoke, were preparing to abandon the settlement; and it was not without the utmost difficulty, and alternately employing persuasion, remonstrance, and even violent interference, that Smith prevailed with them to relinquish their design. The provisions that Pocahontas had sent to him relieved their present wants; his account of the plenty he had witnessed among the savages revived their hopes; and he endeavored, by a diligent improvement of the favorable impressions he had made upon the savages, and by a judicious regulation of the intercourse between them and the colonists, to effect a union of interests and mutual participations of advantages between the two races of people. His generous efforts were successful; he preserved plenty among the English, and extended his influence and repute among the Indians, who began to respect and consult their former captive as a superior being. If Smith had sought only to magnify his own repute and establish his dominion, he might easily have passed with the savages for a demi-god; for they were not more averse to yield the allegiance which he claimed for their Creator, than forward to render it to himself, and to embrace every pretension he might advance in his own behalf. But no alluring prospect of dominion over men could tempt him to forget that he was the servant of God, or aspire to be regarded in any other light by his fellow creatures. He employed his best endeavors to divert the savages from their idolatrous superstition, and made them all aware that the man whose superiority they acknowledged despised their false deities, adored the true God, and obtained from Him, by prayer, the wisdom they so highly commended. The effect of his pious endeavors was obstructed by imperfect acquaintance with their language, and very ill seconded by the conduct of his associates, which contributed to persuade the Indians that his religion was something peculiar to himself. The influence, too, of human superiority, however calculated to impress, is by no means formed to convert the mind. It is so apt to give a wrong direction to the impressions which it produces, and is so remote from the channel in which Christianity from the beginning has been appointed to flow, that the first and most successful efforts to convert mankind were made by men who possessed little of it, and who renounced the little they possessed. Smith, partly from the difficulties of his situation, partly from the defectiveness of his instruction, and doubtless, in no small degree, from the stubborn blindness and wilful ignorance of the persons he attempted to instruct, succeeded no farther than Heriot had formerly done. The savages extended their respect for the man to a Being whom they termed "the God of Captain Smith," and some of them acknowledged that this Being excelled their own deities in the same proportion that artillery excelled bows and arrows, and sent to Jamestown to entreat that Smith would pray for rain when their idols seemed to refuse a supply.

[1608.] While the affairs of the colony were thus prospering under the direction of Captain Smith, a reinforcement of a hundred and twenty men, with an abundant stock of provisions, and a supply of seeds

and instruments of husbandry, arrived in two vessels from England. Universal joy was excited among the colonists by this accession to their comforts and their force. But, unhappily, the jealousies which danger had restrained rather than extinguished, reappeared in this ray of prosperity; the influence of Captain Smith with the Indians excited the envy of the very persons whose lives it had preserved, and his authority now began visibly to decline. Nor was it long before the cessation of his influence, together with the defects in the composition of the new body of emigrants, gave rise to the most serious mischiefs in the colony. The restraints of discipline were relaxed, and a free traffic permitted with the natives, who soon began to complain of fraudulent and unequal dealing, and to resume their ancient animosity. In an infant settlement, where habits of life are unfixed, and habitual submission to authority has yet to be formed, the well-being, and indeed the existence of society are much more dependent on the manners and moral character of individuals, than on the influence of laws. But in recruiting the population of this colony, too little consideration was shown for those habits and pursuits which must every where form the basis of national prosperity. This arose, as well from the peculiar views of the proprietors, as from the circumstances of the English people, whose working classes where by no means overcrowded, and among whom, consequently, the persons whose industry and moderation best fitted them to form a new settlement were least disposed to abandon their native country. Of the recruits who had lately arrived in the colony, a large proportion were *gentlemen*, a few were *laborers*, and some were *jewellers and refiners of gold*. Unfortunately, some of this latter description of artists soon found an opportunity of exercising their peculiar departments of industry, and of demonstrating (but too late) their utter unskilfulness even in the worthless qualifications they professed.

A small stream of water which issued from a bank of sand near Jamestown was found to deposit in its channel a glittering sediment which resembled golden ore, and was fondly mistaken for that precious material by the colonists. Only this discovery was wanting to re-excite the passions which America had so fatally kindled in the bosoms of her first invaders. The deposition of the ore was supposed to indicate the neighborhood of a mine; every hand was eager to explore; and considerable quantities of the dust were amassed, and subjected to the scrutiny of ignorance prepossessed by the strongest and most deceptive of human passions, and misled by the blundering guidance of superficial pretenders to superior skill. Captain Smith exerted himself to disabuse his countrymen, and vainly strove to stem the torrent that threatened to devastate all their prospects, and direct to the pursuit of a phantom, the industry on which their subsistence must speedily depend. The worthless dust having undergone the unskilful assay of the refiners who had recently been united to the colony, was pronounced to be ore of a very rich quality, and from that moment the thirst of gold was inflamed into a rage that reproduced those extravagant excesses, but, happily, without conducting to the same profligate enormities for which the followers of Cortes and Pizarro had been distinguished. All productive industry was suspended, and the operations of mining occupied all the conversation, engrossed every thought, and absorbed every effort of the colonists. The two vessels that had brought their late supplies returning to England, the one laden with this valueless dross, and the other with cedar wood, carried the first remittance that an English colony ever made from America. They carried back with them also some persons who had been invested and sent out to the colony with the absurd appointments of admirals, recorders, chronologers, and justices of the peace—a supply as useless to America as the remittance of dust was to Europe.

Foreseeing the disastrous issue to which the delusion of the colonists inevitably tended, Captain Smith, in the hope of preventing some of its most fatal consequences, adopted the resolution of extending his researches far beyond the range they had hitherto attained, and of exploring the whole of the great bay of Chesapeake, for the purpose of ascertaining the qualities and resources of its territories, and promoting a beneficial intercourse with the remoter tribes of its inhabitants. This arduous design he executed with his usual resolution and success: and while his fellow colonists were actively engaged in dissipating the hopes of England, and rivalling the sordid excesses that had characterized the adventurers of Spain, he singly sustained the honor of his country, and, armed with a nobler emulation, achieved an enterprise that equals the most

* Smith, B. iii. p. 47. Stith, p. 51.—This admirable triumph of knowledge and genius over barbarity and ferocity has been obscured by the inaccuracy of Dr. Robertson, who has ascribed Smith's deliverance on this occasion to his artifice in amusing the savages with wonderful accounts of the virtues of the compass. Marshall, the biographer of Washington, has transferred this misstatement into the pages of his history also. Had Smith resorted to artifice, he would only have availed himself of a resource which Columbus had previously employed, when he found his advantage in imposing on a savage tribe the prediction for the production of an eclipse. But Smith's attempt was at once more original and more honorable. The device of Columbus had been successfully practised by a Roman general, and is related by Livy. Smith, unassisted by precedent, and guided only by that "inspiration of the Almighty which giveth understanding," appears not to have uttered a single word to the savages that was not strictly true. The triumph was very great; for it was obtained over ferocity incultured by education and confirmed by habit, and revenge excited by the death of some of the savages whom he had killed in defending himself.

celebrated exploits of the Spanish discoverers. When we compare the slenderness of the auxiliary means which he possessed, with the magnitude of the ends which he accomplished, the hardships he endured, and the difficulties he overcame, we recognize in this achievement a monument of human power no less eminent than honorable, and willingly transmit a model so well calculated to warm the genius, to animate the fortitude, and sustain the patience of mankind. With his friend, Dr. Russell, and a small company of followers, whose courage and perseverance he was frequently obliged to resuscitate, and over whom he possessed no other authority than the ascendancy of a vigorous character and superior mind, he performed, in an open boat, two voyages of discovery that occupied more than four months, and embraced a navigation of above three thousand miles. With immense labor and danger he visited every inlet and bay on both sides of the Chesapeake, from Cape Charles to the river Susquehanna; he sailed up many of the great rivers to their falls, and diligently examined the successive territories into which he penetrated, and the various tribes that possessed them. He brought back with him an account so ample, and a plan so accurate, of that great portion of the American continent now comprehended in the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, that all the subsequent researches which it has undergone have only expanded his original view; and his map has been made the groundwork of all posterior delineations, with little other diversity than what the varieties of appropriation and the progress of settlements have necessarily effected. But to come and to see were not his only objects; to overcome was also the purpose of his enterprise, and the attainment of his exertions. In his intercourse with the various tribes which he visited, he displayed the genius of a commander in a happy exercise of all those talents that overcome the antipathies of a rude people, and enforce the respect, and even good will, of mankind. By the wisdom and liberality with which he negotiated and traded with the friendly, and by the courage and vigor with which he repelled and overcame the hostile, he never failed to inspire the savages with the most exalted opinion of himself and his nation, and laid the foundation of an intercourse that promised the most beneficial results to the Virginian colony. This was indeed the heroic age of North America: and such were the men, and such the labors, by which the first foundations of her greatness and prosperity were appointed to be laid.

While this expedition was in progress, the golden dreams of the colonists were at length dispelled; and they had awaked to all the miseries of sickness, scarcity, disappointment, and discontent, when Smith once more returned to them, to revive their spirits with his successes, and relieve their wants by the resources he had created. Immediately after his return he was [10th Sept.] chosen president by the council; and, accepting the office, he employed his influence so successfully with the savages, that present scarcity was banished, and exerted his authority so vigorously and judiciously in the colony, that a spirit of industry and good order began generally to prevail, and gave promise of lasting plenty and steady prosperity. If we compare the actions of Smith, during the period of his presidency, with the enterprise that immediately preceded his election, it may appear, at first sight, that the sphere of his exertions was both narrowed and degraded by this event, and we might almost be tempted to regret the returning reasonableness of the colonists, which, by confining this active spirit to the petty details of their government, withdrew it from a range more congenial to its exursive vigor, and more advantageous to mankind. Yet, reflection might persuade us that a truly great mind, especially when united with an ardent temper, will never be contracted by the seeming restriction of its sphere; it will always be nobly, as well as usefully employed, and not the less nobly when it dignifies what is ordinary, and improves the models that invite the widest imitation, and are most level with the opportunities of mankind. Accordingly, when we examine the history of that year over which the official supremacy of Captain Smith was extended, and consider the results of the multifarious details which it embraced, we discern a dignity as real, though less glaring than that which invests his celebrated voyage of discovery, and are sensible of consequences even more interesting to human nature than any which that expedition produced. In a small society, where the circumstances of all the members were nearly equal, where power derived no aid from pomp and circumstance, and where he owed his office to the appointment of his associates, and held it by the

tenure of their good will,* he preserved order and enforced morality among a crew of dissolute and discontented men; and so successfully opposed his authority to the temptations to indolence arising from their previous habits and dispositions, and fortified by the community of gains that then prevailed, as to introduce and maintain a respectable degree of laborious, and even contented industry. What one governor afterwards effected in this respect by the weight of an imposing rank, and others by the strong engine of martial law, Smith, without these advantages, and with greater success, accomplished by the continual application of his own vigor and activity. Some plots were formed against him; but these he detected and defeated without either straining or compromising his authority. The caprice and suspicion of the Indians assailed him with numberless trials of his temper and capacity. Even Powhatan, notwithstanding the friendly ties that united him to his ancient guest, was induced, by the treacherous artifices of certain Dutchmen, who deserted to him from Jamestown, first to form a secret conspiracy, and then to excite and prepare open hostility against the colonists. [1609.] Some of the fraudulent designs of the royal savage were revealed by the unabated kindness of *Pocahontas*, others were detected by Captain Smith, and from them all he contrived to extricate the colony with honor and success, and yet with little, and only defensive, bloodshed; displaying to the Indians a vigor and dexterity they could neither overcome nor overreach—a courage that commanded their respect, and a generosity that carried his victory into their minds, and reconciled submission with their pride. In thus demonstrating (to use his own words) “what small cause there is that men should starve or be murdered by the savages, that have discretion to manage them with courage and industry,” he bequeathed a valuable lesson to his successors in the American colonies, and to all succeeding settlers in the vicinity of savage tribes; and in exemplifying the power of a superior people to anticipate the cruel and vulgar issue of battle, and to prevail over an inferior race without either extirpating or enslaving them, he obtained a victory which *Cæsar*, with all his boasted superiority to the rest of mankind was too ungenerous to appreciate, or was incompetent to achieve.

But Smith was not permitted to complete the work he had so honorably begun. His administration was unacceptable to the company in England, for the same reasons that rendered it beneficial to the settlers in America. The patentees, very little concerned about the establishment of a happy and respectable society, had eagerly counted on the accumulation of sudden wealth by the discovery of a shorter passage to the South Sea, or the acquisition of territory replete with mines of the precious metals. In these hopes they had been hitherto disappointed; and the state of affairs in the colony was far from betokening even the retribution of their heavy expenditure. The prospect of a settled and improving state of society at Jamestown, so far from meeting their wishes, threatened to promote the growth of habits and interests perfectly incompatible with them. Still hoping, therefore, to realize their avaricious dreams, they conceived it necessary for this purpose to remove all authority into their own hands, and to abolish all jurisdiction originating in America. In order to enforce their pretensions, as well as to increase their funds, they now courted the acquisition of additional members; and having strengthened their interests by the accession of some persons of the highest rank and influence in the nation, they applied for and obtained a new charter.

[23d May.] If the new charter thus arbitrarily introduced showed an utter disregard of the rights of the colonists who had emigrated on the faith of the original one, its provisions equally demonstrated the intention of restricting their privileges and increasing their dependence on the English patentees. The new charter was granted to twenty-one peers, ninety-eight knights, and a great multitude of doctors, esquires, gentlemen, merchants, and citizens, and sundry of the corporations

* It was the testimony of his soldiers and fellow adventurers, says Stith, “that he was ever fruitful in expedients to provide for the people under his command, whom he would never suffer to want any thing he either had or could procure; that he rather chose to lead than send his soldiers into danger;” that in all their expeditions he partook the common fare, and never gave a command that he was not ready to execute; “that he would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay; that he had nothing in him counterfeit or shy, but was open, honest, and sincere.” Stith adds, respecting this founder of civilized society in North America, what the son of Columbus has, with a noble elation, recorded of his father, that though habituated to naval manners, and to the command of factious and licentious men, he was never heard to utter an oath.

of London, in addition to the former adventurers; and the whole body was incorporated by the title of “The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London for the first colony in Virginia.” The boundaries of the colony and the power of the corporation were enlarged; the offices of president and council in Virginia were abolished; a new council was established in England, and the company empowered to fill all future vacancies in it by election; and to this council was committed the power of new-modelling the magistracy of the colony, of enacting all the laws that were to have place in it, and nominating all the officers by whom these laws were to be carried into execution. Nevertheless, was it still provided that the colonists and their posterity should retain all the rights of Englishmen. To prevent the doctrines of the church of Rome from gaining admission into the plantations, it was declared that no persons should pass into Virginia but such as should first have taken the oath of supremacy.

The new council appointed Lord Delaware governor, and captain-general of the colony; and the hopes inspired by the distinguished rank, and not less eminent character of this nobleman, contributed to strengthen the company by a considerable accession of funds and associates. Availing themselves of the favourable disposition of the public, they quickly equipped a squadron of nine ships, and sent them out with five hundred emigrants, under the command of Captain Newport, who was authorized to supersede the existing administration, and to govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware with the remainder of the recruits and supplies. But by an unlucky combination of caution and indiscretion, the same powers were severally intrusted to Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, without any adjustment of precedence between these gentlemen; and they finding themselves unable to settle this point among themselves, agreed to embark on board the same vessel, and to be companions during the voyage—thus deliberately hazarding and eventually effecting the disappointment of the main object which their association in authority was intended to secure. The vessel that contained the triumvirate was separated from the fleet by a storm, and stranded on the coast of Bermuda.* The residue of the squadron arrived safely at Jamestown, but so little were they expected, that when they were first described at sea they were mistaken for enemies; and this rumor gave occasion to a very satisfactory proof of the friendly disposition of the Indians, who came forward with the utmost alacrity, and offered to fight in defence of the colony.

These apprehensions, which were dissipated by the nearer approach of the fleet, gave place to more substantial and more formidable evils arising from the composition of the reinforcement which it brought to the colonial body. A great proportion of these new emigrants consisted of profligate and licentious youths, sent out by their friends with the hope of changing their destinies, or for the purpose of screening them from the justice or contempt of their country; of indigent gentlemen too proud to beg, and too lazy to work; tradesmen of broken fortunes and broken spirit; idle retainers whom the great were eager to get rid of; and dependents too infamous to be decently protected at home; with others, like these, more fitted to waste and corrupt a commonwealth than to found or maintain one. The leaders of this pernicious crew, though totally unprovided with legal documents entitling them either to assume or supersede authority proclaimed the changes which the constitution of the colony had undergone, and proceeded to execute that part of the innovation which consisted in the overthrow of the colonial presidency and council. Their conduct soon demonstrated that their title to assume authority was not more defective than their capacity to exercise it. Investing themselves with the powers, they were unable to devise any frame of government, or establish even among themselves any fixed subordination; sometimes the old commission was resorted to, sometimes a new model attempted; and the chief direction passed from hand to hand in one uninterrupted succession of presumption and incapacity. The whole colony was involved in distress and disorder by this revolutionary state of its new government, and the Indian tribes were alienated and exasperated by the turbulence, injustice, and insolence of the new settlers.

* It was this disaster, no doubt, which produced the only allusion which Shakespeare ever makes to the regions of America. In *The Tempest*, which was composed about three years after this period, Ariel celebrates the stormy coast “the still vex’d Bermudas.”

This emergency strongly called on the man who had so often rescued the settlement from ruin, again to attempt its deliverance; the call was seconded by the wishes of the best and wisest of the colonists; and, aided as much by the vigor of his own character, as by the cooperation of these individuals, Smith once more assumed his natural ascendant and official supremacy, and declared his intention of retaining the authority created by the old commission till a regal revocation of it and legitimate successors to himself should arrive. He boldly imprisoned the chief promoters of tumult; and having restored regularity and obedience, he endeavored to prevent a recurrence of the former mischiefs by detaching from Jamestown a portion of the new colonists to form a subordinate settlement at some distance. This was an unfortunate atep; and it is remarkable that the only signal failure in the policy of this eminent man seems to have arisen from the only instance in which he showed a distrust of his own vigor and capacity. The detachments which he removed from Jamestown conducted themselves so imprudently as to convert all the neighboring Indians into enemies, and to involve themselves in continual difficulty and danger. The Indians assailed him with complaints, the detached settlers with requisitions of counsel and assistance; and Smith, who never spent in lamenting misfortunes the time that might be employed in repairing them, was exerting himself with his usual vigor and good sense in redressing these disorders, when he received a dangerous wound from the accidental explosion of a quantity of gunpowder. Completely disabled by this misfortune, and destitute of surgical aid in the colony, he was compelled to resign his command, and take his departure for England. He never returned to Virginia again. It was natural that he should abandon with regret the society he had so often preserved, the settlement he had conducted through difficulties as formidable as the infancy of Carthage or Rome had to encounter, and the scenes he had dignified by so much wisdom and virtue. But our sympathy with his regret is abated by the reflection that a longer residence in the colony would speedily have consigned him to very subordinate office, and might have deprived the world of that stock of valuable knowledge, and his own character of that accession of fame,* which the publication of his travels has been the means of perpetuating. Such reflections are not foreign to the purpose, nor inconsistent with the dignity of history, which may well be allowed to linger with interest on the fortunes of this excellent person, and is well employed in teaching by example how powerfully an enlargement of our view contributes to purify the moral aspect of events.

CHAPTER II.

The Colony a Prey to Anarchy—and Famine—Gates and Somers arrive from Bermudas—Abandonment of the Colony determined—prevented by the Arrival of Lord Delaware—His wise Administration—his Return to England—Sir Thomas Dale's Administration—Martial Law established—Indian Chief's Daughter seized by Captain Argal—married to Mr. Rolfe—Right of private Property in Land introduced into the Colony—Expeditions of Argal against Port Royal and New York—Tobacco cultivated by the Colonists—First Assembly of Representatives convened in Virginia—New Constitution of the Colony—Introduction of Negro Slavery—Migration of young Women from England to Virginia—Dispute between the King and the Colony—Conspiracy of the Indians—Massacre of the Colonists—Dissentions of the London Company—The Company dissolved—the King assumes the Government of the Colony—his Death—Charles I. pursues his father's arbitrary Views—Tyrannical Government of Sir John Harvey—Sir William Berkeley appointed Governor—The popular Assembly restored—Virginia espouses the Royal Cause—subdued by the Long Parliament—Restraints imposed on the Trade of the Colony—Revolt of the Colony—Sir William Berkeley resumes the Government—Restoration of Charles II.

[1609.] SMITH left the colony inhabited by five hundred persons, and amply provided with all necessary stores of arms, provisions, cattle, and implements of agriculture: but the sense to improve its opportunities was wanting, and its fortune departed with him. For a short time the command was intrusted to Mr. Percy, a man of worth but devoid of the vigor that gives efficacy to virtue; and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of persons whom their native country had cast from it as a useless burden or intolerable nuisance. The colony was delivered up to the wildest excesses of a seditious and distracted rabble, and presented a scene of riot, folly, and profligacy, strongly invoking vindictive retribution, and speedily overtaken by it. [1610.] The provisions were quickly exhausted; and the In-

dians, incensed by repeated injuries, and aware that the man whom they so much respected had ceased to govern the colonists, not only refused them all assistance, but harassed them with continual attacks. Famine ensued, and completed their misery and degradation by transforming them into cannibals, and forcing them to subsist on the bodies of the Indians they had killed, and of their own companions who perished of hunger or disease. Six months after the departure of Smith there remained no more than sixty persons alive at Jamestown, still prolonging their wretchedness by a vile and precarious diet, but daily expecting its final and fatal close.

In this calamitous state was the colony found by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, who at length arrived from Bermudas, where the shipwreck they had encountered had detained them and their crew for ten months. The bounty of Nature in that delightful region maintained them in comfort while they built the vessels that were to transport them to Jamestown, and might have supplied them with ample stores for the use of the colony; but they had neglected these resources, and arrived almost empty-handed, in the expectation of receiving from the magazines of a thriving settlement the relief that was now vainly implored from themselves by the famishing remnant of their countrymen. Their disappointment was equalled only by the difficulty of comprehending the causes of the desolation they beheld, amidst the mutual and contradictory accusations of the surviving colonists. But there was no time for deliberate inquiry, or adjustment of complaints. It was immediately determined to abandon the settlement, and with this view they all embarked in the vessels that had just arrived from Bermudas, and set sail for England. Their stores were insufficient for so long a voyage; but they hoped to obtain an additional supply at the English fishing station on the coast of Newfoundland. Such a horror had many of them conceived for the scene of their misery, that they were importunate with the commanders for leave to burn the fort and houses in Jamestown. But Sir Thomas Gates could not find in their or his distresses any reason for demolishing the buildings, that might afford shelter to future settlers; and happily, by his interposition, they were preserved from destruction, and the colonists prevented from wreaking additional vengeance on themselves.

For it was not the will of Providence that this settlement should perish; the calamities with which it had been visited were commissioned to punish merely, but not utterly to destroy; and the more worthless members being now cut off, and a memorable lesson afforded both to the governors who collect,* and the members who compose such communities, a deliverance no less signal was vouchsafed by the Disposer of all events, just when hope was over, and the colony advanced to the very brink of annihilation. Before the fugitives had reached the mouth of James river they were met by Lord Delaware, who arrived with three ships, containing a large supply of provisions, a considerable number of new settlers, and an ample stock of every thing requisite for defence or cultivation.

This nobleman, who now presented himself as captain-general of the colony, was eminently well fitted for the exigency of the situation in which he was thus unexpectedly involved. To exalted rank, in an age when such distinctions were regarded with much veneration, he joined a noble demeanor, a disinterested character, and a manly understanding. The hope of rendering an important service to his country, and the generous pleasure of cooperating in a great design, had induced him to exchange his ease and splendor at home for a situation of the difficulties of which he was perfectly aware: and the same firmness and elevation of purpose preserved him undaunted and unperplexed by the scene of calamity he encountered on his arrival in Virginia. Stemming the torrent of evil fortune, he carried back the fugitives to Jamestown, and began his administration by attendance on Divine worship; and having held a short consultation on the affairs of the settlement, he summoned all the colonists together, and addressed them in a short but forcible and dignified harangue. He justly rebuked the pride, and aloof, and immorality that had produced such disasters, and earnestly recommended a return to the virtues most likely to repair them: he declared his determination not to hold the

sword of justice in vain, but to punish the first recurrence of disorder by shedding the blood of the delinquents, though he would infinitely rather shed his own to protect the colony from injury. He nominated proper officers for every department, and allotted to every man his particular place and business. This address was received with general applause and satisfaction; and the idle factious humours of a divided multitude soon appeared to be substantially healed by the splendor, unity, and authority of Lord Delaware's administration. [1611.] By an assiduous attention to his duty, and a happy union of qualities fitted equally to inspire esteem and enforce submission, he succeeded in maintaining peace and good order in the settlement, in diffusing a spirit of industry and alacrity among the colonists, and in again impressing the dread and reverence of the English name on the minds of the Indians. This promising beginning was all he was permitted to effect. Oppressed by diseases occasioned by the climate, he was compelled to quit the country; having first committed the administration to Mr. Percy [3].

The restoration of this gentleman to the supreme command seems to have been attended with the same relaxation of discipline, and would probably have led to a repetition of the same disorders, that had so fatally distinguished his former government. But happily for the colony, a squadron that had been despatched from England before Lord Delaware's return with a supply of men and provisions, brought also with it Sir Thomas Dale, whose commission authorised him, in the absence of that nobleman, to assume the administration. This new governor found the colonists fast relapsing into idleness and penury; and though he exerted himself strenuously, and not unsuccessfully, to restore better habits, yet the loss of Lord Delaware's imposing rank and authoritative character was sensibly felt. What he could not accomplish by milder means, he was soon enabled, and compelled to effect by a system of notable rigor and severity. A code of rules and articles had been compiled by Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer of the company of patentees, from the martial law of the Low Countries, the most severe and arbitrary frame of discipline that then existed in the world; and having been printed by the compiler for the use of the colony, but without the sanction or authority of the council, was transmitted to him by the governor.* [4] This code did not long remain inoperative. Sir Thomas Dale caused it to be proclaimed as the settled law of the colony; and some conspiracies having broken out, he enforced its provisions with great rigor, but not greater than was judged by all who witnessed it to have effected the preservation of the settlement. The wisdom and honor of the governor, who thus became the first depository of these formidable powers, and the salutary consequences that resulted from the first exercise of them, seem to have prevented the alarm which the introduction of a system so destructive to liberty was calculated to provoke. Dale was succeeded in the supreme command by Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived with six vessels, containing a powerful reinforcement to the numbers and resources of the colonists. The late and the present governors were united by mutual friendship and similarity of character. Gates approved and pursued the system of strict discipline and steady but moderate enforcement of the martial code, that had been introduced by Dale; and under the directions of Dale, who continued in the country and willingly occupied a subordinate station, various bodies of the colonists began to form additional settlements on the banks of James river and at some distance from Jamestown.

[1612.] An application was now made by the company of patentees to the king, for an enlargement of their charter. The accounts they had received from the persons who were shipwrecked on Bermudas, of the fertility and agreeableness of that territory impressed them with the desire of obtaining possession of its resources for the supply of Virginia.† Their increasing influence enforced their request; and a new charter was issued, investing them with all the islands situated within three hundred leagues of the coast of Virginia. Some innovations were made in the structure and forms of the corporation; the term of ex-

* Stith, p. 122. Nothing can be more fanciful or erroneous than Dr. Robertson's account of the introduction of this system, which without the slightest reason he ascribes to the advice of Lord Bacon, and, in opposition to all evidence, represents as the act of the company.

† Stith, p. 126. About this time the patentees promoted a subscription among devout persons in London for building churches in the colony; but the money was diverted to other purposes, and it was not till some years after that churches were built in Virginia. Oldmixon's Brit. Emp. in Amer. i. 231. 300.

* He became so famous in England before his death, that his adventures were dramatised and represented on the stage, to his own great annoyance. Stith, p. 112.

* The fate of this settlement probably suggested to Lord Bacon the following passage in his essay on Plantations. "It is a shameful and unblest thing to take the scum of the people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom we plant; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals."

emption from payment of duties on commodities exported by them was prolonged; the company was empowered to apprehend and remand persons returning by stealth from the settlement, in violation of their engagements; and, for the more effectual advancement of the colony and indemnification of the large sums that had been expended on it, license was given to open lotteries in any part of England. The lottery which was set on foot in virtue of this license, was the first establishment of the kind that had ever received public countenance in England: it brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company, but loaded it with the reproach of defrauding the people, by allowing them to play a game in which they must certainly be the losers. The House of Commons, which then represented the sense and guarded the morality of England, remonstrated against this odious concession of their ignoble sovereign, as a measure equally unconstitutional and impolitic; and the license was soon after recalled. Happy if their example had been copied by later times, and the rulers of mankind restrained from polluting their financial administration by a system of chicanery, and promoting in their subjects that gambling habit of mind which dissolves industry and virtue, and is generally the parent even of the most atrocious crimes! Notwithstanding the eagerness of the company to acquire the Bermuda islands, they did not retain them long, but sold them to certain of their own members, who were erected into a separate corporation by the name of the Somer Islands Company.*

The colony of Virginia had once been saved, in the person of its own deliverer Captain Smith, by Pocahontas the daughter of the Indian king Powhatan. She had ever since maintained a friendly intercourse with the English, and she was destined now to render them a service of the highest importance. A scarcity prevailing at Jamestown, and supplies being obtained but scantily and irregularly from the neighboring Indians, with whom the colonists were often embroiled, Captain Argal was despatched to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. Here he learned that Pocahontas was living in retirement at no great distance from him; and hoping, by possession of her person, to attain such an ascendancy over Powhatan as would enforce an ample contribution of provisions, he prevailed on her by some artifice, to come on board his vessel, and then set sail with her to Jamestown, where she was detained in a state of honorable captivity. But Powhatan, more indignant at such treachery than overcome by his misfortune, rejected with scorn the demand of a ransom; he even refused to hold any communication with the robbers who still kept his daughter a prisoner, but declared that if she were restored to him he would forget the injury, and, feeling himself at liberty to regard them as friends, would gratify all their wishes. But the colonists were too conscious of not deserving the performance of such promises, to be able to give credit to them; and the most injurious consequences seemed likely to arise from the unjust detention, which they could no longer continue with advantage nor relinquish with safety, when all at once the aspect of affairs underwent a surprising and beneficial change. During her residence in the colony, Pocahontas, who is represented as a woman distinguished by her personal attractions, made such impression on Mr. Rolfe, a young man of rank and estimation among the settlers, that he offered her his hand, and, with her approbation and the warm encouragement of the governor, solicited the consent of Powhatan to their marriage: this the old prince readily granted, and sent some of his relations to attend the ceremonial, which was performed with extraordinary pomp, and laid the foundation of a firm and sincere friendship between his tribe and the English. This happy event also enabled the colonial government to conclude a treaty with the Chickashomies, a brave and martial tribe, who consented to acknowledge themselves subjects of the British monarch, and style themselves henceforward Englishmen, to assist the colonists with their arms in war, and to pay an annual tribute of Indian corn.

[1613.] But a material change which now took place in the interior arrangements of the colony contributed

* Stith, p. 127. It is said that Waller the poet subsequently became a partner of this company, and that during his banishment from England he resided some time in Bermuda: a statement that seems to derive some confirmation, from the minute description of the scenery and produce of the place in his poem, "The Battle of the Somer Islands." It is a pity that the muse of Waller and of Marvel, which travelled as far across the Atlantic as Bermuda, should not have extended their range to that illustrious continent whose aspect was able to transform Bishop Berkeley from a metaphysician into a poet.

to establish its prosperity on foundations more solid and respectable than the alliance or dependence of the Indian tribes. The industry which had been barely kept alive by the severe discipline of martial law, languished under the discouragement of that community of property and labor which had been introduced, as we have seen, by the provisions of the original charter. As a temporary expedient, this system could not have been easily avoided; and the censure which historians have so liberally bestowed on its introduction seems to be quite misplaced. The impolicy consisted in prolonging its duration beyond the time when the colony acquired stability, when modes of life came to be fixed, and when the resources of the place and the productive powers of labor being fully understood, the government might safely and advantageously remit every individual to the stimulus of his own interest and dependence on his own industry. But at first it was unavoidable that the government should charge itself with the support of its subjects and the regulation of their industry; and that their first experimental exertions should be referred to the principle and adapted to the rules of a system of partnership. How long such a system may endure, when originated and maintained by a strong and general impulse of that Christian spirit which teaches every man to regard his office on earth as that of a steward, his life as a stewardship, and the superiority of his powers as designating, not the extent of his interest, but the increase of his responsibility, is a problem to be solved by the future history of mankind. But as a permanent arrangement, supported only by municipal law, it attempts an impossibility, and commits the enforcement of its observances to an influence destructive of its own principles. As soon as the sense of individual interest and security begins to dissolve the bond of common hazard, danger, and difficulty, the law is felt to be an intolerable restriction; but as in theory it retains a generous aspect, and its inconvenience is at first evinced by the idleness and immorality which its secret suggestions give scope to, it is not to be wondered at that rulers should seek to remove the effect while they preserve the cause, and even by additional securities of regulation extinguish every remains of the virtue they vainly attempt to revive.

Sir Thomas Dale, by his descent from the supreme direction of affairs to a more active participation in the conduct of them, was enabled to observe with an accurate and unprejudiced eye the operation of the colonial laws on the dispositions of the colonists, and in particular the utter incompatibility of this regulation with all the ordinary motives by which human industry is maintained. He saw that every one was eager to evade or abridge his own share of labor; that the universal reliance on the common stock impaired, in every individual, the efforts on which its replenishment depended; that the slothful reposed in dependence on the industrious, while the industrious were deprived of their alacrity by impatience of supporting and confirming the slothful in their idleness; and that the most honorable would hardly take as much pains for the community in a week as he would do for himself in a day. Under his direction, the evil was redressed by a radical and effectual remedy: a sufficient portion of land was divided into lots, and one of them was assigned in full property to every settler. From that moment, industry, freed from the obstruction that had relaxed its incitements and intercepted its recompense, took vigorous root in Virginia, and the prosperity of the colony evinced a steady and rapid advancement. [1614.] Gates returning to England, the supreme direction again devolved on Sir Thomas Dale, whose virtue seems never to have enlarged with the enlargement of his authority. He continued for two years longer in the colony; and in his domestic administration continued to promote its real welfare; but he launched into foreign operations little productive of advantage, and still less of honor. In Captain Argal, the author of the fortunate seizure of Pocahontas, he found a fit instrument, and perhaps a counsellor, of designs of a similar character and tendency. The French settlers in Acadie had, in the year 1605, built Port Royal in the Bay of Fundy, and had ever since retained quiet possession of the country, and successfully cultivated a friendly intercourse with the neighboring Indians. Under the pretext that the French, by settling in Acadie, had invaded the rights derived by the English from the first discovery of the continent, was Argal despatched in a time of profound peace, to make a hostile attack on this settlement. Nothing could be more unjust or unwarranted than this enterprise. The Virginian charters, with the enforcement of which alone

Sir Thomas Dale was intrusted, did not embrace the territory which he now presumed to invade, and which the French had peaceably possessed for nearly ten years, in virtue of charters from their sovereign Henry the IVth. Argal easily succeeded in surprising and plundering a community that were totally unsuspecting of hostility, and unprepared for defence; but leaving no garrison in the place, the French soon resumed their station, and the expedition produced no other permanent effect than the recollections it left in the minds of the French, and the impression it produced on the sentiments of the Indians. But a few years elapsed before an attack on themselves, by their own Indian neighbors, equally iniquitous and far more fatal avenged the outrage on Port Royal, and taught the government of Virginia to detest the policy which it had thus sanctioned by its example. Returning from this expedition, Argal executed a similar enterprise against New York, which was then in possession of the Dutch, whose claim was derived from Captain Hudson's discovery or visit to the territory in 1609, when he commanded one of their vessels, and was employed in their service. But Argal maintained, that Hudson being an Englishman, there accrued from his acquisition an indefeasible right to his country; and the Dutch governor being unprepared for resistance, was compelled to submit and declare the colony to be a dependency of England, and tributary to Virginia. But another governor arriving soon after, with better means of asserting the title of his countrymen, the concession was retracted, and the English claim successfully defied.

[1615.] One of the first objects to which the increasing industry of the colonists was directed, was the cultivation of tobacco, which was now for the first time introduced into Virginia. King James had conceived a strong antipathy to the use of this weed, and in his celebrated *Counterblast against Tobacco*, had endeavored to prevail over one of the strongest tastes of human nature by the force of fustian and pedantry. The issue of the contest corresponded better with his interests than his wishes; his testimony, though pressed with all the vehemence of exalted folly, could not prevail with his subjects over the evidence of their own senses; and though he summoned his prerogative to the aid of his logic, and prohibited the pollution of English ground by the cultivation of tobacco,* he found it impossible to withstand its importation from abroad: the demand for it rapidly extended, and its value and consumption daily increased in England. Incited by the hopes of sharing a trade so profitable, the colonists of Virginia devoted their fields and labor almost exclusively to the culture of tobacco. Sir Thomas Dale observing their inconsiderate ardor, and sensible of the danger of neglecting the cultivation of the humbler but more necessary productions, on which the subsistence of the colony depended, interposed his authority to check the excesses of the planters; and adjusted by law the proportion between the corn crop and the tobacco crop of every proprietor of land. But after his departure, [1616.] his wise policy was neglected and his laws forgotten; and the culture of tobacco so exclusively occupied the attention of the settlers that even the streets of Jamestown were planted with it, and a scarcity of provisions very soon resulted. In this extremity they were compelled to renew their exactions upon the Indians, and involved themselves in disputes and hostilities, which gradually alienated the regard of these savages, and paved the way to one of those schemes of vengeance which they are noted for forming with the most impenetrable secrecy, maturing with consummate artifice and executing with unrelenting rancor.† This fatal consequence was not fully experienced till after the lapse of one of those intervals which to careless eyes appear to disconnect the misconduct from the sufferings of nations, but impress reflective minds with an awful sense of that strong unbroken chain which subsists undisturbed by time or

* The following preamble to one of his proclamations on this subject is highly characteristic:—"Whereas we, out of the dislike we had of the use of tobacco, tending to a general and new corruption both of men's bodies and manners, and nevertheless holding it of the two more honorable that the same should be imported among other vanities and superfluities which come from beyond the seas than to be permitted to be planted here within the realm, whereby to abuse and misemploy the soil of this fruitful kingdom, did prohibit the planting of it in England," &c. Rymer, vol. xvii. p. 233. Hazard, p. 93.

† Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 140, 147, 164, 168. Purchas, iv. 178. In the year 1615 was published at London, "A True Discourse of the present State of Virginia," by Ralph Hamar secretary to the colony; a tract which has no other merit but its scarcity.

distance, and both preserves and extends the moral consequences of human actions.

But a nobler plant than tobacco was preparing to rise in Virginia; and we are now to contemplate the first indication of that active principle of liberty which was destined to become the most considerable staple and appropriate moral produce of America. When Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, he had committed the government to Mr. George Yeardley, whose lax administration, if it removed a useful restraint on the improvident cupidity of the planters, enabled them to taste, and prepared them to value, the dignity of independence and the blessings of liberty. He was succeeded [1617]* by Captain Argal, a man of considerable talents and resolution, but selfish, haughty, and tyrannical. Argal provided with ability for the wants of the colony, and introduced some useful regulations of the traffic and intercourse with the Indians; but he encumbered personal liberty with needless and minute restrictions, and enforced their observance by a harsh and constant exercise of martial law. While he pretended to promote piety in others by punishing absence from church with a temporary slavery, he postponed in his own practice every other consideration to the acquisition of wealth, which he effected by a profligate abuse of the opportunities of his office, and defended by the terrors of despotic authority. Universal discontent was excited by his administration, and the complaints of the colonists at length reached the ears of the company in England. In Lord Delaware their interests had always found a zealous friend and powerful advocate; and he now consented, for their deliverance, to resume his former office, and again to undertake the direction of their affairs. He embarked for Virginia with a splendid train, but died on the voyage. [1618]† His loss was deeply lamented by the colonists; but it was in the main, perhaps, an advantageous circumstance for them that an administration of such pomp and dignity was thus timely intercepted, and the improvement of their affairs committed to men and manners nearer the level of their own condition; and it was no less advantageous to the memory of Lord Delaware, that he died in the demonstration of a generous willingness to attempt what it was very unlikely he could have succeeded in effecting. The tidings of his death were followed to England by increasing complaints of the odious and tyrannical proceedings of Argal; and the company having conferred the office of captain-general on Mr. Yeardley, the new governor received the honor of knighthood, and proceeded to the scene of his administration. [1619.]

Sir George Yeardley, on his arrival in Virginia, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, declared his intention of reinstating them in full possession of the privileges of Englishmen, by convoking a colonial assembly. This first legislative body that America ever produced, consisted of the governor, the council, and burgesses elected by the seven existing boroughs, who, assembling at Jamestown, in one apartment, conducted their deliberations with good sense and harmony, and debated all affairs that involved the general welfare. The laws which they enacted were transmitted to

England for the approbation of the treasurer and company, and are no longer extant; but they are declared by competent judges to have been in the main wisely and judiciously framed, though (as might reasonably be expected) somewhat intricate and unsystematical.* The company sometime after passed an ordinance by which they substantially approved and established this constitution of the Virginian legislature. They reserved, however, to themselves the creation of a council of state, which should assist the governor with advice in the executive administration, and should also form a part of the colonial assembly; and they provided, on the one hand, that the enactments of the assembly should not have the force of law till ratified by the court of proprietors in England; and conceded, on the other hand, that the orders of this court should have no force in Virginia till ratified by the colonial assembly. Thus early was planted in America that representative system that forms the soundest political frame in which liberty was ever embodied, and at once the safest and most efficient organ by which its energies are exercised and developed. So strongly imbued were the minds of Englishmen in this age with the vigorous spirit of that liberty which was rapidly advancing to a first manhood in their country, that wherever they settled themselves, the institutions of freedom took root and grew up along with them.

It had been happy for the morals and the prosperity of Virginia, if her inhabitants, like their brethren in Massachusetts, had oftener elevated their eye from subordinate agency to the great First Cause, and had referred, in particular, the signal blessing that was now bestowed on them to the will and gift of God. Liberty so derived acquires at once its firmest and noblest basis—it becomes respected as well as beloved; the dignity of the origin to which it is referred, influences the ends to which it is made subservient; and all are taught to feel that it can neither be violated nor abused without provoking the Divine displeasure. It is this preservative principle alone that prevents the choicest blessings and most estimable qualities from cherishing in human hearts an ungrateful and counteracting spirit of insolence and pride—a spirit which led the Virginians too soon to plant the rankest weeds of tyranny in that field where the seeds of liberty had been so happily sown.

The company had received orders from the king to transport to Virginia a hundred idle dissolute persons who were in custody for various misdemeanours in London.† These men were dispersed through the colony as servants to the planters; and the degradation of the colonial character and manners, produced by such an intermixture, was overlooked, in consideration of the assistance that was derived from them in executing the plans of industry that were daily extending themselves. [1620.] Having once associated felons with their labors, and committed the cultivation of their fields to servile hands, the colonists were prepared to yield to the temptation which speedily presented itself, and to blend in barbarous combination the character of oppressors with the claims and condition of freemen. A Dutch ship, from the coast of Guinea, having sailed up James river, sold a part of her cargo of Negroes to the planters; and as that hardy race was found more capable of enduring fatigue in a sultry climate than Europeans, the number was increased by continual importation, till a large proportion of the inhabitants of Virginia were reduced to a state of slavery by the selfish ingratitude of men who turned into a prison for others the territory that had proved a seat of liberty and happiness to themselves.

But, about this time, another addition, more productive of virtue and felicity, was made to the number of the colonists. Few women had as yet ventured to

cross the Atlantic; and the English being restrained by the pride and rigidity of their character from that incorporation with the native Americans which the French and Portuguese have found so conducive to their interests, and so accordant with the pliancy of their manners and disposition, were generally destitute of the comforts and connexions of married life. Men so situated could not regard Virginia as a permanent residence, but proposed to themselves, after amassing a competency of wealth as expeditiously as possible, to return to their native country. Such views are inconsistent with patient industry, and with those extended interests that produce or support patriotism; and under the more liberal system which the company had now begun to pursue towards the colony, it was proposed to send out a hundred young women of agreeable persons and respectable characters, as wives for the settlers. Ninety were accordingly sent, and the speculation proved so profitable to the company, that a repetition of it was suggested to the emptiness of their exchequer in the following year, [1621,] and sixty more were collected and sent over. They were immediately disposed of to the young planters, and produced such an accession of happiness to the colony, that the second consignment fetched a better price than the first. The price of a wife was estimated first at a hundred and twenty, and afterwards at a hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, of which the selling price was then three shillings per pound; and the subject of the transaction was held to impart its own dignity to the debt, which accordingly was allowed to take precedence of all other engagements.* The young women were not only bought with avidity, but received with such fondness, and so comfortably established, that others were invited to follow their example, and virtuous sentiments and provident habits spreading daily among the planters, enlarged the happiness and prosperity of the colony. To the blessings of marriage naturally succeeded some provision for the benefits of education. A sum of money had been collected by the English bishops by direction of the king, for the maintenance of an institution in Virginia for the christian education of Indian children; and in emulation of this good example, various steps were taken by the company towards the foundation of a colonial college, which was afterwards completed by William and Mary.

It is remarkable that the rise of liberty in America was nearly coeval with her first dispute with the government of the mother country, and that the earliest of those dissensions, which in a succeeding generation were destined to wrest America from England, occurred with a province long distinguished for the ardor of its loyalty to the English crown. With the increasing industry of the colony, the produce of its tobacco-fields became more than sufficient for the consumption of England, where its disposal, too, was severely hampered by the weak and unsteady counsels of the king, in granting monopolies for the sale of it, in limiting the quantities to be imported, in appointing commissioners "for garbling the drug called tobacco," with arbitrary powers to seize whatever portions of it they might consider of inferior quality, in loading the importation with a heavy duty, and, at the same time, encouraging the import of Spanish tobacco. The company, harassed by these vexatious regulations, had opened a trade with Holland, and established warehouses there, to which they sent their tobacco directly from Virginia; but the king interposed to prohibit such evasion of his revenue, and directed that all the Virginia tobacco should be brought in the first instance to England. A lengthened and acrimonious dispute arose between this feeble prince and the colonists and colonial company. Against the monopoly established in England, they petitioned the House of Commons; and in support of their right to trade directly with Holland, they both contended for the general privilege of Englishmen to carry their commodities to the best market, and pleaded the particular concessions of their charter, which expressly conferred on them unlimited liberty of commerce. At length, the dispute was adjusted by a compromise, by which the company obtained, on the one hand, the exclusive right of im-

* This year died Pocahontas. She had accompanied her husband on a visit to England, where her history excited universal interest, and the grace and dignity of her manner no less respect and admiration. Captain Smith introduced her to the queen, and her society was courted by the most eminent of the nobility. But the mean soul of the king regarded her with jealousy, and expressed alternate murmurs at Rolfe's presumption in marrying a princess, and alarm at the title that his posterity might acquire to the sovereignty of Virginia. Pocahontas died in the faith, and with the sentiments and demeanor of a Christian. She left a son by Mr. Rolfe, whose descendants in Virginia unite the blood of the old and new races of the inhabitants of America, Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 142-6.

† This year was productive of an event more interesting to the feelings than to the fortunes of the people of America—the death of Sir Walter Raleigh. After a career of dazzling brilliancy, but not of unstained virtue, or unclouded popularity, he found in the severe affliction of his closing scene a remedy for the errors of his own character, and the envy and odium in which they had involved him; and the sunset of his life, guided by the pure and gentle light of religion, added the tender respect and compassion of mankind to the various sentiments which his history had excited. On the night before his execution he composed some beautiful lines on his approaching fate. Perhaps calmer contemplation of death was never evinced than in the passage where he prays that Heaven would

"Just at the stroke—when my veins start and spread—
Set on my soul an everlasting head."

It is pleasing to observe how the earlier historians of America claim kindred between him and their country, and blend with their narrative occasional reference to his fortunes and fate. When we consider the jealousy with which the king pursued him, it seems fortunate for America that his interests had so long been separated from hers.

* Rolfe, and Smith, B. iv. Stith, p. 160—"The Assembly, when they transmitted their own enactments to England, requested the general court to prepare a digest for Virginia of the laws of England, and to procure for it the sanction of the king's approbation, adding, 'that it was not fit that his subjects should be governed by any other rules than such as received their influence from him.'—Chalmers, p. 41.

† Stith, p. 167—"Captain Smith observes, that since his departure from the colony, the number of felons and vagabonds transported to Virginia brought such evil report on the place 'that some did choose to be hanged ere they would go thither, and were.' Not long after the massacre in 1622, however, he remarks, that 'there are more honest men now senters to go, than ever have been constrained knaves.' Many persons have been transported as felons to America whom no community would be ashamed to recognize as fellow citizens. The crews of the first squadron conducted by Columbus to America were partly composed of convicts, pardoned on condition of undertaking the voyage. In the reign of Charles II. before the voluntary emigration of the Quakers, a considerable number of these sectaries were transported as felons to America.

* Stith, p. 166, 197—"A very different account has been transmitted to us of the first female emigration to Canada. About the middle of the seventeenth century the French Government sent out several ship loads of prostitutes to this province, as wives to the settlers. Though the demand was so pressing that they were all disposed of in less than fifteen days, the colonists showed more regard to virtue in selecting their mates than their government had done in assorting the cargo. The tallest, we are told, were in most request, being judged least active and volatile (consequently, it was hoped, most faithful), and best able to endure the cold.—Nouveaux Voyages de La Montan, Vol. i. Lettre ii.

porting tobacco into the kingdom, and engaged, on the other, to pay an import duty of ninepence per pound, and to send all the produce of Virginia to England.

But a cloud had been for some time gathering over the colony, and even the circumstances that most forcibly indicated the growing prosperity of the planters were but inviting and enabling the storm to burst with more destructive violence on their heads. Externally at peace with the Indians, unapprobative of danger, and wholly engrossed with the profitable cultivation of their fertile territory, their increasing numbers had spread so extensively over the province, that no less than eighty settlements had already been formed; and every planter being guided only by his own convenience or caprice in the choice of his dwelling, and more disposed to shun than to court the neighborhood of his countrymen, the settlements were universally straggling and uncompact. The Scriptures, which the colonists received as their rule of faith, bore ample testimony to the cruelty and treachery of mankind in their natural state; and their past experience might have convinced them that the savages by whom they were surrounded could claim no exemption from this testimony of Divine wisdom and truth. Yet the pious labors by which the evil dispositions of the Indians might have been overcome, and the military exercises and precautions by which their hostility might have been overawed or repelled, were equally neglected by the colonists, while, at the same time, they contributed to fortify the martial habits of the Indians by employing them as hunters, and enlarged their resources of destruction by furnishing them with fire-arms, which they quickly learned to use with dexterity. The marriage of Mr. Rolfe and Pocahontas had not produced as lasting a good understanding between the English and the Indians as it had at first seemed to betoken. The Indians eagerly courted a repetition of such intermarriages, and were deeply offended with the pride with which the English recoiled from their advances, and declined to become the husbands of Indian women. The colonists forgot that they had inflicted this mortification; but it was remembered by the Indians, who never forgot or forgave an affront. Numberless earnest recommendations had been transmitted from England to attempt the conversion of the savages; but these recommendations had not been enforced by a sufficient attention to the means requisite for their execution. Yet they were not wholly neglected by the colonists. Some attempts at conversion were made by a few pious individuals, and the success of one of them undoubtedly mitigated the dreadful calamity that was impending; but these efforts were feeble and partial, and the majority of the colonists had contented themselves with cultivating a friendly intercourse and intimate acquaintance with the Indians, who were admitted at all times into their habitations, and encouraged to consider themselves as familiar guests.* It was in the midst of this free and unguarded intercourse that the Indians formed, with cold and unrelenting deliberation, the plan for a general massacre of the English, which should involve every man, woman, and child in the colony in indiscriminate slaughter. The death of Powhatan, in 1618, devolved the power of executing a scheme so detestable into the hands of a man fully capable of contriving and maturing it. Opechancanough, who succeeded, not only to the supremacy over Powhatan's tribe, but to his influence over all the neighboring tribes of Indians, was distinguished by his fearless courage, his profound dissimulation, and a rancorous hatred and jealousy of the new inhabitants of America. He renewed the pacific treaty† which Powhatan had made, and faithfully kept, with the English after the marriage of Pocahontas to Mr. Rolfe; and he availed himself of the tranquillity it produced to prepare, during the four ensuing years, his friends and followers for the several parts they were to act in the tragedy he projected. The tribes in the neighborhood of the English, except those on the eastern shore, whom, on account of their peculiar friendship for the colonists—

he did not venture to intrust with the plan, were successively gained over; and all co-operated with that single-mindedness and intensity of purpose characteristic of a project of Indian revenge. In a tribe of savage idolaters, the passions of men are left unpurified by the influence of religion, and unrestrained by a sound or elevated morality; and human character is not subjected to that variety of impulse and impression which it undergoes in civilized society. The sentiments inculcated, and the dispositions contracted, in the family and in the tribe, in domestic education and in public life, in all the scenes through which the savage passes from his cradle to his grave, are the same; there is no contest of opposite principles or conflicting habits to dissipate his mind or weaken its determinations; and the system of morals (if it may be so called) which he embraces, being the offspring of wisdom and dispositions congenial to his own, a seeming dignity arises from the vigor and consistency of that conduct which his moral sentiments never disturb or reproach. The understanding, unoccupied by objects suitable to its dignity, and unemployed by variety of knowledge, instead of moderating the passions, becomes the instrument of their designs, and the abettor of their violence. Men in malice, but children in understanding; it is in the direction of cunning and dissimulation that the intellectual faculties of savages are chiefly exercised: and such is the perfect harmony between their passions and their reflective powers, that the same delay which would cool the cruelty of more cultivated men, serves but to confirm their ferocity, and mature the devices for its gratification. Notwithstanding the long interval that elapsed between the formation and the execution of their present enterprise, and the perpetual intercourse that subsisted between them and the white people, the most impenetrable secrecy was preserved; and so consummate and fearless was their dissimulation, that they were accustomed to borrow boats from the English to cross the river, in order to concert and communicate the progress of their design.

An incident which, though minute, is too curious to be omitted, contributed to sharpen the ferocity of the Indians by the sense of recent provocation. There was a man, belonging to one of the neighboring tribes, named Nemattanow, who, by his courage, craft, and good fortune, had attained the highest repute among his countrymen. In the skirmishes and engagements which their former wars with the English produced, he had exposed his person with a bravery that commanded their esteem, and an impunity that excited their astonishment. They judged him invulnerable, whom so many wounds seemed to have approached in vain; and the object of their admiration partook, or at least encouraged, the delusion which seemed to invest him with a character of sanctity. Opechancanough, the king, whether jealous of this man's reputation, or desirous of embroiling the English with the Indians, sent a message to the governor of the colony, to acquaint him that he was welcome to cut Nemattanow's throat. Such a representation of Indian character as this message conveyed, one would think, ought to have excited the strongest suspicion and distrust in the minds of the English. Though the offer of the king was disregarded, his wishes were not disappointed. Nemattanow, having murdered a planter, was shot by one of his servants in an attempt to apprehend him. Finding the pangs of death coming strong upon him, the pride, but not the vanity, of the savage was subdued, and he entreated his captors to grant him two last requests, one of which was that they would never reveal that he had been slain by a bullet, and the other, that they would bury him among the English, that the secret of his mortality might never be known to his countrymen. The request seems to infer the possibility of its being complied with, and the disclosure of the fatal event was no less imprudent than disadvantageous. The Indians were filled with grief and indignation; and Opechancanough inflamed their anger by pretending to share it. Having counterfeited displeasure for the satisfaction of his subjects, he proceeded with equal success to counterfeit placability for the delusion of his enemies, and assured the English that the sky should sooner fall than the peace be broken by him. But the plot now advanced rapidly to its maturity, and, at length, the day was fixed on which all the English settlements were at the same instant to be attacked. The respective stations of the various troops of assassins were assigned to them; and that they might be enabled to occupy them without exciting suspicion, some carried presents of fish and game into the interior of the colony, and others presented themselves as

guests soliciting the hospitality of their English friends, on the evening before the massacre. As the fatal hour drew nigh, the rest, under various pretences, and with every demonstration of kindness, assembled around the detached and unguarded settlements of the colonists; and not a sentiment of compunction, not a rash expression of hate, nor an unguarded look of exultation, had occurred to disconcert or disclose the designs of their well-disciplined ferocity.

The universal destruction of the colonists seemed unavoidable, and was prevented only by the consequences of an event which perhaps appeared but of little consequence in the colony at the time when it took place—the conversion of an Indian to the Christian faith. On the night before the massacre, this man was made privy to it by his own brother, who communicated to him the command of his king and his countrymen to share in the exploit that would enrich their race with spoil, revenge, and glory. The exhortation was powerfully calculated to impress a savage mind; but a new mind had been given to this convert, and as soon as his brother left him he revealed the alarming intelligence to an English gentleman in whose house he was residing. This planter immediately carried the tidings to Jamestown, from whence the alarm was communicated to the nearest settlers, barely in time to prevent the last hour of the perfidious truce from being the last hour of their lives.

But the intelligence came too late to be more generally available. At midday, the moment they had previously fixed for this execrable deed, the Indians, raising a universal yell, rushed at once on the English in all their scattered settlements, and butchered men, women, and children with undistinguishing fury, and every aggravation of brutal outrage and enormous cruelty. In one hour, three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off, almost without knowing by whose hands they fell. The slaughter would have been still greater if the English, even in some of those districts where the warning that saved others did not reach, had not flown to their arms with the energy of despair, and defended themselves so bravely as to repulse the assailants, who almost universally displayed a cowardice proportioned to their cruelty, and fled at the sight of arms in the hands even of the women and boys, whom, unarmed, they were willing to attack and destroy. If in this foul and revolting exhibition of humanity, some circumstances appear to be referable to the peculiarities of savage life and education, we shall greatly err if we overlook, in its more general and important features, the testimony it has given to the deep depravity of fallen nature. The previous massacre of the French protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, and the subsequent massacre of the Irish protestants in 1641, present, not only a barbarous people, but a civilized nation and accomplished court, as the rivals of these American savages in perfidy, fury, and cruelty.

The colony had received a wound no less deep and dangerous, than painful and alarming. Six of the members of council, and many of the most eminent and respectable inhabitants, were among the slain; at some of the settlements the whole of their population had been exterminated; at others a remnant had escaped the general destruction by the efforts of despair; and the survivors were impoverished, terrified, and confounded by a stroke that at once bereaved them of friends and fortune, and showed that they were surrounded by legions of enemies, whose existence they had never dreamt of, and whose brutality and ferocity seemed to proclaim them a race of fiends rather than men.* To the massacre succeeded a vindictive and exterminating war between the English and the Indians; and the colonists were at last provoked to retaliate, in some degree, on their savage adversaries, the evils of which they had set so bloody an example, and which seemed to be the only weapons capable of waging effectual war upon them. Yet though a direful necessity might seem to justify or palliate the measures which it taught the colonists to apprehend and provide for, their warfare was never wholly divested of honor and magnanimity. During this disastrous period, the design for erecting a colonial college, and many other public institutions, was abandoned; the number of the settlements was reduced from eighty to six; and the affliction of scarcity was added to the horrors of war.†

* It was long before any of the British colonies were properly on their guard against the characters of men capable of such consummate treachery, and who "in anger were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but sullen and revengeful." *Trumbull's Connecticut*, i. 44.

† *Smith*, p. 219, 235, 238. As far as I am able to discover, the retaliatory deceit practised by the colonists in their hostilities with the Indians has been greatly overrated. Through

* *Smith*, p. 210.—To the remonstrances of some persons in the colony against their worship of demons, some of the Indians of Virginia answered that they believed in two great spirits, a good and an evil one; that the first was a being sunk in the enjoyment of everlasting indolence and ease, who showered down blessings indiscriminately from the skies, leaving men to scramble for them as they chose, and totally indifferent to their concerns; but that the second was an active jealous spirit, whom they were obliged to propitiate that he might not destroy them—*Oldmixon*, i. 283.

† *Smith*, p. 155—Opechancanough, in imitation of the English, had built himself a house, and was so delighted with the contrivance of a lock and key, that he used to spend whole hours in the repetition of the experiment of locking and unlocking his door—*Oldmixon*, i. 238.

When intelligence of this calamity arrived in England, it excited, with much disapprobation of the defective policy and inefficient precautions of the company, a powerful sympathy with the danger and distress of the colonists. By order of the king, a supply of arms from the Tower was delivered to the treasurer and company; and vessels were despatched with cargoes of such articles as the exigency of the time seemed to render most pressing requisite. Captain Smith submitted to the company a project, which he offered to conduct, for effecting the restoration of peace by the expulsion or subjugation of the savages; but, though generally approved, it was not adopted. By dint of the exertions they made in their own behalf, with the assistance of the supplies that were actually sent to them from England, the colonists were barely saved from perishing with hunger; and it was not till after a long struggle with their calamities, that they were at length enabled again to resume their prospects and extend their settlements.*

More ample supplies, and more active assistance, would have been rendered to the colonists from England, but for the dissensions among the patentees, which had been spreading for a considerable period, and had at this juncture attained a height that manifestly tended to the dissolution of the corporation. The company was now a numerous body, and being composed of able and enterprising men drawn from every class in society, it represented very faithfully the state of party feeling in the nation; while its frequent courts afforded a convenient arena in which the parties tried their strength, and a powerful organ by which the prevailing sentiments were publicly expressed. At every meeting, the proceedings were impeded by the intrigues of rival factions, and the debates inflamed and lengthened by their vehement alterations. At every election, the offices of the company were courted and contested by the most eminent persons in the state. The distinction between the court party and the country party that was spreading through the nation, was the more readily insinuated into the counsels of the company [1623] from the infrequency and irregularity of its more legitimate theatre, the parliament; and various circumstances in the history of the company tended to fortify and maintain this distinction. Many of the proprietors, dissatisfied with the slender returns that the colony had yielded, were disposed to blame the existing officers and administration for the disappointment of their hopes: not a few resented the procurement of the third charter, the exclusion of Captain Smith from the direction which he had shown himself so well qualified to exercise, and the insignificance to which they were themselves condemned by the arbitrary enlargement of the association; and a small but active and intriguing party, who had labored with earnest but unsuccessful rapacity, to engross the offices of the company, to usurp the direction of its affairs, and to convert the trade of the colony into their own private patrimony by monopolies which they bought from needy courtiers, naturally ranged themselves on the side of the court, and by their complaints and misrepresentations to the king and privy council, sought to interest them in the quarrels, and infect them with suspicions of the corporation. At the head of this least numerous but most dangerous faction, was the notorious Captain Argal, who continued to display a rancorous enmity to the liberty of the colony, and hoped to compass by intrigue and servility at home the same objects which he had pursued by tyranny and violence abroad. Sir Thomas Smith too, the treasurer, whose predilection for arbitrary government we have already had occasion to notice, encouraged every complaint and proposition that tended to abridge the privileges of the colony, and give to its administration a less popu-

lar form. The arbitrary alterations of the charter taught all the malecontents to look up to the crown for such further changes as might remove the existing obstructions to their wishes; and the complete ascendancy which the country party acquired in the company, strongly disposed the king to suppress or modify an institution that served to cherish public spirit and disseminate liberal opinions. The spirit which the company had displayed in their late dispute with him concerning the restrictions of their tobacco trade, the freedom with which his policy had been canvassed in their deliberations, the firmness with which his measures had been resisted, and the contempt they had shown for the supremacy alike of his wisdom and his prerogative in complaining to the House of Commons, eradicated from the mind of James all that partiality to an institution of his own creation, that might have sheltered it from the dislike and suspicion with which he regarded the influence of a popular assembly. But the same influence that rendered them odious, caused them also to appear somewhat formidable, and enforced some attention to equitable appearances, and deference to public opinion in wreaking his displeasure upon them. The murmurs and discontents that were excited by the intelligence of the massacre, furnished him with an opportunity which he did not fail to improve. Having signalled his own concern for the misfortunes of the colony by sending thither a supply of arms for defence against the Indians, and by issuing his orders to the company to despatch an ample supply of provisions, he proceeded to institute an inquiry into the cause of the disaster, and the conduct of the company. A commission was directed to certain of the English judges and other persons of distinction, requiring them to examine the transactions of the company since its first establishment, and to report to the privy council the causes that might seem to them to have occasioned the misfortunes of the colony, and the measures most likely to prevent their recurrence. To obstruct the efforts which the company might have made in their own vindication, and to discover, if possible, additional matter of accusation against them, measures still more violent and arbitrary were resorted to. All their charters, books, and papers, were seized, two of their principal officers were arrested, and all letters from the colony intercepted and carried to the privy council. Among the witnesses whom the commissioners examined was Captain Smith, who might reasonably be supposed to entertain little favor for the existing constitution of the company, by which his career of honor and usefulness had been abridged, and who had recently sustained the mortification of seeing his offer to undertake the defence of the colony and subjugation of the Indians disregarded by the company, notwithstanding the approbation of a numerous party of the proprietors. Smith ascribed the misfortunes of the colony, and the slenderness of the income that had been derived from it, to the neglect of military precautions; the rapid succession of governors, which inflamed the rapacity of their dependents; the multiplicity of offices, by which industry was loaded and emolument absorbed; and, in general, to the inability of a numerous company to conduct an enterprise so complex and arduous. He recommended the annexation of the colony to the crown, the introduction of greater simplicity and economy into the frame of its government, and an abandonment of the practice of transporting criminals to its shores*.

The commissioners did not communicate any of their proceedings to the company, who were first apprised of the terms of the report by an order of the king and privy council, signifying to them that the misfortunes of Virginia had arisen from their misgovernment, and that, for the purpose of repairing them, his majesty had resolved to revoke the old charter and issue a new one, which should commit the powers of government to fewer hands. In order to quiet the minds of the colonists, it was declared that private property should be respected, and all past grants of land remain inviolate. An instant surrender of their privileges was required from the company; and, in default of their voluntary submission, they were assured that the king had resolved to enforce his purpose by process of law.†

* Smith, B. iv. Smith's answers to the commissioners demonstrate his usual good sense, moderation and humanity. He warmly commends the active and disinterested efforts of many of the leading members of the company for the advantage of the colony. Great errors, he observes, had been committed in the administration of its affairs; but he declines to particularise the faults of any one individual—adding, "I have so much ado to amend my own, I have no leisure to look into any other man's particular failings."

† Smith, p. 308, 304. It was in the midst of those distract-

This arbitrary proceeding excited such surprise and consternation in the assembled court of proprietors, that a long and deep silence followed the reading of the order of council. But resuming their spirit, they proposed to defend their rights with a resolution which, if it could not avert their fate, at least redeemed their character. They indignantly refused to sanction the stigma affixed to their conduct by the order of council, to surrender the franchises which they had legally obtained, and on the faith of which they had expended large sums of money, or to consent to the abolition of a popular government, and deliver up their countrymen in Virginia to the dominion of a narrow junta dependent on the pleasure of the king. In these sentiments they persisted in spite of all the threats and promises by which their firmness was assailed; and by a vote, which only the dissent of Captain Argal and seven of his adherents rendered not quite unanimous, they finally rejected the king's proposal, and declared their determination to defend themselves against any process he might institute. [1624.] Incensed at their presumption in disputing his will, James directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the company, in order to try the validity of their charter in the King's Bench. In the hope of collecting additional proofs of their maladministration, he despatched commissioners to Virginia to inspect the state of the colony, and to endeavor to form a party there opposed to the pretensions of the company. The commissioners finding the colonial assembly embodied, endeavored with great artifice and magnificent promises of military aid, and other marks of royal favor, to detach them from their connexion with the company, and to procure an address to the king, expressive of "their willingness to submit themselves to his princely pleasure in revoking the ancient patents." But their endeavors were unsuccessful. The assembly transmitted a petition to the king, acknowledging their satisfaction to find themselves the objects of his especial care, beseeching him to continue the existing form of government, and soliciting, that if the promised military force should be granted to them, it might be subjected to the control of their own governor and house of representatives. This was the last assembly that Virginia was to enjoy for a considerable period. Its domestic legislation was marked by the same good sense and patriotism that appeared in the reception which it gave to the propositions of the royal commissioners. The governor was deprived of an arbitrary authority which he had hitherto exercised. It was enacted that he should no longer have power to withdraw the inhabitants from their private labors to his own service, and should levy no taxes on the colony but such as the general assembly should impose and appropriate. Various other wise and judicious laws were enacted, for the reformation of manners, the support of divine worship, the security of civil and political freedom, the regulation of traffic with the Indians, and the observance of precautions conducive to the general safety.

Whether the suit between the king and the company was prosecuted to an issue or not, is a point involved in some uncertainty, and truly of very little importance, for the issue of a suit between the king and the subject in that age, could never be doubtful for a moment. Well aware of this, the company looked to protection more efficient than the law could afford them, and presented a petition to the House of Commons, enumerating their grievances, and soliciting redress. Their application was entertained by the House so cordially, that had it been presented at an earlier period it might have saved the corporation; but they had deferred this last resource till so late a period of the session, that there was not time to enter on so wide an inquiry; and fearing to exasperate the king by preferring odious charges which they could not hope to substantiate, they confined their pleading before the House to the discouragement of their tobacco trade, which the Commons accordingly voted to be a grievance. They gained no other advantage from their complaint, nor from their limitation of it. The king enraged at their presumption, and encouraged by their timidity, issued a proclamation, suppressing the courts of the company, and committing the temporary administration of the colonial affairs to certain of his privy counsel-

tions, says Stith, that the Muses for the first time opened their lips in North America. One of the earliest literary productions of the English colonists was a translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, composed in 1623 by George Sandys, treasurer of the Virginia company. It was afterwards published in England, and dedicated to Charles the First. Stith terms it "a laudable performance for the times;" and Dryden mentions the author with respect in the preface to his own translations from Ovid.

lors in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith and some other gentlemen. The company was thus dissolved, and its rights and privileges re-absorbed by the crown.*

James did not suffer the powers he had resumed to remain long unexercised. He issued, very shortly afterwards, a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve counsellors, to whom the entire direction of the affairs of the colony was intrusted. No mention was made of a house of representatives; nor had the king the slightest intention to permit the continuance of any such body. The commission ascribes the disasters of the settlement to the popular shape of the late system, which had intercepted and weakened the beneficial influence of the king's superior understanding, and, in strains of the most vulgar and luscious self-complacency, anticipates the prosperity which the colony must rapidly attain when blessed with the direct rays of royal wisdom. With this subversion of liberty, there was mingled, however, some attention to the interests of the colonists; for, in consequence of the remonstrance of the English parliament, he issued a proclamation renewing his former prohibition of the culture of tobacco in England, and restricting the importation of it to Virginia and the Somer Isles, and to vessels belonging to British subjects. This was his last public act in relation to the colony; [1625] for his intentions of composing a code of laws for its domestic administration were frustrated by his death. He died the first British sovereign of an established empire in America, and closed a reign of which the only illustrious feature was the colonization which he impelled or promoted. To this favorite object, both the virtues and the vices of his character proved subservient. If the merit he might claim from his original patronage of the Virginian colonists, be cancelled by his subsequent efforts to bereave them of their liberties, and if his prosecution of the puritans in their native country be but feebly counterbalanced by his willingness to grant them an asylum in New England;—his attempts to civilize Ireland by colonization, connect him more honorably with the great events of his reign. Harassed by the turbulent and distracted state of Ireland, and averse to resort to military operations, he endeavored to infuse a new character into its population by planting colonies of the English in the six northern counties of that kingdom. He prosecuted this plan with so much wisdom and steadiness, that in the space of nine years he made greater advances towards the reformation of that kingdom than had been made in the four hundred and forty years that had elapsed since the conquest of it was first attempted, and laid the foundation of whatever affluence and security it has since been enabled to attain. It is difficult to recognise the dogmatical oppressor of the puritans and the weak and arrogant tyrant of Virginia, in the wise and humane legislator of Ireland. The experience of such inconsistencies of character, suggests the likelihood of their existing more frequently and extensively than they are displayed; enforces candor and indulgence; and abates the fervor both of inordinate dislike and extreme admiration.

The fall of the Virginia company had excited the less sympathy, and the arbitrary proceedings of the king the less odium in England, from the disappointments and calamities of which the settlement had been productive. More than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds had been expended on the colony, and upwards of nine thousand inhabitants had been sent to it from the mother country. Yet at the dissolution of the company, the value of the annual imports from Virginia did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and its population was reduced to about eighteen hundred persons. The effect of this unprosperous issue in facilitating the overthrow of this corporation, may be regarded as a fortunate circumstance for America; for however unjust and tyrannical were the designs and proceedings of the king, they were overruled to the production of

a most important benefit to the colony, in the removal of an institution that would have dangerously loaded and restrained its growing freedom and prosperity. It is an observation of the most eminent teacher of political science, that of all the expedients that could possibly be contrived to stunt the natural growth of a new colony, the institution of an exclusive company is the most effectual; and the observation is amply confirmed by the experience of history. In surveying the constitutions and tracing the progress of the various colonial establishments which the nations of Europe have successively formed, we find a close and invariable connexion between the decline and the revival of their prosperity, and the ascendancy and overthrow of sovereign mercantile corporations. The administration of the Dutch and the English East India companies has demonstrated on a larger and distincter scale how inconsistent the genius of an exclusive company will always prove with the liberty and happiness of its subjects, and what powerful temptations, and not less powerful means, it possesses of sacrificing their lasting advantage to its own immediate profit. A sovereign company of merchants must ever consider their power but as an appendage to their trade, and as deriving its chief value from the means it gives them to repress competition, to buy cheaply the commodities they obtain from their subject customers, and to sell as dearly as possible the articles with which they supply them—that is, to diminish the incitement and the reward of industry to their subjects, by restricting their facility of acquiring what they need, and disposing of what they have. Their mercantile habits prevail over their interest as sovereigns, and lead them not only to prefer transitory profit to permanent revenue, but to adapt their administration to this preference, and to render government subservient to the interest of monopoly. They are almost necessarily led to devote a large discretionary power on their colonial officers, over whom they retain at the same time but a very feeble control. Whether we regard the introduction of martial law into Virginia as the act of the company, or (as it really seems to have been) the act of the treasurer and the colonial governors, the prevalence it obtained displays, in either case, the unjust and arbitrary policy of an exclusive company, or the inability of such a sovereign body to protect its subjects against the oppression of its officers. How incapable a body of this description must be to conduct a plan of civil policy on permanent principles, and how strongly its system of government must tend to perpetual fluctuation, is evinced by the fact, that, in the course of eighteen years, no fewer than ten successive governors had been appointed to preside over the province. Even after the vigorous spirit of liberty, which was so rapidly gaining ground in that age, had enabled the colonists to extort from the company the right of enacting laws for the regulation of their own community, still, as the company's sanction was requisite to give legal establishment to the enactments of the provincial legislature, the paramount authority resided with men who had but a temporary interest in the fate of their subjects and the resources of their territories. While, therefore, we sympathize with the generous indignation which the historians of America have expressed at the tyrannical proceedings by which the company was dissolved, we must congratulate their country on an event which, by the means that led to it, inculcated an abhorrence of arbitrary power, and by its operation overthrew a system under which no colony has ever grown up to a vigorous maturity.

Charles the First inherited, with his father's throne, [March] all the maxims that had latterly regulated his colonial policy. Of this he hastened to give assurance to his subjects, by a series of proclamations which he issued soon after his accession to the crown, and which distinctly unfolded the arbitrary principles he entertained, and the tyrannical administration he had determined to pursue. He declared, that, after mature deliberation, he had adopted his father's opinion, that the misfortunes of the colony had arisen entirely from the popular shape of its late administration, and the incapacity of a mercantile company to conduct even the most insignificant affairs of state; that he held himself in honor engaged to accomplish the work that James had begun; that he considered the American colonies to be a part of the royal empire devolved to him with the other dominions of the crown; that he was fully resolved to establish a uniform course of government through the whole British monarchy; and that henceforward the government of the colony of Virginia should immediately depend upon himself. But, unless we should suppose that he meditated even

then a violent innovation of the whole British constitution, we must conclude, from the provisions which follow this preamble, that he considered the colonies to stand in a very different relation to him from that which the territory of Great Britain enjoyed, and to have descended to him as a personal estate independent of his crown or political capacity. For he proceeded to declare, that the whole administration of the Virginian government should be vested in a council, nominated and directed by himself, and responsible to him alone. While he expressed the utmost scorn of the capacity of a mercantile corporation, he did not disclaim to assume its liberal spirit, and copy its interested policy. As a specimen of the extent of legislative authority which he intended to exert, and of the purposes to which he meant to render it subservient, he prohibited the Virginians, under the most absurd and frivolous pretences, from selling their tobacco to any persons but certain commissioners appointed by himself to purchase it on his own account. Thus the colonists found themselves subjected to an administration that combined the vices of both its predecessors—the unlimited prerogative of an arbitrary prince, with the narrowest maxims of a mercantile corporation; and saw their legislature superseded, their laws abolished, all the profits of their industry engrossed, and their only valuable commodity monopolized, by the sovereign who pretended to have resumed the government of the colony only in order to blend it more perfectly with the rest of the British empire.

Charles conferred the office of governor of Virginia on Sir George Yeardley, and empowered him, in conjunction with a council of twelve, to exercise supreme authority there; to make and execute laws; to impose and levy taxes; to seize the property of the late company, and apply it to public uses; and to transport the colonists to England, to be tried there for offences committed in Virginia. The governor and council were specially directed to exact the oaths of allegiance and supremacy from every inhabitant of the colony, and to conform in every point to the instructions which from time to time the king might transmit to them. [1627.] Yeardley's early death prevented the full weight of his authority from being experienced by the colonists during his short administration. He died in the beginning of the year 1627, and, two years after, was succeeded by Sir John Harvey. During this period, and for many years after, the king, who seems to have inherited his father's prejudices respecting tobacco, continued to harass the importation and sale of it by a series of regulations so vexatious, oppressive, and unsteady, that it is difficult to say whether they excite greater contempt for the fluctuations and caprice of his counsels, or indignation pity for the wasted prosperity and insulted patience of his people.

[1629.] Sir John Harvey, the new governor, proved a fit instrument in Virginia to carry the king's system of arbitrary rule into complete execution. Haughty, rapacious, and cruel, he exercised an odious authority with the most offensive insolence, and aggravated every legislative severity by the rigor of his executive energy. So congenial was his disposition with the system he conducted, and so thoroughly did he personify, as well as administer, tyranny, as not only to attract, but to engross, in his own person, the odium of which a large share was undoubtedly due to the prince who employed him. Of the length to which he carried his arbitrary exactions and forfeitures, some notion may be formed from a letter of instructions by which the royal committee of council for the colonies in England at length thought it prudent to check his excesses. [July, 1634.] It signified, that the king, of his royal favor, and for the encouragement of the planters, desired that the interests which had been acquired under the corporation should be exempted from forfeiture, and that the colonists, "for the present, might enjoy their estates with the same freedom and privilege as they did before the recalling of the patent." We might suppose this to be the mandate of an eastern sultan to one of his bashaws; and indeed the rapacious tyranny of the governor seems hardly more odious than the cruel mercy of the prince, who interposed to mitigate oppression only when it had reached an extreme which is proverbially liable to inflame the wise with madness, and drive the patient to despair. The most significant comment on the letter is, that Harvey was neither censured nor displaced for the excesses which it commanded him to restrain. The effect, too, which it was calculated to produce, in ascertaining the rights and quieting the apprehensions of the colonists, was counterbalanced by large and vague grants of territory within the province, which Charles inconsider-

* It is stated by Chalmers, and repeated by Gordon, Robertson, and Marshall, that in the process of quo warranto, judgment was pronounced against the company in June, 1624. Robertson refers to the commission in August 1624, which no doubt contains a clause setting forth that the quo warranto had been issued, and adding, that the charter was now legally annulled. The same form of words occurs in the prior proclamation in July, 1624; but no judgment of the Court of King's Bench is either expressly mentioned or referred to. Captain Smith, on the other hand, after mentioning the writ of quo warranto, refers not to any judgment upon it, but to the proclamation in July, as having dissolved the company. B. iv. p. 168. Smith likewise asserts expressly, that this proclamation was issued while the quo warranto was depending, and that no judgment on the quo warranto was ever pronounced, p. 329, 330. It is very immaterial whether the king accomplished his arbitrary purpose by superseding or perverting the forms of law.

ately bestowed on his courtiers, and which gave rise to numerous encroachments on established possession, and excited universal distrust of the validity of titles, and the stability of property. The effect of one of these grants was the formation of the state of Maryland, by dismembering a large portion of territory that had been previously annexed to Virginia. For many years this event proved a source of much discontent and serious inconvenience to the Virginian colonists, who had endeavored to improve their trade by restricting themselves to the exportation only of tobacco of superior quality, and now found themselves deprived of all the advantage of this sacrifice by the transference of a portion of their own territory to neighbors who refused to unite in their regulations.

The restrictions prescribed by the letter of the royal committee, left Harvey still in possession of ample scope to his tyranny; and the colonists respecting, or overawed by, the authority with which he was invested, for a long time endured it without resistance. Roused, at length, by reiterated provocation, [1636.] and impatient of farther suffering, the Virginians, in a transport of general rage, seized the person of Harvey, and sent him a prisoner to England, along with two deputies from their own body, who were charged with the duty of representing the grievances of the colony and the misconduct of the governor. But their reliance on the justice of the king proved to be very ill founded. Charles was fited to teach his subjects, that if they meant to retain their liberties, they must prepare to defend them; that neither enduring patience nor respectful remonstrance could avail to relax or divert his arbitrary purpose; and that if they would obtain justice to themselves, they must deprive him of the power to withhold it. The inhabitants of Virginia had never irritated the king by disputing, like their fellow-subjects in England, the validity of his civil or ecclesiastical edicts; they had entered into no contest with him, and neither possessed forces nor pretended to privileges which could alarm his jealousy. They had borne extreme oppression (of which he had already evinced his consciousness) with long patience, and even when driven to despair, had shown that they neither imputed their wrongs to him nor doubted his justice. Defenceless and oppressed, they appealed to him as their protector; and their appeal was enforced by every circumstance that could impress a just, or move a generous mind. Yet so far from commiserating their sufferings, or redressing their wrongs, Charles regarded their conduct as an act of presumptuous audacity little short of rebellion; and all the applications of their deputies were rejected with calm injustice and inflexible disdain. He refused even to admit them to his presence, or to hear a single article of their charges against Harvey; and, having reinstated that obnoxious governor in his office, [1637.] he sent him back to Virginia, with an ample renewal of the powers, which he had so grossly abused. There, elated with his triumph, and inflamed with rage, Harvey resumed and aggravated a tyrannical sway that has entailed infamy on himself and disgrace on his sovereign, and provoked complaints so loud and vehement that they began to penetrate into England, and produce an impression on the minds of the people which could not be safely disregarded. It is in those scenes and circumstances in which men feel themselves entirely delivered from restraint, that their natural character most distinctly betrays itself. Enjoying absolute power over Virginia, Charles has inscribed his character more legibly on the history of that province, than of any other portion of his dominions.

[1638.] Had the government of Sir John Harvey been continued much longer, it must have ended in the revolt or the ruin of the colony. So great was the distress it occasioned, as to excite the attention of the Indians, and awaken their slumbering enmity by suggesting the hope of revenge. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now far advanced in years; but age had not dimmed his discernment, nor extinguished his animosity. Seizing the favorable occasion presented by the distracted state of the province, he again led his warriors to a sudden and furious attack, which the colonists did not repel without the loss of five hundred men. A general war ensued between them and all the Indian tribes under the influence of Opechancanough.

[1639.] But a great change was now at hand, which was to reward the patience of the Virginians with a bloodless redress of their grievances. The public discontents which had for many years been multiplying in England, were now advancing with rapid strides to a full maturity, and threatened the kingdom with some great convulsion. After a long intermission, Charles was forced

to contemplate the re-assembling of a parliament, and, well aware of the ill humor which his government at home had excited, he had the strongest reason to dread that the displeasure of the commons would be inflamed, and their worst suspicions confirmed, by complaints and descriptions of the despotism that had been exercised in Virginia. There was yet time to soothe the irritation, and even secure the adherence of a people who, in spite of every wrong, retained a generous attachment to the prince whose sovereignty was felt still to unite them with the parent state; and, from the propagation of the complaints of colonial grievances in England, there was every reason to apprehend that the redress of them, if longer withheld by the king, would be granted, to the great detriment of his credit and influence, by the parliament. To that body the Virginians had applied on a former occasion, and the encouragement they had met with increased the probability both of a repetition of their application and of a successful issue to it. These considerations alone seem to account for the sudden and total change which the colonial policy of the king now evinced. Harvey was recalled, and the government of Virginia committed to Sir William Berkeley, a person not only of superior rank and abilities to his predecessor, but distinguished by every popular virtue of which Harvey was deficient—of upright and honorable character, mild and prudent temper, and manners at once dignified and engaging. A change, not less gratifying, was introduced into the system of government. The new governor was instructed to restore the Colonial Assembly, and to invite it to enact a body of laws for the province, and to improve the administration of justice by introduction of the forms of English judicial procedure. Thus, all at once, and when they least expected it, was restored to the colonists the system of freedom which they had originally derived from the Virginia company; which had been involved in the same ruin with that corporation, and the recollection of which had been additionally endeared to them by the oppression that had succeeded its overthrow. Universal joy and gratitude was excited throughout the colony by this signal and happy change; and the king, who, amidst the hostility that was gathering around him in every other quarter, was addressed in the language of affection and attachment by this people, seems to have been somewhat struck and softened by the generous sentiments which he had so little deserved; and which forcibly proved to him how cheap and easy were the means by which princes may render their subjects grateful and happy. And yet so strong were the illusions of his self-love, or so deliberate his artifice, that in his answer to an address of the colonists, he eagerly appropriated the praise for which he was indebted to their generosity alone, and endeavored to extend the application of their grateful expressions even to the administration which he had abandoned in order to procure them.

[1640.] While Charles thus again introduced the principles of the British constitution into the internal government of Virginia, he did not neglect to take precautions for preserving its connexion with the mother country, and securing to England an exclusive possession of the colonial trade. For this purpose Sir William Berkeley was instructed to prohibit all commerce with other nations, and to take a bond from the master of every vessel that sailed from Virginia, obliging him to land his cargo in some part of the king's dominions in Europe. Yet the pressure of this restraint was more than counterbalanced by the liberality of the other instructions; and with a free and mild government, which offered a peaceful asylum, and distributed ample tracts of land to all who sought its protection, the colony advanced so rapidly in prosperity and population, that at the beginning of the Civil Wars it contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. [1641.] By the vigor and conduct of Sir William Berkeley, the Indian war, after a few expeditions, was brought to a successful close: Opechancanough was taken prisoner;* and a peace concluded with the savages, which endured for many years.

It was happy for Virginia that the restoration of its

* Beverley, p. 52, 53. It was the intention of Sir William Berkeley, to have sent this remarkable personage to England; but he was shot after being taken prisoner by a soldier, in resentment of the calamities he had inflicted on the province. He lingered under the wound for several days, and died with the pride and firmness of an old Roman. Indignant at the crowds who came to gaze at him on his death-bed, he exclaimed, "If I had taken Sir William Berkeley prisoner, I would not have exposed him as a show to the people." Perhaps he remembered that he had saved the life of Captain Smith, and forgot the numberless instances in which he had exposed other prisoners to public derision and lingering torture.

domestic constitution was accomplished in this manner, and not deferred till a later period, when it would probably have been accompanied by a restoration of the exclusive company. To this consummation some of the members of that body had been eagerly looking forward; and notwithstanding the disappointment that their hopes had sustained by the redress of those grievances which would have forced their pretensions, they endeavored to avail themselves of the avidity with which every complaint against the king was received by the Long Parliament, by presenting a petition in the name of the assembly of Virginia, praying for a restoration of the ancient patents and government. This petition, though supported by some of the colonists, who were justly dissatisfied with the discouragement which the puritan doctrines and the preachers of them, whom they had invited from Massachusetts,* had experienced from the government of Virginia, was, undoubtedly, not the act of the assembly, nor the expression of the prevailing sentiment in the colony. The assembly had tasted the sweets of unrestricted freedom, and were not disposed to hazard or encumber their system of liberty, by re-attaching it to the mercantile corporation from which it had been originally derived. No sooner were they apprised of the petition to the House of Commons than they transmitted an explicit disavowal of it; and at the same time presented an address to the king, acknowledging his bounty and favor to them, and desiring to continue under his immediate protection. In the fervor of their loyalty, they enacted a declaration [1642] "that they were born under monarchy, and would never degenerate from the condition of their births by being subject to any other government." The only misfortune attending the manner in which the Virginians had regained their liberties, was that it thus allied their partial regards to an authority which was destined to be overthrown in the approaching civil war, and which could no more reward than it deserved their adherence. During the whole of the struggle between the king and parliament in England, they remained unalterably attached to the royal cause; and after Charles the First had been beheaded, and his son driven out of the kingdom, acknowledged the fugitive prince as their sovereign, and conducted their government under a commission which he transmitted to Sir William Berkeley from Breda.† The royal family, though they had little opportunity, during their exile, [June, 1650.] of cultivating their interest in Virginia, were not wholly regardless of it. Henrietta Maria, the queen mother, obtained the assistance of the French government to the execution of a scheme projected by Sir William Davenant, the poet, of emigrating in company with a large body of artificers, whom he collected in France, and founding with them a new plantation in Virginia. The expedition was intercepted by the English fleet; and Davenant, who was taken prisoner, owed his safety to the friendship of Milton.‡

But the parliament having prevailed over all opposition in England, was not disposed to suffer its authority to be questioned in Virginia. Incensed at this open defiance of its power, it issued an ordinance, [October,] declaring that the settlement of Virginia having been founded by Englishmen and English money, and by the authority of the nation, ought to be subordinate to and dependent upon the English commonwealth, and subject to the legislation of parliament; that the colonists, instead of rendering this dutiful submission, had audaciously disclaimed the supremacy of the state, and rebelled against it; and that they were now therefore denounced as notorious robbers and traitors. Not only was all connexion prohibited with these refractory colonists, and the council of state empowered to send out a fleet and army to enforce their obedience to the authority of parliament, but all foreign states were expressly interdicted from trading with any of the English settlements in America. It might reasonably be supposed that this latter restriction would have created a common feeling throughout all the British colonies of opposition to the English government. But the colonists of Massachusetts were much more cordially united by similarity of political sentiments and religious opinions with the leaders of

* This transaction will form a part of the History of New England.

† Hume's England, vol. vii. p. 203. Chalmers, p. 122. This year a tract was published at London by one Edward Williams, recommending the culture of silk in Virginia.

‡ Johnson's Life of Milton. Encyclopedia Britannica, v. 688. Davenant repaid Milton's kindness after the Restoration. Cowley, in a poem addressed to Davenant, says,

"Sure 'twas the noble boldness of the muse
Did thy desire to seek new worlds infuse."

the commonwealth, than by identity of commercial interest with the inhabitants of Virginia. The religious views that had founded their colonial establishment, long regulated all its policy, and prevailed over every other consideration. And no sooner were the people of Massachusetts apprised of the parliamentary ordinance, than they hastened to enforce its prohibition of intercourse with Virginia, by a corresponding enactment of their own legislature.

The efforts of the parliamentary rulers of England were as prompt and vigorous as their declarations. They quickly despatched a powerful armament under the command of Sir George Ayscue to reduce all their enemies to submission. The commissioners whom they appointed to accompany the expedition were furnished with instructions which, if they reflect credit on the vigor of the parliament, convey a very unfavorable impression of their moderation and humanity. These functionaries were empowered to try, in the first instance, the efficacy of pardons and other peaceful propositions in bringing the colonists to obedience; but if there should prove ineffectual, they were then to employ every act of hostility to set free the servants and slaves of all the planters who continued refractory, and furnish them with arms to assist in the subjugation of their masters. Such a plan of hostility resembled less a war than a massacre, and suggests the painful reflection that an assembly, possessed of absolute power, and professing the glory of God and the liberty of mankind to be the chief ends for which they held it, never once projected the liberation of the negro slaves in their own dominions, except for the purpose of converting them into an instrument of bloodshed and conquest.

The English squadron, after reducing the colonies in Barbadoes and the other islands to submit to the commonwealth, entered the bay of Chesapeake. [1651.] Berkeley, apprised of the invasion, made haste to hire the assistance of a few Dutch ships which were then trading to Virginia, contrary both to the royal and the parliamentary injunctions, and with more courage than prudence prepared to oppose this formidable armament; but though he was cordially supported by the loyalists, who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, he could not long maintain so unequal a contest. Yet his gallant resistance, though unavailing to repel the invaders, enabled him to procure favorable terms of submission to the colony. By the articles of surrender, a complete indemnity was stipulated for all past offences; and the colonists, while they recognised the authority, were admitted into the bosom of the commonwealth, and expressly assured of an equal participation in all the privileges of the free people of England. In particular it was provided that the general assembly should transact as formerly the affairs of the settlement, and enjoy the exclusive right of taxation; and that "the people of Virginia shall have a free trade, as the people of England, to all places and with all nations." Berkeley disdained to make any stipulation for himself with those whom his principles of loyalty taught him to consider as usurpers. Without leaving Virginia, he withdrew to a retired situation, where he continued to reside as a private individual, universally beloved and respected, till a new revolution was again to call him to preside once more over the colony.

But it was the dependence and not the alliance of the colonies, that the rulers of the English commonwealth were concerned to obtain; and in their shameless disregard of the treaty concluded by their commissioners, they signally proved with how little equity absolute power is exercised even by those who have shown themselves most prompt to resent and most vigorous to resist the endurance of its excesses. Having succeeded in obtaining from the colonies a recognition of the authority which they administered, they proceeded to the adoption of measures calculated to enforce their dependence on England, and to secure the exclusive possession of their increasing commerce. With this view, as well as for the purpose of provoking hostilities with the Dutch, by aiming a blow at their carrying trade, the parliament not only forbore to repeal the ordinance of the preceding year, which prohibited commercial intercourse between the colonies and foreign states, but framed another law which was to introduce a new era of commercial jurisprudence, and to found the celebrated navigation system of England. This remarkable law enacted that no production of Asia, Africa, or America, should be imported into the dominions of the commonwealth, but in vessels belonging to English owners or the inhabitants of the English colonies, and navigated by crews of which the captain and the majority of the sailors should be

Englishmen.* Willing at the same time to encourage the cultivation of the staple commodity of Virginia, the parliament soon after [1652.] passed an act confirming all the royal proclamations against planting tobacco in England.

This unjust and injurious treatment kept alive in Virginia the attachment to the royal cause, which was farther maintained by the emigrations of the distressed cavaliers, who resorted in such numbers to Virginia, that the population of the colony amounted to thirty thousand persons at the epoch of the restoration. But Cromwell had now prevailed [1653.] over the parliament, and held the reins of the commonwealth in his vigorous hands; and though the discontents of the Virginians were secretly inflamed by the severity of his policy and the invidious distinctions which it evinced, their expression was repressed by the terror of his name, and the energy which he infused into every department of his administration; and under the superintendence of governors appointed by him, the exterior, at least, of tranquillity was maintained in Virginia till the period of his death. Warmly attached by similarity of religious and political sentiments to the colonists of Massachusetts, Cromwell indulged them with a dispensation from the commercial laws of the Long Parliament, while he rigorously exacted their observance in Virginia. The enforcement of these restrictions on the obnoxious colonists, at a time when England could neither afford a sufficient market to their produce nor an adequate supply to their wants, and while Massachusetts enjoyed a monopoly of the advantages of which they were deprived, strongly impeached the magnanimity of the protector and the fearless justice by which he professed to dignify his usurped dominion, and proved no less burdensome than irritating to the Virginians. Such partial and illiberal policy subverts in the minds of subjects those sentiments which facilitate the administration of human affairs and assure the stability of government, and habituates them to ascribe every burden and restriction which views of public expediency may impose, to causes that provoke enmity and redouble impatience. In the minds of the Virginians it produced not only this evil habit, but other no less unfortunate consequences; for retorting the dislike with which they found themselves treated, and encountering the partiality of their adversaries with prejudices equally unjust, they conceived a violent antipathy against all the doctrines, sentiments, and practices that seemed peculiar to the puritans, and rejected all communication of the knowledge that flourished in Massachusetts, from hatred of the authority under whose shelter it grew, and of the principles to whose support it seemed to administer.† At length the disgust and impatience of the inhabitants of Virginia could no longer be restrained. [1658.] Matthews, the last governor appointed by Cromwell, died nearly at the same period with the protector; and the Virginians, though not yet apprized of the full extent of their deliverance, took advantage of the suspension of authority caused by the governor's demise; and having forced Sir William Berkeley from his retirement, unanimously elected him to preside over the colony.‡ Berkeley refusing to act under usurped authority, the colonists boldly erected the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second to be their lawful sovereign; thus venturously adopting a measure which,

according to all appearances, involved a contest with the arms of Cromwell and the whole resources of England. Happily for the colony, the distractions that ensued in England deferred the vengeance which the ruling powers had equal ability and inclination to inflict upon it, till the sudden and unexpected restoration of Charles to the throne of his ancestors, [1660.] converted their imprudent temerity into meritorious service, and enabled them safely to exult in the singularity which they long mentioned with triumph, that they had been the last of the British subjects who had renounced and the first who had resumed their allegiance to the crown.

CHAPTER III.

The Navigation Act—its Impolicy—Discontent and Distress of the Colonists—Naturalization of Aliens—Progress of the colonial Discontent—Indian hostilities—Bacon's Rebellion—Death of Bacon—and Restoration of Tranquillity—Bill of Attainder passed by the Colonial Assembly—Sir William Berkeley superseded by Colonel Jeffreys—Partiality of the new Governor—Dispute with the Assembly—Renewal of Discontents—Lord Culpeper appointed Governor—Seventy and Rapacity of his Administration—An Insurrection—Punishment of the insurgents—Arbitrary Measures of the Crown—James the Second—augments the Burdens of the Colonists—Corrupt and oppressive Government of Lord Edlingham—Revolution in Britain—Complaints of the Colonies against the former Governors discouraged by King William—Effect of the English Revolution on the American Colonies—State of Virginia at this Period—Population—Laws—Manners.

THE intelligence of the restoration soon reached America, and excited in the different colonies very different emotions. In Virginia, whose history we must still separately pursue, it was received like the surprising fulfilment of an agreeable dream, and hailed with acclamations of unfeigned and unbounded joy. These sentiments, confirmed by the gracious expressions of esteem and good-will* which the king very readily vouchsafed, excited hopes of substantial favor and recompense which it was not easy to gratify, and which were fated to undergo a speedy and severe disappointment. For a short time, however, the Virginians were permitted to indulge their satisfaction, and some of the proceedings of the first colonial assembly that was held after the restoration demonstrate that this event was by no means unproductive of important benefits to them. Trial by jury, which had been discontinued during the usurpation, was now again restored, and judicial proceedings were disencumbered of various abuses and considerably improved. It was enacted that no county should send more than two burgesses to the assembly; and that every district which should "people an hundred acres of land with as many titheable persons," should acquire the privilege of being represented in that body. The church of England was established by law: provision was made for its ministers; and none but those who had received their ordination from some bishop in England, and who should subscribe an engagement of conformity to the orders and constitutions of the established church, were permitted to preach either publicly or privately within the colony. A law was shortly after passed against the importation of quakers under the penalty of five thousand pounds of tobacco on the importers of them; but with a special exception of such quakers as might be transported from England for breach of the laws.

The same principles of government which prevailed in England during this reign constantly extended their influence, whether salutary or baneful, across the Atlantic; and the colonies, no longer deemed by the court the mere property of the prince, were recognized as extensions of the British territory, and considered as subject to parliamentary legislation. The strong declarations of the Long Parliament introduced principles which received the sanction of the courts of Westminster Hall, and were thus interwoven with the fabric of English law. In a variety of cases which involved this great constitutional point, the judges declared that by virtue of those principles of the common law which bind the territories to the state, the plantations were in all respects like the other subordinate dominions of the crown, and like them equally bound by acts of parliament when specially named, or when necessarily supposed within the contemplation of the legislature. The declarations of the courts of justice were con-

* Scobell's Acts, 1651, cap. 22. The germ of this famous system of policy occurs in English Legislation so early as the year 1381, when it was enacted by the statute of 5 Rich. II. cap. 3, "that to increase the navy of England, no goods or merchandizes shall be either exported or imported but only in ships belonging to the king's subjects." This enactment was premature, and soon fell into disuse. An act to revive it to a limited extent in 1460, was rejected by Henry the Sixth.

† The prejudices of an old cavalier who had acquired the habit, so general and inveterate in seasons of violent party contentions, of lumping his opinions and taking them in the gross, whether by assent to his friends or opposition to his adversaries, are displayed by Sir William Berkeley in a letter descriptive of the state of Virginia, some years after the Restoration. "I thank God," he says, "there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have those hundred years. For learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government; God keep us from both!" Chalmers, p. 324.

‡ That Cromwell had meditated some important changes in Virginia, which death prevented him from attempting to realize, may be inferred from the publication of a small treatise at London, in the year 1657, entitled "Public good without private interest," written by Dr. Gaford and dedicated to the Protector. In this little work the Protector is advised to reform the numerous abuses extant in Virginia—the disregard of religion—the neglect of Education—and the fraudulent dealings of the planters with the Indians; on all which topics the author descends very forcibly. Of this treatise, as well as of the tracts by Hamer, and Williams, and some others, which I have had occasion to notice elsewhere, I found copies in the library of the late George Chalmers.

* Sir William Berkeley, who made a journey to England to congratulate the king on his restoration, was received at court with distinguished regard; and Charles, in honor of his loyal Virginians, wore at his coronation a robe manufactured of Virginian silk. Oldmixon.

This was not the first royal robe that America supplied. Queen Elizabeth wore a gown made of the silk grass, of which Raleigh's colonists sent a quantity to England. Coxe's Description of Carolina, p. 93.

firmed and enforced by the uniform tenor of the parliamentary proceedings; and the colonists soon perceived that although the Long Parliament was no more, it had faithfully bequeathed to its successors the spirit which influenced its commercial deliberations. The House of Commons determined not only to retain the commercial system which the Long Parliament had introduced, but to mature and extend it, to render the trade of the colonies completely subject to parliamentary legislature, and exclusively subservient to English commerce and navigation. No sooner was Charles seated on the throne, than they voted a duty of five per cent. on all merchandize exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown: and the same session produced the celebrated *Navigation Act*, the most memorable statute in the English commercial code. By this statute (in addition to many other important provisions which are foreign to our present consideration), it was enacted that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in vessels built in England or the plantations, and navigated by crews of which the masters and three-fourths of the mariners should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; that none but natural-born subjects, or such as had been naturalised should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in any English settlement under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dyeing, produced or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them to any other country than England; and to secure the observance of this regulation, the owners were required before sailing to give bonds with surety for sums proportioned to the rate of their vessels. The restricted articles have been termed *enumerated commodities*; and when new articles of colonial produce, as the rice of Carolina, or the copper ore of the northern colonies, were raised into importance and brought into commerce by the increasing industry of the colonists, they were successively added to the list, and subjected to the same regulations. As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restraints, the parliament at the same time conferred on them the exclusive supply of tobacco, by prohibiting its cultivation in England, Ireland, Guernsey, or Jersey. The navigation act was soon after enlarged, and additional restraints imposed by a new law, [1663.] which prohibited the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and navigated and manned according to the provisions of the original statute. More effectual provision was made by this law for inflicting the penalties attached to the transgression of the navigation act; and the principles of commercial policy on which the whole system is founded were openly avowed in a declaration that, as it was the usage of other nations to keep the trade of their plantations to themselves, so the colonies that were founded and peopled by English subjects ought to be retained in firm dependence upon England, and made to contribute to her advantage in the employment of English shipping, the vent of English commodities and manufactures, and the rendering of England a staple, not only of the productions of her colonies, but also of such commodities of other countries as the colonies themselves might require to be supplied with. Advancing a step further in the prosecution of its encroaching policy, the parliament proceeded to tax the trade of the several colonies with each other; and as the act of navigation had left all the colonists at liberty to export the enumerated commodities from one settlement to another without paying any duty, this exemption was subsequently withdrawn, and they were subjected to a tax equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of these commodities in England.

The system pursued and established by these regulations, of securing to England a monopoly of the trade of her colonies by shutting up every other channel which competition might have formed for it, and into which interest might have caused it preferably to flow, excited the utmost disgust and indignation in the minds of the inhabitants of the colonies, and was justly denounced by them as a manifest violation of the most sacred and undoubted rights of mankind. In England it was long applauded as a master-piece of political sagacity, enforced and cherished as a main source of opulence and power, and defended on the plea of that expediency which its supposed advantages were held so abundantly to demonstrate. But the philosophy of political science has amply refuted this illiberal doctrine, and would long ago have corrected the views and

amended the institutions which it was thought to sanction, but that, from the prevalence of various jealousies, and of those obstinate and passionate prepossessions that constitute wilful ignorance, the efforts of philosophy have much more frequently terminated in the production of knowledge merely speculative, than exercised any visible operation in the improvement of human conduct, or the increase of human happiness. Nations, biassed by enmities to their neighbors, as well as partialities to themselves, have suffered an illiberal jealousy of other states to contract the views they have formed of their own interests, and to induce a line of policy of which the operation is to procure a smaller portion of exclusive gains, in preference to a larger contingent in the participation of a general advantage. Too gross sighted to use, or too passionate to feel, the bonds that connect the interests of all the members of the great family of mankind, they have accounted the exclusion of their rivals equivalent to an extension of the advantages reserved to themselves; committing herein the same error that pervades the policy of slave owners, and leads them to suppose that, to inflict depression and privation on others, is, by necessary consequence, to enhance their own elevation and enrichment. In such mistaken policy nations are apt to be confirmed by the interested representations of the few who contrive to extract a temporary and partial advantage from every abuse, however generally pernicious; and if, in spite of the defects of its policy, the prosperity of the country should be increased by the force of its natural advantages, this effect will be eagerly ascribed to the very causes that abridge, though they may be insufficient to prevent it. The discoveries, however, which the cultivation of political science has yielded, have in this respect confirmed the dictates of religion, and demonstrated that, in every transaction between nations and individuals, the intercourse most solidly and lastingly beneficial to both and each of the parties, is that which is founded on the principles of a fair reciprocity and mutual subservience; that an indisposition to regard the interests of others, implies a narrow and perverted view of our own; and that to do as we would be done by, is not less the maxim of prudence than the precept of piety. So coherent must true philosophy ever be with the dictates of Divine wisdom. But unfortunately this coherence has not always been recognised even by those philosophers whose speculations have tended to its display; and confining themselves to reasonings, sufficiently clear and convincing, no doubt, to persons contemplating human affairs in the simplicity and disinterested abstraction of theoretical survey, they have neglected to enforce the acceptance of important truths by reference to those principles that derive them from Divine wisdom, and connect them with the strongest sanctions of human duty.

They have demonstrated* that a parent state by restraining the commerce of her colonies with other nations, depresses the industry and productiveness both of the colonies and of foreign nations; and hence, by enfeebling the demand of foreign purchasers, which must be proportioned to their ability, and lessening the quantity of colonial commodities actually produced, enhances the price of the colonial produce to herself as well as to the rest of the world, and so far diminishes its power to increase the enjoyments and augment the industry of her own citizens as well as of other states. Besides, the monopoly of the colony trade produces so high a rate of profit to the merchants who carry it on, as to attract into this channel a great deal of the capital that would, in the natural course of things, be directed to other branches of trade: and in these branches, the profits must consequently be augmented in proportion to the diminished competition of the capitals employed in them. But whatever raises in any country the ordinary rate of profit higher than it otherwise would be, necessarily subjects that country to great disadvantage in every branch of trade of which she has not the monopoly. Her merchants cannot obtain this higher profit without selling dearer than they

otherwise would do, both the commodities of foreign countries which they import into their own, and the goods of their own country which they carry abroad. The country thus finds herself frequently undersold in foreign markets; and the more so, because in foreign states much capital has been forced into these branches by her exclusion of foreigners from her colonial trade, which would have absorbed a part of them. Thus, by the operation of a monopoly of the colonial trade, the parent state obtains an overgrowth of one branch of distant traffic, at the expense of diminishing the advantages which her own citizens might derive from the produce of the colonies, and of impairing all those other branches of nearer trade which, by the greater frequency of their returns, afford the largest and most beneficial excitement to the industry of the country. Her commerce, instead of flowing in a great number of small channels, is taught to run principally in one great conduit; and hence the whole system of her trade and industry is rendered less secure.

But the injurious consequences of this exclusive system are not confined to its immediate operation upon trade. The progress of our history will abundantly show that the connexion which a parent state seeks to maintain with its colonies by the aid of such a system, carries within itself the principles of its own dissolution. During the infancy of the colonies, a perpetual and vexatious exertion is required from the parent state to enforce and extend her restraining laws, and endeavors no less unremitting are made by the colonies to obstruct or elude their operation. Every rising branch of trade which is left for a time, or for ever, free to the colonists, serves by the effect of contrast, to render more visible the disadvantages of their situation in the regulated branches; and every extension of the restrictions affords an occasion of renewed discontent. As the colonies increase their internal strength, and make advances in the possession and appreciation of national consequence, the disposition of their inhabitants to emancipate themselves from such restraints, is combined with ability to effect their deliverance, by the very circumstances, and at the very period, which will involve the trade of the parent state in the greatest loss and disorder. And the advantages which the commerce of other nations must expect from the destruction of the monopoly, unites the wishes of the whole world with the revolt of the colonies, and gives assurance of the most powerful assistance to effect it.

A better apology for the system which England adopted towards her colonies, than the boasted expediency of her measures would thus appear to supply, may be derived from the admitted fact, that her policy on the whole was much less illiberal and oppressive than that which any other nation of Europe has ever been known to pursue. While the foreign trade of the colonies was restrained, for the supposed advantage of the parent state, whose prosperity they partook, and by whose power they were defended, their internal liberty was suffered to grow up under the shelter of wise and liberal institutions; and even the commercial restrictions imposed on them were much less rigorous and injurious than the colonies of France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, were compelled to undergo from their respective parent countries. The trade of the British settlements was not committed, according to the practice of some of these states, to exclusive companies, nor restricted, according to the practice of others, to a particular port; but, being left free to all the subjects, and admitted to all the harbors of England, employed a body of British traders too numerous and dispersed to admit of their superseding mutual competition, and uniting in a general confederacy to oppress the colonies and extort exorbitant profits to themselves. This apology is obviously very unsatisfactory, as every attempt to palliate injustice must necessarily be. It was urged with a very bad grace by the people of England, and utterly disregarded by the inhabitants of America.

In none of the American colonies did this oppressive system excite greater indignation than in Virginia where the larger commerce and pre-eminent loyalty of the people rendered the pressure of the burden more severe, and the infliction of it more exasperating*. No sooner was the navigation act

* Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, B. iv. cap. 7. The eminent philosopher of whose reasoning I have endeavored to present a condensed view in this paragraph of the text, is particularly obnoxious to the charge of not merely neglecting, but wilfully suppressing, the recognition of that confirmation which divine testimony derives from an enlarged view of human interests, sentiments, and actions. In the first edition of his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," he could not refrain from avowing the coherence which he plainly observed between the doctrines of divine revelation, and the sentiments of men in all ages and nations on the subject of sacrifice and foreign intercession. Part II. § 2. ad finem. But, misled by science falsely so called, he expunged this passage from the subsequent editions of the work.

* It was to Virginia alone that Montesquieu's justiciary principle of the system of restricted trade could be considered as in any degree applicable. "It has been established," says this writer, "that the mother country alone shall trade in the colonies, and that from very good reason, because the design of the settlement was the extension of commerce, and not the foundation of a city, or of a new empire." *Spirit of Laws*, B.

known in Virginia, and its effects experienced, than the colony warmly remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned earnestly for relief. But, although the English monarchs were accustomed at this period to exercise a dispensing power over the laws;—in so much that when the court at a later period ventured to adopt a plan of arbitrary government, even the act of navigation itself, so great a favorite with the nation, was suspended for a while by an exertion of this stretch of prerogative; yet, during the early period of his reign, Charles, unassured of the stability of his throne, and surrounded by ministers of constitutional principles, was compelled to observe the limits of a legal administration, and to interpose his authority for the enforcement even of those laws that were most repugnant to his principles and wishes*. So far from lending a favorable ear to the petition over Virginia, Charles and his ministers adopted measures for carrying the act into strict execution. Intelligence having been received that its provisions were almost as generally disregarded as detested, and that the colonial authorities were not prompt to enforce what they saw as so disagreeable to the persons of whom they presided, instructions were issued to the governors of the settlements, reprimanding them for the "neglects, or rather contempt," which the law had sustained, and enjoining their future attention to its rigid enforcement; and in Virginia, in particular, demonstration was made of the determined purpose of the English government to overcome all resistance to the act, by the erection of forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and the appointment of vessels to cruise on the coast. But, notwithstanding the threatening measures employed to overawe them, and the vigilance with which they were watched, the Virginians contrived to evade the law, and to obtain some vent to the accumulating stores of their depreciated produce by a clandestine trade with the settlement of the Dutch on Hudson's river. The relief, however, was inconsiderable, and the discontents, inflamed by the hostilities which the frontier Indians now resumed, began to spread so widely as to inspire some veteran soldiers of Cromwell, who had been banished to Virginia, with the hope of rendering themselves masters of the colony, and delivering it from the yoke of England. A conspiracy, which has received the name of *Birkhead's Plot*, was formed for this purpose; but, having been detected before the design was ripe, it was easily suppressed by the prudence of Sir William Berkeley, and with no farther bloodshed than the execution of four of the conspirators.

The distress of the colony continuing to increase with the increasing depreciation of tobacco, now confined almost entirely to one market, and the augmentation of the price of all foreign commodities, now derivable only from the supplies which one country could furnish, various efforts were made from time to time by the colonial assembly for the relief of their constituents. Retaliating to some extent the injustice with which they were treated, it was enacted by a colonial law, that in the payment of debts, country creditors should have the priority, and that all courts of justice should give precedence in judgment to contracts made within the colony. Acts were passed for restraining the growth of tobacco; and attempts were made to introduce a new staple, by encouraging the plantation of mulberry trees and the manufacture of silk; but neither of these designs was successful. [1666.] Numerous French protestant refugees being attracted to Maryland by the naturalization act which that settlement passed in their favor in the year 1666, the Virginian assembly endeavored to recruit the wealth and population of its territories from this source, by framing, in like manner, a series of laws which empowered the governor to confer on aliens taking the oath of allegiance all the privileges of naturalization;†

xxi. cap. 17. This was in some measure true as to Virginia, though its first charter professes more enlarged designs; but it was not true as to New England, Maryland, or the other posterior settlements of the English.

* When the parliament, in 1666, introduced the unjust and violent act against the importation of Irish cattle into England, the king was so much struck with the remonstrances of the Irish people against this measure, that he not only used all his interest to oppose the bill, but openly declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were resolute, and the king was compelled to submit. "The spirit of tyranny," says Hume, "of which nations are as susceptible as individuals, had extremely animated the English to exert their authority over their dependent state." vii. 448.

† It was not till after the Revolution of 1688 that the population of Virginia received any accession from the influx of these or other foreigners. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley thus de-

but it was provisionally subjoined, that this concession should not be construed to vest aliens with the power of exercising any function which they were disabled from performing by the acts of the English parliament relative to the colonies. This prudent reference to a restriction which the colonial letters of naturalization must inevitably have received from the common law, was intended to guard against the losses and disputes which might ensue from the attempts of the naturalized aliens to infringe the navigation act. But the precaution was unavailing; and at an after period many forfeitures of property were incurred, and much vehement dispute created, by the traffic which aliens in the colonies carried on under the authority of general letters of denization granted to them by the ignorance or inattention of the royal governors. Their pretensions, though flatly opposed to the acts of navigation, were supported by the American courts of justice, but uniformly disallowed by the English government, which, after repeatedly enforcing the principle that the acts of a provincial legislature cannot operate against the general jurisprudence of the empire, at length prohibited the granting of farther denizations.

The discontents in Virginia, so far from being abated by the lapse of time, were maintained by the constant pressure of the commercial restrictions, and the repeated attempts to provide more effectually for their enforcement. Various additional causes concurred to inflame the angry feelings of the colonists; and a considerable native population having now grown up in Virginia, the discontents of these persons were no way abated by the habitual regard and fond remembrance which emigrants retain for the parent state which is also the land of their individual nativity. The defectiveness of their instruction,* prevented the influence of education from acting in this respect as a substitute to experience; and they knew little of England beyond the wrongs which they heard daily imputed to her injustice. The Indian hostilities, after infesting the frontiers, began to penetrate into the interior of the province; and while the colonists were thus reduced to defend their property at the hazard of their lives, the most alarming apprehensions of the security of that property were created by the large and imprudent grants which the king, after the example of his father, very lavishly accorded to the solicitations of his favorites. [1673.] The fate of that parent had warned him to avoid, in general, rather the arrogance that provoked, than the injustice that deserved it; and, in granting these applications, without embarrassing himself by any inquiry into their merits, he at once indulged the indolence of his disposition, and exerted a liberality that cost him nothing that he cared for. These grants were not only of such exorbitant extent as to be unfavorable to the progress of cultivation, but, from ignorance or inaccuracy in the definition of their boundaries, were frequently made to include tracts of land that had already been planted and appropriated. Such a complication of exasperating circumstances brought the discontents of the colony to a crisis. In the beginning of the year 1675, two slight insurrections, which were rather explosions of popular impatience than the consequence of matured designs, were easily suppressed by the prudence and vigor of the governor, but gave significant intimation of the state and the tendency of public feeling in Virginia. In the hope of averting the crisis, and obtaining redress of the more recent grievances which were provoking and maturing it, the assembly despatched deputies to England,

scribes the state of its population.—"There are in Virginia above 40,000 persons, men, women, and children; of which there are 2,000 black slaves, 6,000 christian servants for a short time, and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to settle, or serve, in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly, we suppose, there come in of servants about 1,500, of which most are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years." Answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, apud Chalmers, 3. 327. The numerous importations of servants mentioned by Sir William Berkeley were probably checked by the troubles that preceded and attended Bacon's Rebellion. The later importations were more available than the earlier ones; the diseases of the country having diminished in frequency and violence as the woods were progressively cut down. The mortality among the new comers, we learn from Sir William Berkeley, was at first enormous, but had become very trifling prior to 1671.

* We have seen Sir William Berkeley, with the prejudice of a cavalier, boast of the absence of the sedulous influence of learning, but a few years prior to those violent disturbances by which Virginia was peculiarly distinguished. The commonwealth party, and especially those who were termed Puritans, though reproached as the enemies of literature, were in reality its most successful cultivators, and most zealous patrons. The reproach has been clearly refuted, and their claims ably and successfully vindicated by the Rev. Mr. Orme, in his Life of Dr. John Owen.

who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had brought matters to the point of a happy adjustment, when their expectations were frustrated and the proceedings suspended by intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony. [1676.] A tax which had been imposed by the assembly to delay the expense of the deputation, had irritated the discontents which the deputation was intended to compose; and when the dilatory proceedings of the English government, who disdained to allow the intelligence of past insurrections, or the apprehensions of future rebellion, to quicken, their diligence, seemed to confirm the assurances of the factious leaders of the colonists, that even their last sacrifice had been thrown away, the tide of rage and disaffection began again to swell to the point of rebellion. It did not long wait for additional provocation to excite, or an able leader to impel, its fury. For, to crown the colonial distress, the war with the Susquehanna Indians, which had continued to prevail notwithstanding all the governor's attempts to suppress it, now burst forth with redoubled rage, and threatened a formidable addition of danger, hardship, and expense. Even the popularity of their long-tryed and magnanimous friend, Sir William Berkeley, was overcast by the blackness of this cloud of calamities. The spirit and fidelity with which he had adhered to the colony through every variety of fortune, the earnestness with which he had remonstrated with the English government against the commercial restraints, and the disinterestedness he had shown in declining, during the unprosperous state of the colonial finances, to accept the addition which the assembly had made to his emoluments, were disregarded, denied, or forgotten. To his age and incapacity were attributed the burdens of the people, and the distractions of the times; and he was loudly accused of wanting alike honesty to resist the oppressions of the tougher country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages. Such ungrateful injustice is rarely, if ever, evinced by the people, but when the insidious acts of factious leaders have imposed on their credulity and inflamed their passions. The populace of Holland, when, a few years before this period, they tore in pieces their benefactor John De Witt, were not only terrified by the progress of their national calamities, but deluded by the profligate retainers of the Orange party. To similar influence (and in similar circumstances) were the Virginians now exposed from the artifice and ambition of Nathaniel Bacon.

This man had been trained to the profession of the law in England, and, only three years before this period, had emigrated to Virginia. This short interval had sufficed to advance him to a conspicuous situation in the colony, and to indicate the disposition and talents of a popular leader. The consideration he derived from his legal attainments, and the esteem he acquired by an insinuating address, had quickly procured him a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the militia. But his temper was not accommodated to subordinate office, and, unfortunately, the discontents of the colony soon presented him with a sphere of action more congenial to his character and capacity. Young, sanguine, eloquent, and daring, he mixed with the malcontents, and, by his vehement harangues on the grievances under which they labored, he inflamed their passions and attracted their favor. He was implicated in the insurrection of the preceding year, and had been taken prisoner, but pardoned by the governor, but less affected by the clemency, than encouraged by the impunity which he had experienced, and sensible that the avenue to legitimate promotion was forever closed against him, he determined to cast in his lot with the malcontent party, and, taking advantage of their present excitation, he now again came forward, and addressed them with artifice which their unconstructed understandings were unable to detect, and eloquence which their untamed passions rendered utterly irresistible. Finding that the sentiments most prevalent with his auditory were the alarm and indignation excited by the Indian ravages, he boldly charged the governor with neglect or incapacity to exert the vigor that was requisite for the general safety; and, having expatiated on the facility with which the whole Indian race might be exterminated, he exhorted them to take arms in their own defence, and accomplish the deliverance they must no longer expect from any other quarter. So acceptable was this address and its author to the disposition of the popular mind, that his exhortation was instantly complied with, and his main object no less successfully effected. A great multitude proceeded to embody themselves for an expedition against the Indians, and, electing Bacon to be their general,

committed himself to his direction. He assured them, in return, that he would never lay down his arms till he had avenged their sufferings and redressed their grievances. To give some color of legitimacy to the authority he had acquired, and, perhaps, expecting to precipitate matters to the extremity which his interest required that they should speedily reach, he applied to the governor for an official confirmation of the popular election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. Berkeley, suspecting his real designs, thought it prudent to temporise, and try the effect of negotiation; but he had to deal with a man whose own artifice kept him on his guard against the snares of others, and who was well aware that promptitude and resolute perseverance alone could extricate him with safety or credit from the dangers of his situation. Pressed for an answer, and finding that the applicants were not to be soothed by his conciliating demeanor, Berkeley issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude, in the king's name, to disperse immediately under the pains of rebellion.

Bacon, no more disconcerted by the vigor of this address than he had been duped by the negotiation that preceded it, instantly marched to Jamestown, at the head of six hundred of his followers, and surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were engaged in their deliberations, he demanded the commission which his proceedings and retinue showed how little he either needed or regarded. Berkeley, undismayed by the dangers that environed him, clearly perceived his inability to resist the force of the insurgents, and yet disdained to yield to their pretensions. Confronting with invincible courage the men who had charged him with defect of that virtue, he peremptorily commanded them to depart, and, when they refused, he presented his breast to their weapons, and calmly awaited the last extremity of their rage. But the council, more considerate of their own safety, and fearful of driving the multitude to despair, hastily prepared a commission, by which Bacon was appointed captain-general of all the forces of Virginia, and, by dint of the most earnest entreaty, at length prevailed with the governor to subscribe it. The insurgents having rewarded their acquiescence with insulting acclamations, retired in triumph; and the assembly no sooner felt themselves delivered from the immediate presence of danger, then, passing from the extreme of timidity to the height of presumption, they voted a resolution annulling the commission they had granted, as extorted by force, denouncing Bacon as a rebel, commanding his followers to deliver him up, and summoning the militia to arms in defence of the constitution. They found too little difficulty in prevailing with the governor to confirm, by his sanction, this indiscreet assumption of a vigor which they were totally incapable of maintaining. The consequences might have been easily foreseen. Bacon and his army, flushed with their recent triumph, and incensed at this impotent menace, which they denounced as the height of baseness and treachery, returned immediately to Jamestown, and the governor, unsupported by any effective force that could cope with the insurgents, retired across the bay to Accomack, on the eastern shore. Some of the councillors accompanied him thither; the rest retired to their own plantations; the frame of the colonial administration seemed to be dissolved, and Bacon took unresisted possession of the vacant government.

The authority which he had thus acquired by the vigor of his proceedings, Bacon employed with great address to add strength and reputation to his party. To give to this usurped jurisdiction the appearance of a legal establishment, he called a convention of the gentlemen of the country, and prevailed with a numerous body of them to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority and resist his enemies. A declaration was published, in the name of this body, setting forth that Sir William Berkeley had wickedly fomented a civil war among the people, and that, after thus violating his trust, he had abdicated the government, to the great astonishment of the country; that the general had raised an army for the public service, and with the public approbation; that the late governor having, as was reported, falsely informed the king that the general and his followers were rebels, and advised his majesty to send forces to subdue them, the welfare of the colony and their true allegiance to his most sacred majesty equally required that they oppose and suppress all forces whatsoever, till the king be fully informed of the true state of the case by such persons as should be sent to him by Nathaniel Bacon, to whom in the interim all the inhabitants were required to take an oath of alle-

giance. It was remarked by the wise, that this declaration, which might have been expected to display the genuine cause of the revolt, mentioned none of the original subjects of discontent; and, hence, they justly suspected that the leader of the insurgents had designs of his own, to which the discontents of his followers were merely subservient, which extended beyond the temporary precaution of hostilities with the Indians, and had already suggested to him a specious plea, on which he proposed to involve the colony in a war with the forces of the mother country. Yet, such was the spirit of the times, and the sympathy with resistance to every branch of an administration which Charles was daily rendering more and more odious and suspected, that, when this declaration was made known in England, it met with many advocates among the people, and even within the walls of that parliament whose injustice formed the only grievance that Virginia had yet to complain of.

Sir William Berkeley, in the mean time, having collected a force from levies among the planters who remained well affected to him, and from the crews of the English shipping on the coasts, commenced a series of attacks on the forces of the usurper, and several sharp encounters ensued between the parties with various success. All the horrors of civil war began to descend on the colony. Jamestown was reduced to ashes by the insurgents; the estates of the loyalists were pillaged, their friends and relatives seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province were laid waste. The governor was compelled, by the rage of his own partisans, to retaliate these extremities, and even to execute some of the insurgents by martial law; and the animosity of both parties was rapidly mounting to a pitch that threatened a war of mutual extermination. The superiority of the insurgent force had hitherto confined the efforts of the loyalists in the field to mere skirmishing engagements; but the tidings of an approaching armament, which the king had despatched from England under Sir John Berry, to the assistance of the governor, gave promise of a wider range of carnage and desolation. Charles had issued a proclamation, declaring Bacon, a traitor and the sole promoter of the insurrection; granting pardon to all his followers who should forsake him, and offering freedom to all slaves who would assist in suppressing the revolt. However elated the loyalists might be with the intelligence of the approaching succor, the leader of the insurgents was no way dismayed by it; and his influence over his followers was unbounded. Conscious now that his power and his life were indissolubly connected, he determined to encounter whatever force might be sent against him. He was aware, at the same time, of the importance of striking a decisive blow while the advantage of numbers remained with him; and with this view having enlarged his resources by proclaiming a general forfeiture of the property of all who either opposed his pretensions or even affected neutrality, he was preparing to take the field, when his career was arrested by that Power which restrains the remainder of human veracity, and can wither in an instant the uplifted arm of the destroyer. Happily for his country, and to the manifest advantage not less of his followers than his adversaries, Bacon unexpectedly sickened and died. [1677.]

How entirely this extraordinary man had been the soul of his party, was strikingly evinced by the effect of his death on their sentiments and proceedings. The bands of their confederacy seemed to be cut asunder by the loss of their general, and no successor even attempted to re-unite them. To their sanguine hopes and resolute adherence to Bacon, succeeded mutual distrust and universal despondency; eagerness for battle, and dreams of conquest, gave place to an earnest concern to secure their own safety, and effect an accommodation with the ancient government; and, after a short treaty they laid down their arms, and submitted to Sir William Berkeley, on condition of receiving a general pardon. Thus suddenly and providentially was dissipated a tempest that seemed to portend the inevitable ruin of Virginia. From the man whose evil genius excited and impelled its fury, this insurrection has been distinguished by the name of *Bacon's Rebellion*. It placed the colony for seven months in the power of that daring usurper, involved the inhabitants during all that period in bloodshed and confusion, and was productive of a devastation of property to the extent of at least a hundred thousand pounds.* To the mother country it conveyed a les-

son which she appears never to have understood till the loss of her colonies illustrated its meaning, and the consequence of disregarding it. For, after every allowance for the ability and artifice of Bacon, it was manifest that his influence had been originally derived from the general discontent and irritation occasioned by the commercial restrictions; and it required little sagacity to foresee that these sentiments would be rendered more inveterate and more formidable by the growth of the province, and by the increased connexion and sympathy with the other colonial settlements, which the lapse of time and the habitual consciousness of common interests and grievances would infallibly promote. Had Bacon been a more honest and disinterested leader, this lesson would perhaps have been more clearly expressed, and the rebellion, it is probable, would not have ended with himself. But, instead of sincerely embracing the cause of his associates, he contrived to render their passions subservient to his own ambitious purposes. The assertions of the interests of Virginia were thus converted into the partizans of an individual; and when his presence and influence were withdrawn, they perceived at once that they were embarked in a contest which to themselves had neither interest nor object.

No sooner were the insurgents disbanded, and the legitimate government restored than Sir William Berkeley convened the colonial assembly, to assist, by its deliberations, in the re-establishment of public order. The acts of this assembly have received from some writers the praise of moderation, which, no doubt, they must be admitted to evince in a degree no less honorable than surprising, if we confine our attention to the circumstance of its having met but a few weeks after Bacon's death, when the memory of insults and injuries was recent, when the passions of the parties were yet warm, and the agitations of the contest had barely subsided. By others, they have been loaded with a reproach which they plainly appear to deserve, when we recollect that they were infractious of the treaty with the insurgents. Still, with all their imperfections, they will be admitted by every one who is acquainted with the history of civil commotions, to form a *Marble* model than the records of any other people have ever transmitted of the moderation of a successful party in a civil war. Bacon, and a few of his principal officers, who had perished in the contest, were attainted; none of the survivors of the party were punished capitally, but a few of the more noted of them were subjected to fines and disabilities; and with these exceptions, the promise of general indemnity was confirmed by law. An attainder of the dead seems an arrogant attempt of human power to extend its arm beyond the bounds of life, to invade with its vengeance the inviolable dominion of the grave, and to reclaim to the jurisdiction of delegated authority and fallible judgment the offender, who has already been removed by the act of Sovereign Power to abide the decree of its infallible justice. It was probably resorted to on this occasion in order to assert the vindictive power of the law, without infringing the indemnity that had been stipulated to the insurgents. But, in England, it was regarded as an act of sovereignty beyond the competence of a subordinate legislature, and held to be void from defect of power; and all the other acts of the assembly in relation to the insurgents were disallowed by the king as derogatory to the terms of his proclamation. The attainder, however, was afterwards re-enacted, by passing a bill to that effect, which was framed in England, and transmitted under the great seal to the colonial assembly.

The tardy aid which had been detached from England to the defence of the colonial government, did not reach Virginia till after the complete re-establishment of tranquillity. With the fleet arrived Colonel Jefferys, appointed by the king to signify the royal and succeed to the office of Sir William Berkeley, who now closed in peace an administration of nearly forty years; and shortly after, closing his life, may be said to have died in the service of Virginia. This gallant and honorable man was thus spared the mortification of beholding the injustice with which the royal authority was soon after employed to blacken his fame, and to weaken all those sentiments of loyalty in the colony which it

* Beverley, 70—76. Oldmixon, i. 250—257. Modern Universal History, xii. 358. Sir William Keith's History of Virginia, p. 156—161. Chalmers, 332—335, 336. An account of

the causes and circumstances of this rebellion, differing materially from that which I have adopted, very discreditably to Sir William Berkeley, and proportionably favorable to Bacon, occurs in the Appendix to the first volume of Williamson's History of North Carolina. But it is opposed by all existing evidence, supported by none, and strongly impeached by its own manifest improbability. Williamson's dislike of Sir William Berkeley was probably occasioned by the very unfavorable opinion which Berkeley had expressed of the planters of North Carolina at this period.

had been the great object of his wishes, and in no small degree the effect of his administration, to cultivate and maintain. Holding all the principles of an old cavalier; endowed with a character well formed to recommend his principles; and presiding in a colony where the prevailing sentiments of the people were congenial with his own, he had hoped to make Virginia an asylum where the loyalty that was languishing in Europe might be renovated by transmigration into a young and growing body politic, and expand to a new and more vigorous maturity. But this was not the destination of the provinces of America. Strongly infected with the prejudices of his age and party, Berkeley was always more willing to make the most generous exertions for a people who committed their interests to his protection, than to enlighten them with the knowledge that would have enabled them more justly to appreciate and more extensively to administer those interests themselves. The naked republican principle that subaltitudes the respect and approbation of citizens to their magistrate, in place of the reverence and attachment of subjects to their sovereign, was held by all the cavaliers in utter abhorrence; and a more favorable specimen of the opposite principle which they maintained, and of that mixed system of opinion and sentiment which it tended to produce, will not easily be found than in the administration of Sir William Berkeley. The courageous regard he demonstrated for the people, not only excited their grateful admiration, but recommended to their esteem the generous loyalty to his king with which it was in his language and demeanor inseparably blended; and while he claimed their sympathy with his loyalty to their common sovereign, he naturally asserted his own share in the sentiment as the delegate of the crown. The exalted distinction which he thought due to rank and office, he employed to give efficacy to prudence, moderation, and benevolence; and tempering the dignity of aristocratical elevation with the kindness of a patriarch and the mild courtesy of a gentleman, his administration realized that elegant resemblance which many have preferred to more real and substantial equality: as there are many who confess that they find politeness more gratifying than solid benefaction. He was a wise legislator, as well as a benevolent and upright magistrate; and we are informed by the editor of the laws of Virginia, that the most judicious and most popular of them were framed by Sir William Berkeley. When his death was made known, and he was no longer an object of flattery or of fear, the assembly recorded the sentiments which the colony entertained of his conduct in the grateful declaration "that he had been an excellent and well deserving governor;" and earnestly recommended his widow to the justice and generosity of the king.* Happily perhaps for themselves, the bosom of the king was quite a stranger to any such sentiments; and his administration was calculated to dispel instead of confirming the impressions of cavalier loyalty, and to teach the Virginian colonists that the object of their late governor's homage was a very worthless idol, and the animating principle of his political creed a mere illusion of his own generous imagination.

The most remarkable event that distinguished the government of Colonel Jefferys was the conclusion of the Indian war, which had raged so long, and contributed, with other causes, to the production of the late rebellion, by a treaty which gave universal satisfaction. This too was the only act of his administration that was attended with consequences so agreeable. Jefferys, together with Sir John Berry and Colonel Moryson, had been appointed commissioners to inquire into, and report on, the causes of Bacon's rebellion. They commenced their inquiries with an avowed prepossession in favor of the insurgents, and conducted them with the most indecent partiality. The temptations which their office presented to magnify the importance of their labors, by new and striking discoveries, and to prove, by censure of the late administration, that they had not been appointed its arbiters in vain, co-operated, no doubt, to produce the malignity and injustice which they displayed in a degree that would otherwise seem quite unaccountable. Instead of indemnifying, or even applauding, they discountenanced the

loyalists who had rallied in the time of danger round the person of the governor; and, having invited all the persons who had been engaged in the insurrection to come forward and state their grievances without fear, and unequivocally demonstrated the favorable acceptance which such representations might expect, they revived in the colony all the angry passions that had been so happily composed, and collected a mass of senseless and inconsistent complaints which had never been uttered before, and which they compiled into a body of charges against Sir William Berkeley and his council.* While their folly or malignity thus tended to rekindle the dissensions of the colonists, their intemperance involved them in a dispute that united all parties against themselves. Having violently taken the records of the assembly out of the hands of its clerk, the house, incensed at this insult, demanded satisfaction from Jefferys; and when he appealed to the authority of the great seal of England, under which the commissioners acted, they declared to him, in language worthy of the descendants of Englishmen, and the parents of Americans, "that such a breach of privilege could not be commanded under the great seal, because they could not find that any king of England had ever done so in former times." The spirit of the assembly will appear the more commendable if we consider that a body of regular troops, the first that had ever been sent to Virginia, were now stationed in the colony under the command of Sir John Berry. Informed of this proceeding, the king, in strains that rival the arrogance of his father and grandfather, commanded the governor "to signify the royal indignation at this seditious declaration, and to give the leaders marks of the royal displeasure." Berry and Moryson soon after returned to England, leaving the colony in a state of ferment, and all parties disgusted and disappointed.

To the other causes of discontent, was added the burden of supporting the soldiery, who receiving no remittances of pay from England, lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants. Their impatience, however, was mitigated by the friendly and prudent demeanor of an aged officer, and venerable man, Sir Henry Chicheley, to whom, as lieutenant governor, the administration devolved on the death of Jefferys: [1678.] and as, during his presidency, the large and unprovoked grants of the crown that had been so much complained of were recalled, and some other grievances corrected, a short gleam of prosperity was shed on the colony, and an interval of comparative repose gave the people time to breathe before the resumption of tyranny with a violence which was to endure till the era of the revolution.

It was not to the intentions of the king that the colonists were indebted for the mild administration of Sir Henry Chicheley. Charles had sometime before conferred the government on Lord Culpepper, who though very willing to accept the important office, showed so little readiness to perform the duties of it, that it was not till he had been reprimanded by the king for his neglect, that he at length made his voyage to Virginia. [1680.] His administration was conducted with the same arbitrary spirit that the royal government had now begun to exercise without control in the mother country. Having wrested from the assembly the nomination of its own most confidential officer, the secretary who kept its journals; having abolished the power it had hitherto exercised of arbitrating appeals from the decisions of the provincial judicatories; and having endeavored to silence all complaint of his tyranny by establishing a law that prohibited, under the severest penalties, all disrespectful speeches against the governor or his administration, he returned, after a very short stay in Virginia, to enjoy in England the money he had contrived to divert from the revenues of the colonial government. Yet on this ignoble lord did the king confer the commission of governor for life, and a salary twice as large as the emoluments of Sir William Berkeley. The irritation which his proceedings had created, sharpened the sense of the hardships which the colonists were now enduring from the depressed price of tobacco; and at length the public impatience exploded in a tumultuary attempt to destroy all the new tobacco plantations that threatened to increase the depression of price by multiplying still farther the quantities of produce. [1682.] The insurrection might have proceeded to very serious extremities, if the prudence and vigor of Sir Henry Chicheley had not again

been exerted to compose the public discontent, and preserve the peace of the colony. To a mind influenced by liberal justice, or susceptible of humane impressions, this short and feeble insurrection was powerfully recommended to an indulgent consideration. It was but a momentary expression of popular impatience created by undoubted suffering; and the earnest, though ineffectual addresses by which the assembly had recently solicited from the king a prohibition of the increase of tobacco plantations, had both suggested and seemed to sanction the object to which the violence of the rioters was directed. But to the king it appeared in the light of an outrage which his dignity could not suffer to pass without a severe vindictive retribution; and Lord Culpepper, again obeying the royal mandate to proceed to Virginia, caused a number of the insurgents to be tried for high treason; and by a series of bloody executions diffused that terror which tyrants denominate tranquillity. Having thus enforced a submission, no less unpropitious to the colony than the ferment which had attended his former departure, Lord Culpepper again set sail for England, where he was immediately ordered into confinement for returning without leave; and on a charge of misappropriating the colonial revenues, was shortly after arraigned before a jury, and in consequence of their verdict, deprived of his commission.

In displacing this nobleman, it was the injury done to himself, and not the wrongs of the colony, that Charles intended to redress. The last act of his royal authority, of which Virginia was sensible, was the appointment of a successor to Culpepper, in Lord Effingham, [1683.] whose character was very little, if at all, superior, and whom, among other instructions, he expressly commanded to suffer no person within the colony to make use of a printing press on any occasion or pretence whatsoever. Along with the new governor was sent a frigate, which was appointed to be stationed on the coast for the purpose of enforcing a stricter execution of the navigation act than that obnoxious measure had yet been able to obtain.

[1685.] On the death of Charles the Second, his successor, James, was proclaimed in Virginia with demonstrations of joy, expressive less of the acquaintance of the colonists with the character of their new sovereign, than of that impatient hope with which men, under the pressure of extreme discontent, are ready to hail any change as desirable. Acclamations much more expressive of hope and joy had attended the commencement of the preceding reign; and if the hopes that were entertained on the present occasion were more moderate, they were not on that account the less fallacious. The colonists soon learned with regret, that in his first parliament James had procured the imposition of a tax on the consumption of tobacco in England; and in imploring the suspension of this tax, which threatened still farther to depreciate their only commodity, they descended to an abjectness of entreaty which produced no other effect than to embitter their disgust with the consciousness of unavailing degradation. Though the assembly was compelled to present an address of felicitation to the king on the defeat of Monmouth's invasion of England, the colonists found an opportunity of indulging very different sentiments on that occasion in the kindness with which they treated those of the insurgents whom James, from a satiety of bloodshed, which he termed the plenitude of royal mercy, appointed to be transported to the plantations; and even the assembly paid no regard to the significance of the royal desire that they should frame a law to prevent these unfortunate persons from redeeming themselves from the servitude to which they had been consigned. This conduct, however, of the colonists and their assembly, in so far as it was not prompted by simple humanity, indicated merely their dissatisfaction with the king's treatment of themselves, and proceeded from no participation of their wishes or opinions in the designs of Monmouth. The general discontent was increased by the personal character of the governor, through whom the rays of royal influence were transmitted. Lord Effingham, like his predecessor, engrafted the vices of a sordid disposition on the arbitrary administration which he was appointed to conduct. He instituted a court of chancery, in which he himself presided as judge; and, besides multiplying and enhancing the fees attached to his own peculiar functions, he condescended to share with the clerks the meaner perquisites of ministerial offices. For some time he contrived to stifle the remonstrances which his extortions produced, by arbitrary imprisonment and other severities; but at length, the public displeasure became so general and uncontrollable, that he found it impossible

* Chalmers, p. 336, 7. Preface to Moryson's Edition of the Laws of Virginia. Life of Sir William Berkeley. The very great portion of this eminent person's life which was identified with the history of the colony will seem to excuse, I hope, the length of this allusion to his interesting character. The only reference I have observed in his expressions to the state of religion in the colony, or to his own sentiments thereupon, occurs in his answers to the Lords of the Committee of Colonies, where he says, "Our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less." Chalmers, p. 328.

* The loyalty of Sir William Berkeley was defended against the misrepresentations of the commissioners, by his brother Lord Berkeley (Chalmers, p. 350), and his fame suffered no diminution from their report.

to prevent the complaints of the colony from being carried to England, for which country he in consequence resolved himself to embark, in order to be present at his own arraignment. [1688.] He was accompanied by Colonel Ludwell, whom the assembly had appointed their agent to advocate the complaints of his conduct and urge his removal.

But before the governor and his accuser arrived in England, the revolution which the tyranny of James at length provoked in that country, had transferred the allegiance of all parties to new sovereigns. The Virginians, though they readily acquiesced in the change, appear to have surveyed with very little emotion, an event which coincided with none of their anticipations, and to the production of which their concurrence had never been demanded. Whatever might be its remoter consequences, its immediate effect was forcibly to remind them of their own insignificance, as the appendages of a distant empire, whose political changes they were fated to follow, but unable to control. The most deep-seated and lasting grievances under which they labored having proceeded from the nation and the parliament, were such as the present event gave no promise of mitigating. Their immediate complaints were to be submitted to sovereigns of whom they knew absolutely nothing; and their late experience had abated their trust in princes, and their hope from changes of royalty. The coolness, then, with which the Virginians are said to have regarded the great event of the English revolution, so far from implying that their minds were not touched with a sense of freedom, may, with much greater probability, be referred to the ardor with which they cherished a regard for liberty, and the deliberate reflection with which they combined it. In some respects, too, the acts of the new government were very little calculated to convey to them more satisfactory impressions of the change that had taken place, or to excite their sympathy with the feelings of that portion of their fellow-subjects by whose exertions it had been effected. Notwithstanding the representations of Colonel Ludwell (who himself was gratified with the appointment of governor of Carolina.) King William, unwilling, and perhaps unable, to dispossess such of the officers of the old government as were willing to transfer their personal and official service to the new, continued Lord Edlingham in the government of Virginia; but he never returned thither again, and as long as his commission was suffered to endure, the administration was conducted by a deputy governor. He was removed in the year 1692, and replaced by a successor still more obnoxious to the colonists. Sir Edmund Andros, whose tyrannical proceedings under the late reigns, in the government of other American provinces, more justly merited a capital punishment than continuance in office. If such appointments remind us that the English ministry was still composed of many of the persons who had dispensed patronage in the preceding reigns, they may also in part be accounted for by other considerations. Of the officers who were thus undeservedly retained, some pretended to great local experience and official ability. This was particularly the case with Sir Edmund Andros, whose administration proved highly beneficial to Virginia. And they excused the arbitrary proceedings they had conducted in the former reigns, by pleading the authority of the sovereign whose command they had obeyed—a plea which always finds favor with a king, when not opposed to wrongs which he deems personal to himself. Besides, the complaints of the colonists were not always accurate; for anger is a more copious than discriminating accuser. Justice suffered, as usual, from the passion and partiality with which it was contended for; and the guilty artfully availed themselves of the undiscerning rage they had provoked in their accusers, to defeat or enfeeble the charges they preferred. The insolence and severity, for example, that had pervaded the whole of Lord Edlingham's government, had produced many representations of grievances in which the accusers had either neglected or been unable to discriminate between the legality of official acts, and the tyrannical demeanor or malignant motives of the party by whom they had been performed. Accordingly, while some of the remonstrances which the Virginians transmitted to England by Colonel Ludwell were complied with, there were others that produced only explanations, by which the Assembly was given to understand that it had mistaken certain points of English constitutional law.*

* Beverley, p. 90, 91, 94, 96. Chalmers, 347, 8, 359. One of the grievances complained of by the assembly of Virginia was, that Lord Edlingham having, by a proclamation, declared the royal dissent to an act of assembly which repealed a former law, gave notice that the abrogated law was now in force. This was erroneously deemed by the assembly an act of legislation.

In the infancy of a free state, collisions and disputes not unfrequently arise from the discordant claims of the different branches of its constitution, before time has given consistence to the whole, and those limits which reason finds it difficult to assign to the respective parts, have been determined by the convenience of practice and the authority of precedent.

The revolution of the British government, both in its immediate and its remote operation, was attended with consequences highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with all the existing states of America. Under the patronage, and by the pecuniary aid, of William and Mary, the college which had been projected in the reign of James the First was established. The political institutions under which the manly character of Englishmen is formed, had already been planted in the soil to which so large a portion of their race had migrated: the literary and religious institutions, by which that character is refined and improved, were now, in like manner, transported to Virginia; and a fountain opened within her own territory which promised to dispense to her children the streams of science and the water of life.

But the most certain and decisive influence which the British revolution exercised on the condition of the colonies, consisted in the abridgment and almost total overthrow of their dependence on the personal character of the sovereign. A conservative principle was infused by this great event into the British constitution at home, and into all the shoots from the parent stem that had been planted in the settlements abroad. The permanence and the supremacy which the parliament acquired in Britain, extended the constitutional superintendence of this body to every subordinate organ of popular privileges; and if in the oppression of their trade, the provinces of America still continued to feel the harsh dominion, in the security of their legislative constitutions they now began to experience the powerful protection of the strong. The king still continued to appoint the governors of Virginia and of some of the other settlements; and men of sordid dispositions and of weak or profligate character were frequently the objects of this branch of the royal patronage. But the powers of these officers were abridged and defined; and the influence of the colonial assemblies was able to restrain, and even overawe, the most vigorous administration of the executive functionaries. Whatever evil influence a wicked or artful governor might exert on the harmony of the people among themselves, or their good will towards the authority which he represented, he could commit no serious inroad on the constitution of the province over which he presided. From this period an equal and impartial policy distinguished the British dominion over the American provinces: the diminution of the personal influence of the sovereign put an end to the inequalities of treatment that were produced by the different degrees of favor with which he regarded the religious or political sentiments of the people of the respective states, and consequently extinguished, or at least greatly abated, the jealousies they had hitherto entertained of each other. A farther abatement of the mutual jealousies of the states was produced by the religious toleration which the provincial governments were henceforward compelled to observe. Even when intolerant statutes were permitted to subsist, their enforcement was disallowed; and the principles cherished in one state could no longer be persecuted in another.

We have now to transfer our inquiries to the rise of the other colonies in North America which were founded antecedently to the British Revolution, and to trace their separate progress till that era. But before withdrawing our undivided attention from this, the earliest of the settlements, I shall subjoin a few particulars of its civil and domestic condition at the period at which we have now arrived.

Notwithstanding the unfavorable circumstances to which the colony had been exposed in a greater or less degree ever since the Restoration, the number of its inhabitants had continued to increase. The deputies that were sent to Charles the Second in 1675, represented the population to amount, at that time, to 50,000 persons. If their statement were not exaggerated (as I think it probably was) we must suppose that Bacon's rebellion, and the subsequent tyranny, gave a very severe check to this rapid increase; for I think there is no reason to suppose that the colony contained a much greater number than 50,000 at the Revolution of 1688.* From a table appended to the first edition of

* Dr. Robertson, indeed, states the population of Virginia at the Revolution to have exceeded 60,000 persons, and professes to derive his statement from Chalmers. But the refer-

Beverley's History, it appears, that, in 1703, the population of Virginia (exclusive of 800 French refugees sent over by King William) amounted to 60,606 souls. Of this number, 20,023 were *tithables* (a denomination embracing all white men above the age of sixteen, and all negro slaves, male and female, above that age), and 35,583 children of both races, and white women. Many circumstances contributed to give free scope to the increase of the colonial population, and to counterbalance the influence of commercial restraint and despotic administration. The healthfulness of the settlement had greatly increased; and the diminution of disease not only shut up the drain that had been originally created by a frequent mortality, but rendered the general strength more available to the general support. The use of tobacco now prevailed extensively in Europe; and the diminution of its price was in some degree compensated by the increased demand for it. In 1671 it was computed, that, on an average, 80 vessels came annually from England and Ireland to Virginia for tobacco. In 1675 there were exported from Virginia above 23,000 hogsheads of tobacco, and in the following year upwards of 2000 more. In this latter year the customs on tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, collected in England, amounted to 135,000*l*. Sir William Berkeley rates the number of the militia, in the year 1681, at nearly 8000, and adds, that the people were too poor to afford an equipment of cavalry. In the year 1680 the militia amounted to 8568, of whom 1300 served as cavalry. Our estimate, however, of the increased wealth which the cavalry establishment seems to indicate, must be abated by the consideration of the increased exertions which the Indian war and Bacon's rebellion had rendered necessary. In the year 1703, we learn from Beverley, that the militia amounted to 9522, of whom 2363 were light horse, and the remainder foot and dragoons; and that, as few of the planters were then destitute of horses, it was considered that the greater part of them might, if necessary, be converted into dragoons. In 1722 he calculates the numbers of the militia at 18,000 men. Every freeman (a denomination embracing all the inhabitants except the slaves and the indented servants) from sixteen to sixty years of age, was enrolled in the militia; and as the people were accustomed all their lives to shoot in the woods, they were universally expert in the use of firearms. The militia was commanded by the governor, whose salary was 1000*l*. a year, till the appointment of Lord Culpepper, who, on the plea of peerage, procured it to be doubled.

The twelve councillors, as well as the governor, were appointed by the king; and a salary of 350*l*. was assigned to the whole body, which they divided in proportion to the public services which each performed. In all matters of importance the concurrence of the council with the governor was indispensably requisite. The Colonial Assembly was composed of the councillors, who termed themselves the Upper House, and exercised the privilege of the English House of Lords, and the burgesses, who were elected by the freemen of the respective counties, and performed the functions of the House of Commons, receiving wages proportioned to their services, and derived, like all the other colonial salaries, from the colonial taxes. Until the year 1680, the several branches of the assembly had formed one deliberative body; but in that year the councillors separated themselves from the burgesses, and formed a distinct house. In conjunction with the governor, the councillors formed the supreme tribunal of the province, from whose judgments, however, in all cases involving more than 300*l*., an appeal lay to the king and privy council of England. In 1681 the province contained twenty counties; in 1703 it contained twenty-five. A quit rent of two shillings for every hundred acres of land was paid by the planters to the crown.

In the year 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. A church was built in every parish, and a house and glebe assigned to the clergyman, along

ence is erroneous; and that the statement itself is no less so, seems to follow, by very strong inference, from Beverley's table, mentioned in the text. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of that table; and consistently with it, we cannot admit the accuracy of Robertson's estimate, without believing that the colony had added 20,000 to its numbers in the course of seventeen years, notwithstanding the ravages of civil war and the distress occasioned by tyrannical government, and only about 600 to its numbers during fifteen subsequent years of increased freedom and prosperity.

The Abbé Raynal has so carelessly considered Beverley's table, as to have added 6000 to its returns, and to have supposed this the amount of the white population alone. This error has led him to waste his ingenuity in conjecturing the causes why the population of Virginia never afterwards increased so rapidly.

with a stipend, which was fixed by law at 16,000 pounds of tobacco. This mode of remuneration obviously tends to give a secular cast to the life and character of the ministers, and to entangle them with concerns remote from their spiritual warfare. The equalization which it proposes to effect is quite fallacious; the different degrees of fertility of different parishes rendering the burden unequal to the people, and the very different quality of the tobacco produced in different soils, making the remuneration unequal to the clergy. The presentation to the livings, prior to the English Revolution, belonged to the governor, but was generally usurped or controlled by the parishioners. After the Revolution it devolved into the hands of parochial vestries, which, though originally elected by the people, came, in process of time, to exercise the power of supplying vacancies in their numbers by their own appointment. The bishop of London was accounted the diocesan of the province; and a resident commissary (generally a member of the council) appointed by that prelate, presided over the clergy, with the power of convoking, censuring, and even suspending them in cases of neglect or immorality. The doctrines and rites of the church of England were established by law; attendance on divine worship at the parochial churches, and the observance of the sacraments of the church, enjoined under heavy penalties; the preaching of dissenters, and the participation in the ordinances of dissenting congregations, were prohibited, and subjected to various degrees of punishment. There was one bloody law, which subjected quakers returning from banishment to the punishment of death; but no execution ever took place in consequence of this enactment, and it was repealed soon after the revolution of 1688. The other laws were not then repealed, but they were no longer enforced; and though the statute-book continued to prohibit the preaching and practices of dissenters, the prohibition was utterly disregarded, and liberty of conscience practically realized. In 1688, almost the whole body of the people belonged to the established church. Other opinions and practices, however, began to arise, and were aided probably by the influence of the free schools, of which a considerable number were founded and endowed soon after that period; and the government being restrained from enforcing the intolerant laws, endeavored to cherish its own church establishment by heaping temporal advantages upon its ministers. This policy produced its usual fruits, and introduced so much indolence and worthlessness into the order of the state clergy, that at the era of the American revolution two-thirds of the inhabitants of Virginia had become dissenters, and were subject, on that account, to the ban of their own municipal law.

Of every just and humane system of laws, one main object should be to protect the weak against the strong, and to correct instead of confirming and perpetuating the inequalities of condition that from time to time arise from inequalities of strength, skill, success or virtue. This wise and benevolent principle must be sacrificed, to a considerable extent, in the code of every country where slavery is admitted. By the laws of Virginia, all persons brought into the colony by sea or land, not having been christians in their native country, were subjected to slavery, even though they might be converted to christianity after their arrival. A slave committing a capital crime was appointed to be tried by commissioners named by the governor, without the intervention of a jury; and if the punishment of death were inflicted, indemnification to the extent of the value of the slave was awarded from the public revenue to the master. In the year 1669, it was enacted that the death of a slave occasioned by the correction of a master, should not be accounted felony; "since it cannot be presumed," says the act, "that premeditated malice, which alone makes murder felony, should induce any man to destroy his own estate." But experience has amply refuted this pernicious sophistry, which ascribes to absolute power a tendency to repress human irascibility, and accounts avarice and selfishness sufficient motives and sureties of justice, humanity, and liberality. Neither infidels nor negroes, mulattoes nor Indians, were allowed to purchase christian white servants; and if any person having christian white servants should marry an infidel, or a negro, mulatto, or Indian,* all such servants were made free. Any free white person intermarrying with

a negro or mulatto, and any minister celebrating such marriage was punished with fine and imprisonment. It will excite the merriment of a satirist, the surprise of a philosopher, and the indignant concern of a christian, to find, combined with such inhuman and insolent laws, the strictest injunctions of the worship of that great pattern of love and humility who commanded his worshippers to do good to and honor all men; together with many solemn denunciations and penal enactments against travelling on Sunday, profane cursing or profanely getting drunk. But thus mankind attempt to unite what religion has sundered, the service of God and the service of mammon: and to sunder what religion has united, the rendering of glory to God and the demonstration of good will to men. Justices of the peace were commanded to hear and determine the complaints of all sorts of servants except slaves, against their masters; various regulations were made for securing mild and equitable treatment to indented servants; at the close of their period of service they received from their masters each a musket, a small sum of money, and a quantity of corn; but if during the currency of their term of service they should presume to marry without the consent of their master or mistress, they were punished with an additional year of servitude. All persons riotously assembling to the number of eight or more, for the purpose of destroying tobacco, were subjected to the pains of treason. Every person, not being a servant or slave, committing adultery or fornication, was, for the greater offence, fined 1000, for the lesser 500 pounds of tobacco. Women convicted of slander were ordered to be ducked, in default of their husbands' consenting to redeem them from immersion by payment of a fine. There being no inns in the country, strangers were entertained at the houses of the inhabitants, and were frequently involved in law-suits by the exorbitant claims of their hosts for indemnification of the expenses of their entertainment; for remedy whereof it was enacted, that an inhabitant neglecting in such circumstances to forewarn his guest, and to make an express paction with him, should be reputed to have entertained him from mere courtesy. All these laws continued in force long after the British Revolution.

It would appear, from the first of the statutes, that even their Indian neighbors coming into the territories of the state were liable to be made slaves by the colonists; and we are informed by Mr. Jefferson, that the practice of enslaving these people did at one time actually prevail. But with the Indian tribes situated in their immediate vicinity, and comprehended in the pacification effected by Colonel Jefferys, the colonists maintained relations more approaching to friendship and equality. The Indians paid, indeed, in conformity with the treaty of peace, an annual tribute of beaver skins to the colonial government. But their territories were ascertained by the treaty, and guaranteed to them so securely by law, that all bargains and sales by which the colonists might acquire or pretend right to any portion of them, were disallowed and declared null and void; and every wrong they might sustain at the hands of any of the colonists was punished in the same manner as if it had been done to an Englishman. By the aid of a donation from that illustrious philosopher and christian philanthropist, the honorable Robert Boyle, an attempt was made to render the institution, which, from its founders, has been called William and Mary College, subservient to the instruction of the Indians. Some young persons belonging to the friendly tribes received in this manner the elements of civil and religious education; and the colonists, sensible of the advantages they derived from the possession of those who might be considered hostages for the pacific demeanor of their parents, prevailed with some of the more remote nations of the Indians to send a few of their children to drink of the same fountain of knowledge. But as the pupils were restored to their respective tribes when they attained the age that fitted them for hunting and other warlike exercises, it is not likely that this institution produced any general or permanent impression on the character of the Indians, or made any adequate compensation for the destructive vices and diseases which the Europeans were unhappily much more successful in imparting. Attempts to convert barbarians very frequently disappoint their promoters; and not those only who have assisted the undertaking from secular ends, but those also who truly regarding the Divine glory in the end, disregard, at least in some

measure, the Divine agency in the means. As an instrument of civilization, the preaching of the gospel will ever be found to disappoint all those who have no higher or ulterior views. In a civilized and christian land, the great bulk of the people are christians merely in name; reputation, convenience, and habit, are the sources of their profession; vices are so disguised, that the testimonies of christian preachers against them often miss their aim: and a seeming service of God is easily reconciled with, and esteemed a decent livery of, the real service of mammon. But among heathens and savages, a convert must change his way of life, overcome his habits, and forfeit his reputation; and none, or at least very few, become professors unless from the influence of real conviction, more or less lasting and profound. Those who remain unconverted, if they be honestly addressed by their missionaries, are incensed at the testimony against their evil deeds and evil nature; and the conduct of many professing christians among their civilized neighbors too often concurs to mislead and confirm them in error. But this topic will derive an ampler illustration from occurrences that relate to others of the North American States, than the early history of Virginia is fitted to supply.

Literature was not much cultivated in Virginia. There was not at this period, nor for many years after, a single bookseller's shop in the colony.* Yet a history of Virginia was written some years after by Beverley, a native of the province, who had taken an active part in public affairs prior to the Revolution of 1688.† The first edition of this work in 1705, and a later edition in 1722, were published in England. Beverley is a brief and rather agreeable analyst, and has appended to his narrative of events an ample account of the institutions of the province, and of the manners of the colonial and aboriginal inhabitants. He is chargeable with great ignorance and incorrectness in those parts of his narrative that embrace events occurring in England or elsewhere beyond the immediate precincts of Virginia. Only the initial letters of his name appear on the title-page of his book, whence Oldmixon was led into the mistake of supposing his name to have been *Bullock*; and in some of the critical catalogues of Germany he has received the erroneous appellation of *Bird*.‡ A much more enlarged and elaborate history of Virginia (but unfortunately carried no further down than the year 1624) was written at a later period by Stith, also a native of the province, and one of the governors of William and Mary College. Stith is a candid, accurate and accomplished writer; tediously minute in relating the debates in the Court of Proprietors of the Virginia Company, and their disputes with the king, but generally impressive and interesting. A manly and generous spirit pervades every page of his work, which was first published at Williamsburg in 1747.

Beverley warmly extols the hospitality of his countrymen; a commendation which the peculiar circumstances of their condition renders very generally credible, though the preamble of one of their laws, which we have already noticed, demonstrates that its application was by no means universal. He reproaches them with indolence, which he ascribes to their residence in scattered dwellings, and their destitution of that collected life which invigorates industry, excites active thought, and generates adventurous speculation. It may be ascribed also to the influence of slavery in augmenting pride and degrading labor. A life like that of the first Virginian colonists, remote from public haunts, unoccupied by a crowd of busy purposes, and sequestered from the intelligence of passing events, is the life of those to whom the company of strangers is peculiarly acceptable. All the other circumstances of such a lot contribute to the promotion of hospitable habits. As for many of their hours they can find no such interesting occupation, so far much of their superfluous produce they can find no more profitable use than the entertainment of visitors.‡ The interest which

* The literature of North America was at this time monopolized almost entirely by New England. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Boston contained five printing-offices and many booksellers' shops, there was but one bookseller's shop in New York, and not one in Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina. Neal's History of New England, ii. 567. From the Memoirs of Dr. Franklin it appears that even at so late a period as the year 1670, there was not one good bookseller's shop in Pennsylvania.

† Warden, a late American writer, has repeated this error, and described as the production of Bird, what in reality was the first edition of Beverley's work.

‡ Mr. Jefferson told me that in his father's time it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road for the purpose of amuseably waylaying and bringing to their houses any travellers who might chance to pass." Hall's Travels in Canada and the United States, 412.

* It would not have been easy to induce the framers of this law to believe that a time might come when the legislature of Virginia would seriously entertain a proposal of promoting, by a bounty, the marriages of the white inhabitants and the Indians. Yet a bill for this purpose was actually introduced

into the assembly during the revolutionary war; and after having been twice read, was lost at the third reading in consequence of the absence of the member who had introduced it. Wirt's Life of Governor Henry, p. 241.

all men feel in the concerns of their fellows, is refined and extended by crowded and polished society; in remote districts, especially if they be inhabited by men whose origin or recollections connect them with a distant country, it assumes the shape of an intense and somewhat indiscriminate curiosity—a quality for which the Americans have been always distinguished.

It was the remarkable and advantageous peculiarity of their local situation, that prevented a people so early devoted to commerce as the Virginians have been, from congregating in large towns, and forming crowded marts of trade. The same peculiarity belongs to that portion of their original territory that now forms the province of Maryland, and has there been attended with the same effect. The whole of that vast country is pervaded by numerous streams, that impart fertility to the land, and carry the produce they have nourished to the great highway of nations. From the bay of Chesapeake, where all these streams unite, the greater number of them afford an extensive navigation into the interior of the country; and the colonists, perceiving that in order to embark their produce they needed not to quit their plantations, but might load the merchant ships at the doors of their country warehouses, dispersed themselves along the banks of the rivers, and united the sweets of rural life with the advantages of commerce. Except the small town of Williamsburgh, which succeeded Jamestown as the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, no cities grew up for a very long period in either of these settlements. This state of life has proved highly favorable to those two great sources of national happiness, good morals, and the facility of gaining by industry a moderate competence and a respectable stake in society. The convicts who were transported to the colony, finding none of the opportunities of confederacy, vice, and shelter, that large towns afford, either quitted the settlement at the expiration of their periods of service; or, impressed with the advantages which the country so liberally held forth to industry and morality they melted into the mass of humble and respectable free laborers. To this important class of society the virtues of industry and economy were recommended by prizes both greater and nearer than any other country has ever presented. Labor was so valuable, and land so cheap, that a very few years of industry could promote the laborer to the rank of a proprietor; none needed to despair of a competence; and none found it practicable to amass enormous wealth. Toil, no longer the badge of hopeless poverty, was respected as the certain passport to independence; nor was there among the free population any distinction of rank which industry and virtue were unable to surmount. A constant and general progression, effected without scramble or peril; gave a quiet alacrity to life; and fellow-feeling was not obstructed, nor insolence and servility engendered, by numerous instances of a wide inequality of condition; they were and are undoubtedly a happy people. But how happy had they been, had they rightly known their happiness; had they imbibed with the sweetness of their lot, the spirit of its author, and in the abundance of his goodness recognised the extent of his claims!

Two causes have contributed in this and others of the American provinces, to impede the operation and abridge the influence of circumstances so favorable to happiness and virtue. Of these, by far the most important is the institution of domestic slavery; an institution fraught with incalculable evil to the morals, manners, and felicity of every country into which it has gained admission. The slaves are reduced to a state of misery and degradation; to a state which has always been found so destructive to virtue, that in many languages a slave and a thief are expressed by the same word. The masters are justly loaded with the guilt of all the wretchedness and worthlessness which that state inevitably infers; every mind is tainted with the evil which it engenders and displays, and sustains an abatement either of happiness or virtue. Every master of a slave, whether he term himself citizen or subject, is a monarch endowed with more uncontrolled authority than any sovereign in Europe enjoys; and every country where slavery is admitted, whether it calls itself kingdom or republic, is a country subject to the dominion of tyrants. Nay, the more liberal its political constitution, the more severe in general is its system of domestic tyranny; for from the days of

Sparta it has ever held true, that none are so completely enslaved as the slaves of the free. Human character is as much corrupted and depraved by the spirit of dominion as by the yoke of servitude; and slavery is a state wherein *one man ruleth over another to his own hurt*. The same wisdom which assigned to man his duties, adapted them to the development of his understanding and the refinement of his sensibility. This adaptation is particularly visible in the duties that regulate the mutual intercourse of men. To violate therein the law of kindness and the principles of equity, is to warp the understanding* as well as to corrupt the heart; to lower the dignity of rational, and the happiness of sensible being. There is a continual reciprocation of evil between a master and his slaves. His injustice consigns them to their present state; and the evil qualities that this state engenders tend continually to provoke his rascality. His power effects their degradation; and their degradation at once tempts and facilitates the excesses of his power. Hence the commerce between master and slave exercises and exhibits all that is hateful in human passion and contemptible in human conduct. The delicate susceptibility of women is exposed to the impression of this spectacle, and the imitative character of children formed amidst its continual display. The female slaves lose alike the virtues and the rights of women, and introduce into rural life the worst vices and most dangerous temptations of profligate cities. Every description of work that is committed to the slaves is performed with as much neglect and indolence as they dare to indulge, and is so degraded in common estimation, that the poorest freeman disdains to perform it except when he is working for himself. As the numbers of the slaves are multiplied, the industry of the free is thus depressed by the extension of slave labor, and the safety of the state is endangered by the strength of a body of internal enemies ready to conspire against its tranquility or join its first invader.† The number of the slaves and gladiators contributed to the downfall of Rome: and indeed, every body politic, compounded of parts so heterogeneous as freemen and slaves, plainly contains within itself a principle of destruction. Such a mixture tends also to pervert and confound the moral sentiments of all mankind, and to degrade the value of those free institutions which are seen to form a canopy for the shelter of domestic tyranny, to mock one portion of the people with such liberty and dignity as jailors enjoy, and to load all the rest with such fetters as only felons should wear.

Such long consequences have guilt and injustice! The first introduction of slavery into a country plants an evil of which the full mischief is not felt till in an after age, when it has attained such an extent that its extirpation becomes almost impossible. This consideration, while it increases our abhorrence of a system so fraught with evil and danger, abates the severity of our censure on those to whom the system already matured by long endurance has unfortunately descended. And even with regard to the race who first introduced it, we shall not fulfil the duty of fellow-men, if we omit to consider the apologies which probably misled their understandings, and veiled from their view the wickedness they committed and the misery they introduced. The negroes that were first brought to Virginia were enslaved before they came there, and by the

* An illustration of this remark may, perhaps, be derived from the apologetic theory which philosophical slave owners have introduced into the world, that the negroes are a separate and inferior race of men—a notion by which the degradation that men inflict on their fellows by reducing them to the level of the brute creation, is charged on Him who made man in the image of the Godhead, and whose word assures us that he fashioned all souls alike. Interest and pride harden the heart; the deceitfulness of the heart perverts the understanding; and men find it agreeable to consider those as brutes whom they think it convenient to treat as such. The best refutation of this theory that I have ever seen is the production of an American writer. It occurs in Dr. S. Smith's interesting "Essay on the causes of the variety of figure and complexion in the human species."

† "I tremble for my country," says Mr. Jefferson, in his observations on the slave population of this province, "when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situations is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest." Notes on Virginia, p. 173. Seneca relates that it was once proposed at Rome to discriminate the slaves by a peculiar habit; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers. This information is conveyed to the negroes by their color; and this color being always a mark of contempt, even those negroes who become free in countries where their race is generally enslaved, continue allied both by the most irritating feelings and by the sympathy they must entertain for men of the same complexion, with all those who remain in a state of bondage.

purchase of the colonists were delivered from the hold of a slave ship and the cruelty of the Dutch. When slaves were neither numerous nor formidable, they appear to have been kindly treated;* and their masters perhaps intended to emancipate them at that convenient season for adjusting the accounts of interest and conscience, which every added year and every addition to their numbers tended still farther to postpone. So great is the deccivableness of unrighteousness.

Negro slavery lingered long in the settlements of the puritans in New England, and of the quakers in Pennsylvania; Las Casas, so distinguished by his compassion for the unfortunate, first suggested its introduction into Mexico and Peru; George Fox, the most intrepid and enthusiastic of reformers, demanded no more of his followers than a mitigation of its severity in Barbadoes; and John Locke, the glory of modern philosophy, and the champion of religious and political freedom, introduced it into the fundamental constitutions of Carolina. Considerations such as these are calculated to increase at once our charity for mankind, and our abhorrence of that insidious and formidable evil which has so signally baffled the penetration of the wise, and triumphed over the beneficence of the humane.

It is in those colonial plantations where the residence of the free inhabitants is merely temporary, that slavery exhibits its worst features, and produces its most degrading effects. Wherever a respectable stationary population of freemen exists, a restraining principle arises to control and qualify those evil consequences. The harsher slave laws have been long since repealed in Virginia, and the treatment of the slaves in this province has long been noted for comparative mildness. An Englishman who should suppose that humanity and delicacy could not exist in a province where slavery prevailed, would commit as great a practical error as an American who should maintain the incompatibility of the same qualities with those spectacles of vice and misery exhibited in the great towns and public places of England. In both countries, doubtless, human character is evil affected by the contemplation of evil; but in both, the taint is obstructed by delusions that disguise, by humanity that deplores, or by virtue that labors to mitigate and finally efface the evil.

The other cause to which I have alluded, as having exercised an unfavorable influence on the prosperity of Virginia, is the inordinate cultivation of tobacco. As long as Virginia and Maryland were the only provinces of North America where this commodity was produced, their inhabitants devoted themselves almost exclusively to a culture which is attended with much inconvenience to those engaged in it, and no small disadvantage to their country even when moderately pursued. It requires unusually fatiguing labor from the cultivators, and exhausts the fertility of the soil: and as little food of any kind is raised on the tobacco plantations, the men and cattle employed on them are badly fed, and the soil gradually impoverished. This evil continued long to be felt in Virginia; but has been diminished by the introduction into the markets of Europe of the tobacco produce of territories more recently cultivated.

BOOK II.

THE NEW ENGLAND STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Attempts of the Plymouth Company to colonize the Northern Coasts of America—Popham establishes a colony at Fort Saint George—Sufferings and Return of the Colonists—Captain Smith's Voyage and Survey of the Country—which is named New England—His ineffectual Attempt to conduct a Colony thither—The Company relinquish the Design of colonizing New England—History and Character of the Puritans—Rise of the Brownists or Independents—A Congregation of Independents retire to Holland—they resolve to settle in America—their negotiation with King James—they arrive in Massachusetts—and found New Plymouth—Hardships—Virtue of the Colonists—their civil institutions—Community of Property—Increase of civil and ecclesiastical Tyranny in England—Project of a new Colony in Massachusetts—Salem built—Charter of Massachusetts Bay obtained from Charles the First by an Association of Puritans—Embarkation of the Emigrants—Arrival at Salem—their Constitution in Church and State—Two Persons banished from the Colony for Schism—Intolerance of some of the Puritans.

[1606.] WHEN James the First gave his sanction to the project of colonizing the vast district of North America which was comprehended at that time under the name of Virginia, he made a partition of the

* The treatment of slaves at Rome, latterly distinguished by the most enormous cruelty, was originally kind and humane. Plutarch. Life of Coriolanus.

* "I remember the time when five pound was left by a charitable testator to the poor of the parish he lived in; and it lay nine years before the executors could find one poor enough to be entitled to any part of this legacy; and at last it was all given to one old woman. So that this may in truth be reckoned the best poor man's country in the world." Beverley, B. iv. p. 39.

territory between two trading companies, and established the residence of the one at London, and of the other at Plymouth. If the object of this partition was to diminish the inconvenience of monopoly, and diffuse the benefit of colonial relations more extensively in England, the means were very ill adapted to the end, consequently, the effect was far from corresponding with the design. The resources of the adventurers who had already prepared to undertake colonial projects were divided so unequally, and yet so much to the disadvantage of all parties, that the more powerful company found its vigor and success considerably abridged, while the weaker, without ability to effect the purpose of its association, retained only the privilege of debarring others from attempting it. We have seen that the southern colony, though promoted by a company which reckoned among its members some of the richest and most powerful men in the state, and enjoyed the advantage of being situated in the place which then absorbed almost all the commercial wealth and activity of England, was yet enabled, with all these advantages, to make but slow and laborious advances to a secure establishment. The Plymouth company possessing much narrower resources, and a very inferior situation, its efforts were proportionally feeble and unavailing.

The most eminent members of the Plymouth company were Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Governor of Plymouth fort, and Sir John Gilbert, the nephew of the first patentee, and leader of emigrants to America. Animated by the zeal of these men, and especially of Popham, who assumed the principal direction of their proceedings, the Plymouth company very early despatched a small vessel to inspect their territories; but had soon the mortification of learning that it had been attacked and captured by the Spaniards, who still pretended a right to exclude every other people from the navigation of the American seas. The chief justice and his friends, however, were too much bent on the prosecution of their purpose to be discouraged by this disaster. At his own expense, Popham quickly despatched another vessel to resume the survey; and having received a favorable report of the appearances of the country, he availed himself of the intelligence to raise a sufficient supply of men and money for the formation of a colony. [1607.] Under the command of his brother, Henry Popham, and of Raleigh Gilbert, brother of Sir John, two vessels freighted with a hundred emigrants proceeded to the territory of what was still called Northern Virginia, and landing in autumn, they took possession of a piece of ground near the river Sagadahoc, where they built Fort Saint George. The district where they established themselves was rocky and barren, and their provisions so scanty, that they were obliged, soon after their arrival, to send back all but forty-five of their own number. The winter proved extremely severe, and confined this small remnant to their miserable dwelling, and a helpless contemplation of the dreary waste that surrounded them. Disease, the offspring of famine and hardship, augmented the general gloom; and, before the return of Spring, several of their number, and among others their president, Henry Popham, had sunk into the grave. With the spring arrived a vessel with supplies from England, but the intelligence that accompanied these supplies more than counterbalanced the satisfaction they afforded; for the colonists were now informed of the deaths of Chief Justice Popham and Sir John Gilbert, the most powerful of their patrons, and most active of their benefactors. Their resolution was completely vanquished by so many misfortunes; and all exclaiming against longer continuance in scenes so dismal, they forsook the settlement and returned to England, [1608.] which they filled with the most disheartening accounts of the soil and climate of Northern Virginia. The American historians are careful to note that this disastrous expedition originated with the judge who three years before had presided, with the most scandalous injustice, at the trial of Raleigh, and condemned to an infamous death, the man to whom England and America had been so highly indebted.*

The frustration of this enterprise, and the evil report

that was raised against the land, deterred the company for some time from any further attempt to erect a settlement in Northern Virginia, and produced an impression on the minds of the people very unfavorable to emigration to that territory. For several years, the adventures of the company were confined to a few fishing voyages to Cape Cod, and a traffic in peltry and oil with the natives. At length their prospects were cheered by a gleam of better fortune; and the introduction of Captain Smith into their service seemed to betoken more vigorous and successful enterprise. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and some other leading members of the Plymouth Company, justly appreciating the merit of this extraordinary man, made haste to appropriate his valuable services, which the Virginia Company had so unworthily neglected. [1614.] Six years after the return of the settlers at Sagadahoc, two vessels were despatched, under the command of Captain Smith and Captain Hunt, on a voyage of trade and discovery to the company's territories. Smith, having concluded his traffic with the natives, left his crew engaged in fishing on the coast, and accompanied by only eight men, travelled into the interior of the country, surveyed its condition, explored with great care and diligence the whole coast, from Cape Cod to Penobscot, and composed a map, in which its appearance was accurately delineated. On his return to England, he presented his map, with an account of his travels and observations, to Prince Charles, who was so much pleased with the country, that he bestowed on it the name of New England, which it has ever since retained.

The success of Captain Smith's voyage, and the favorable accounts that he gave of the country, though they contributed not a little to stimulate the vigor of commercial adventure, could not overcome the general aversion to a permanent settlement in the territory, which the misfortunes of the first colonists had created in England, and which was appointed to preserve that corner of the Almighty's creation for the habitation of the most faithful and oppressed of his people. The impediments to a colonial establishment in New England were greatly increased by the conduct of Hunt, who had been associated with Smith in the late voyage. This sordid and profligate man, unwilling that the benefit of the existing narrow traffic with the company's territories, which was exclusively shared by himself and a few others who were aware of its advantages, should be more generally diffused by the formation of a colony, resolved to defeat the design by embroiling his countrymen with the natives; and for this purpose, having enticed a number of these people on board his ship, he set sail with them for Malaga, where he had been ordered to touch on his homeward voyage, and sold them for slaves to the Spaniards. The company, indignant at his wickedness, instantly dismissed him from their service; but the mischief was done, and the next vessel that returned from New England brought intelligence of the vindictive hostilities of the savages. Undismayed by all these difficulties and dangers, Smith determined to make an effort for the colonization of the northern territory; and having infused his own resolute hope and courage into some of the leading patentees, he was enabled, by their assistance, to equip a small squadron, [1615.] and set sail at the head of a body of emigrants for New England. Thus far could energy prevail; but in a struggle with fate, farther advancement was impracticable; and Captain Smith, having now accomplished all that man could do, was destined to experience that all was unavailing. The voyage was one uninterrupted scene of disaster. After encountering a violent tempest, by which the vessels had nearly perished, Smith found his authority invaded by the mutinous disposition of his crew; and in this situation he fell an easy prey to a squadron of French pirates, who confiscated his ships, and detained him long in captivity. It was happy for himself and for mankind that he lived to return to his country, and write the history of his travels, instead of reaching New England; where his blood would probably have stained the land which his talent and virtue had contributed to illustrate. [1619.] Several years afterwards, the company having discovered that an Indian named Squanto, one of the persons whom Hunt had kidnapped, had escaped from the Spaniards, and found his way to Britain, acquitted themselves to his satisfaction of the injury he had suffered, loaded him with kindness, and sent him back to New England, along with a small expedition commanded by one Dornier, who was instructed to avail himself of Squanto's assistance in regaining the friendship of the Indians. But although Squanto earnestly endeavored to conciliate the minds

of his countrymen, and assured them that Hunt's treachery had been reprobated and punished in England, they refused to be pacified, and watching a favorable opportunity, attacked and dangerously wounded Dornier and many of his party, who, escaping with difficulty from the hostile region, left Squanto behind to enforce at more leisure and with better success his topics of apology and conciliation. Disgusted by so many disappointments, the company laid aside all farther thoughts of establishing colonies in New England. An insignificant traffic bounded their own adventures; and they made no other exercise of their dominion over the territory than by disposing of small portions of the northern quarter of it to private adventurers, who occupied them in summer as mercantile factories or victualling stations for the uses of vessels resorting there for trade.

We have sufficient assurance that the course of this world is not governed by chance; and that the series of events is regulated by divine ordinance, and adapted to wise though often inscrutable purposes. As it could not then be without design, so it seems to have been for no common object that discomfiture was thus entailed on the counsels of princes, the schemes of the wise, and the efforts of the brave. It was for no ordinary people that the land was reserved, and of no common qualities or vulgar superiority that it was ordained to be the prize. New England was the destined asylum of oppressed piety and liberty of conscience; and its colonization, denied to the pretensions of greatness and the efforts of might, was reserved for men whom the great and mighty despised for their littleness, overcome from their weakness, and persecuted for their integrity. The recent growth of the Virginian colony, and the repeated attempts to form a settlement in New England, naturally turned to this quarter the eyes of men who felt little reluctance to forsake a country where, for conscience's sake, they had already incurred the loss of all things; when persecution had fortified to the endurance of hardship, and piety had taught to despise it. It was at this juncture accordingly, that the project of colonizing New England was undertaken by the puritans; a body of men of whose rise, sentiments, and previous history, it is proper that we here subjoin some account.

Of all the national churches of Europe, which at the era of the Reformation renounced the doctrine and revolted from the dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of the reform had been so discreditable, or the immediate proceedings to which it gave rise so unreasonable and inequitable as the church of England. This arose partly from the circumstance of the reform in this church having originated exclusively with the temporal magistrate,* and partly from the character of the individual by whom this interposition of magisterial authority was employed. In the Palatinate, in Brandenburg, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland, where the reform proceeded from the general conviction, the doctrine and constitution of the national church corresponded with the religious sentiments of the people. The biblical christianity taught by Calvin and Luther (with varieties occasioned by variety of human weakness and inequality of attainment) superseded the traditional dogmas of the church of Rome; and the primitive simplicity of the presbyterian administration (with similar varieties of similar origin) superseded the pompous pageantry of her ecclesiastical constitution. In England, the reformation originating from a very different source, its institutions received a strong tincture from qualities proportionally different. The same haughty and imperious disposition that had prompted Henry the Eighth to abolish the authority of the church of Rome in his dominions, regulated all his proceedings in constructing a substitute for the system he had taken away. Abetted by a crew of servile dependants and sordid nobles, whom he enriched with the spoils of the plundered monasteries, and by a compliant House of Commons, whose pro-

* It has been asserted by a host of English writers that, owing to this interposition of the magistrate, the invasion of supposed rights and established possessions that ensued on the Reformation was conducted with much greater sobriety and equity in England than in Scotland. The very reverse, appears to me a juster proposition. Henry's robberies of the ecclesiastical orders were the more inequitable in proportion to their deliberation. The Scottish populace rose in tumultuous indignation against their oppressors. Henry trampled on the defenceless, and arrayed his rapine in the solemn apparel of the acts of state. The explosions of popular justice are attended with a marked violence, and have but a short-lived duration. As palpable deviations from the ordinary line of human action, they influence does not affect general morality. The actions of despotism cover their violence with a grave disguise; and associating them with principles and precedents, render their evil fatally permanent.

* One American writer, however, has been betrayed by carelessness into an observation so very different, that he represents Raleigh as one of the commanders of this unsuccessful expedition. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 73. This writer has mistaken Raleigh Gilbert for two persons. Sir Walter was at this time a prisoner in the Tower, under sentence of death. I have more than once had occasion to notice inaccuracies occurring in the first volume of Marshall's *Life of Washington*; a volume which all who have read the others must regret that he ever published. It has greatly obstructed the popularity of a most excellent and interesting work.

fession of faith veered about with every variation of the royal creed, he paid no respect whatever, in the institutions which he successively established, to the sentiments of the body of the people—a portion of his subjects to whose petitions he once answered, by a public proclamation, that they were “but brutes and inept folk,” and as unfit to advise him as blind men were to judge of colors. His object was to substitute himself and his successors as heads of the church in place of the pope; and for the insinuation of this usurped dominion, he retained, both in the ceremonies of worship and the constitution of the ministry, a great deal of the machinery which his predecessor in the supremacy had found useful. The vehemence of his character detracted somewhat from the policy of his devices, and very much abated their politic appearance by that show of good faith and sincerity which accompanied all his actions, and which was but the natural result of sincere and vehement selfishness, and an undoubting conviction of the superiority of his understanding and the infallibility of his judgment.* While he rigidly denied the right of private judgment to his subjects, his own inordinate exercise of this right continually tempted him to partake the satisfaction it seemed to afford him; and the frequent variations of the creeds he imposed, at once excited a spirit of speculation akin to his own, and practically refuted the only pretence that could entitle his judgment to the implicit assent of fallible men. The pope, expressly maintaining that he could never be in the wrong, was disabled from correcting both his own errors and those bequeathed to him by his predecessors. Henry, merely pretending to the privilege of being always in the right, defeated this pretension by the variety and inconsistency of the creeds to which he applied it. While he insisted on retaining much of the peculiar doctrine of the church of Rome, he attacked, in its infallibility, a doctrine not only highly important in itself, but the sole sanction and foundation of a great many others. Notwithstanding all his exertions, and aided indeed by some part of his own conduct, a spirit of religious inquiry began to arise among the multitude of professors who blindly or interestedly had followed the fortunes and the variations of the royal creed: and the knowledge of divine truth, combined with an ardent regard for simplicity of divine worship arising first in the higher classes, spread downwards through the successive grades of society in this and the following reigns. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction in various instances of decapitation, torture, and burning, for the crime of heresy during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully he had embraced the character as well as the pretensions of the Romish see,† and how intellectually he had labored to impose his own heterogeneous creed on the understandings of his subjects. Even in his lifetime, the protestant doctrines had spread far beyond the limits of his own creed; and in their illegitimate extent had made numerous proselytes in his court and kingdom. The propagation of them was aided by the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, which he vainly endeavored to prevent, and which enabled his people to draw truth for themselves unstinted and unadulterated from its everlasting wells. The open profession of these illicit opinions was in many instances repressed by the terror of his inflexible cruelty, and by the influence over his measures which his lay and clerical courtiers found it easy to obtain by feigning implicit submission to his capricious and imperious temper. The temptations which these men were exposed to proved fatal in some instances to their virtue; and several of them (even the virtuous Craumer) thought themselves obliged though reluctantly to concur in punishing by fire and fagot the open profession of the sentiments which they secretly cherished in their own breasts. They were afterwards compelled themselves to drink of the same cup; and enabled to make some atonement to the cause of truth by the heroism with which, in Mary's bloody reign, they suffered for the doctrines which they had persecuted before.

By the death of Henry the Eighth, his protestant subjects were exempted from the necessity of farther dissimulation. In the reign of Edward the Sixth, the catholic doctrines were expunged from the national creed,

* The public disputation which he held with one of his subjects, the noble-minded though unfortunate Lambert, who denied the doctrine of the real presence, was, perhaps, regarded at the time as an act of admirable zeal and most generous condescension. It might have incurred this praise if the horrid death by which he revenged the impotence of his logic, did not prove it to have been an overflowing of arrogance and vain glory.

† One of his laws (31 Henry VIII. cap. 14.) bears the presumptuous title of “An act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion.”

and the fundamental articles of the protestant faith recognised and established by law. As among the other practices of the preceding reign, the weak and wicked policy of enforcing uniformity of faith and worship by persecution was still retained, the influence of temporal fear and favor contributed, no doubt, to encumber the protestant church with many reluctant and hypocritical professors. In the hope of reconciling the minds of men as extensively as possible to the system which they had established, the ministers of Edward preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial of worship as they thought would gratify the taste and predilections of minds that still hankered after catholic pageantry. They rather yielded to the necessity of the times, than indulged their own sentiments or followed out their principles; and pretty plainly insinuated their opinion, that whenever the times could bear it, a further reformation should be introduced into the establishment, by inserting a prayer to that purpose in the Liturgy. But in this attempt, the rulers of the English reformed church encountered a spirit of resistance, originating in the protestant body, of which they considered themselves the heads. During the late reign the disaffection that had been cherished in secret towards the national church had not confined itself to the doctrines of the establishment, which many protestants connected in their opinion and esteem with the ceremonial rites and clerical habits that had for ages been their inveterate associate and distinctive livery. With their enmity to popish doctrine, they combined an aversion to those ceremonies which had proved so subservient to popish imposture; which seemed to owe their survival in the national system to the same error that had retained so much catholic heresy; and which diverted the mind from that spiritual worship claimed by Him who is a spirit, and has commanded all men to worship him in spirit and in truth. These sentiments, which were subsequently matured into the doctrines of the puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English protestants: but their operation was as yet neither very powerful nor extensive. One of the most powerful indications of their influence that has been transmitted to us was evinced by Bishop Hooper, who, in the reign of Edward, refused to be consecrated to his office in what he deemed the superstitious habits appropriated by the church to the episcopal order. His protestant opinions had rendered him an exile from England during the latter part of the preceding reign, and his puritan sentiments had been confirmed by the conversation of the presbyterian teachers, with whom he associated during his residence abroad. Craumer and Ridley, who were afterwards his fellow martyrs under the persecution of Mary, resorted to arguments, threats, entreaties, and imprisonment, to overcome Hooper's objections; and it was not without very great difficulty that his inflexible spirit condescended to terminate the dispute by a compromise. The sentiments which had thus received the sanction of a man so distinguished by the excellence of his character as well as the eminence of his station in the church, continued to manifest themselves throughout the short reign of Edward; and there was scarcely a rite of the established worship, or habit of the clergy, that escaped objection and contention. The defenders of the practices that were thus assailed did not contend that they were of divine appointment, or in themselves of essential importance. They maintained that they were in themselves inoffensive, and that by long establishment and inveterate association they had taken possession of the reverence of the people, and attached their affections to the national worship. They admitted that, as useless appendages, it was desirable that time and reason should obliterate these practices: but insisted that it would be both unwise and illiberal to abolish them forcibly, and at the risk of unhinging the important sentiments with which they had accidentally connected themselves. This reasoning was very unsatisfactory to the puritans, who rejected such temporizing policy as the counsel of lukewarm piety and worldly wisdom, and regarded with abhorrence the mixture of superstitious attractions with the motives to that which should be entirely a reasonable service, and whatever weight the arguments of the prevailing party may be considered to possess, they certainly cannot be allowed to justify their violent imposition of observances, which at best they regarded as inoffensive, on persons who considered them as sinful and pernicious. But the doctrines of the puritans, whether supported or not by superior weight of reason, were overborne by the weight of superior numbers; and their sentiments might perhaps have gradually died away if the reign of

Edward had been much farther prolonged, or his sceptre been transmitted to a protestant successor. But the reign of Mary was appointed not only to purify the protestant body, by separating the true from the false or formal professors, but to radiate every protestant sentiment by exposing it to the fiery test of papal rage and persecution.

The administration of Queen Mary was productive of events that tended to revive and disseminate the puritan sentiments, and at the same time to confirm the opposition of some of their adversaries. During the heat of her bloody persecution, many of the protestants forsook their country and took refuge in the protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. There, in regulating for themselves the forms and ordinances of divine worship, their ancient disputes naturally revived, and were animated by the approach of the two parties to an equality of numbers that had never before subsisted between them, and protracted by the utter want of a spirit of mutual forbearance, and the absence of any tribunal from which an authoritative decision could be obtained. The puritans beheld with pleasure in the continental churches the establishment of a constitution and ritual which had been the object of their warm approbation and earnest desire; and they either composed for themselves a formula of religious association on a similar model, or entered into communion with the churches established in the places where they resided. Their opponents, on the other hand, clung more firmly than ever to their ancient practices: they refused to surrender any one of the institutions of the faith, for the sake of which they had forsaken their country; and they plumed themselves on reviving, amidst the misfortunes of their church at home, an entire and accurate model of her ordinances in the scene of their banishment. Both parties were willing to have united in church fellowship with each other, if either could have yielded in the dispute concerning forms of office, habits, and ceremonies. But though each considered itself strongest in faith, neither felt disposed on that account to bear the infirmities of the other; and though united in the great fundamental points of christian belief, and associated by the common calamity that rendered them fellow-exiles in a foreign land, their fruitless controversies separated them more widely than they had ever been before, and inflamed them with mutual dislike and animosity. On the death of Mary both parties returned to England: the one joyfully expecting to see their ancient worship restored: the other more firmly wedded to their puritan sentiments by the opportunity they had obtained of freely indulging them, and entertaining (in common with many who had remained at home) an increased antipathy to the habits and ceremonies which the recent ascendancy and proceedings of the catholics had strongly associated with the odious features of popish fraud, delusion, and cruelty.

The hopes which the puritans derived from the accession of Elizabeth were seconded by the disposition of many, even of their opponents among the leading protestant churchmen, who had weathered the storm at home. Several of the most distinguished persons of this class expressed the strongest reluctance, in restoring the protestant constitution, to interweave with its fundamental canons, any subordinate regulations that might be injurious to men endeared to them by their common calamity, and so recently associated with them as confessors for the substance, not the mere forms of religion. Some of the puritans, no doubt, were bent on reducing the model of the church to a conformity with their own sentiments; and some of their opponents were as eager to prohibit and suppress every trace of puritan practice. The majority, however, as well as the leading members of both parties were earnestly desirous to effect an accommodation on the principles of mutual forbearance, and willingly agreed that the disputed habits and ceremonies should be retained in the church, as observances of a discretionary and indifferent nature, not to be controverted by the one nor enforced by the other, but left to be confirmed or abolished by the silent progress of sentiment and opinion. But the hopes of the zealous and the concessions of the candid were frustrated by the character of the queen; whose strong hand and imperious temper soon defaced the fair prospect of concord and happiness, and involved the people committed to her care in a long and widening scene of strife, malignity, and misery. Elizabeth inherited the haughty character of her father and his taste for splendid pageantry. And though she had been educated with her brother Edward, and her understanding had received a strong tincture of protestant opinions, her sentiments powerfully biased

her in favor of the rites, discipline, and even doctrine of the catholics—of every thing, in short, that could lend an imposing aspect to the establishment of which she was the supreme head, and increase the strictness of the dominion which she was resolved to maintain over the clergy. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the real presence, and rebuked another for mentioning with little reverence the popish notion of an inherent virtue in the symbol of the cross. She desired to make the clergy priests, and not preachers; discouraged their sermons; and would have interdicted them from marriage had she not been restrained by the remonstrances of her minister Lord Burleigh. Disregarding the wishes and entreaties both of churchmen and puritans, she restored King Edward's constitutions with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy which were offensive to the catholics; and caused a law to be framed for the enforcement, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation, of a strict uniformity of religious worship. This was the first step in a line of policy which the church of England has had deep and lasting cause to deplore, and which, by compelling thousands of her best and ablest ministers reluctantly to forsake her communion, afflicted her with a decay of internal piety, from which, after the lapse of many generations, she has even now but imperfectly revived.

But this law was for some time very feebly and imperfectly enforced. The queen could not at once find a sufficient number of men fitted to sustain the dignity of episcopal elevation, and yet willing to become the instruments of her arbitrary designs; nor could all her efforts for some time excite general strife and ill-will among men of whom so many, though differing from each other on subordinate points, had but lately been united by community of sentiment and suffering in the noblest cause that can interest human hearts. Her first bench of bishops were not only eager to clear themselves of the reproach of having composed or approved the existing laws,* but by a general forbearance to enforce them, enabled the puritan ministers and practices to obtain a considerable footing in the church. And though she reprimanded the primate Parker for his negligence, and at length stimulated him to the exertion of some severities in the enforcement of the act of uniformity, it was far from receiving general execution; and by various acts of connivance on the one side, and prudent reserve on the other, the puritans were enabled to enjoy some semblance of peace. Their tranquillity was lengthened and increased by the succession of Grindall to the primacy. The liberal principles and humane disposition of this man revolted against the tyrannical injustice which he was required to enforce; and at the expense of his own imprisonment and the disfavor of his temporal sovereign, he prolonged the duration of lenient policy, and the peace of the church.

At length, on the death of Grindall, the primacy was bestowed on Whitgift, a man of severe temper, a rigid votary of the discipline and policy of the church, and an implacable adversary of the puritans, against whom he had repeatedly directed the hostility of his pen, and was eager to be intrusted with the exercise of a more formidable weapon. From this period all the force of the law was spent in uninterrupted efforts to vex the persons, or violate the consciences of the puritans. A numerous body of puritan ministers were deprived of their livings; and many of their parishioners were punished by fine and imprisonment for following their ministry into the fields and woods, where they continued to exercise it. Great endeavors were used by the wise and good to move the queen, ere yet it was too late, to stay the waters of strife she was letting out upon the land. Burleigh and Walsingham earnestly interceded for the suspended ministers, and pressed every consideration of the indulgence due to their conscientious scruples, the humane concern to which their families were entitled, and the respect which policy demanded for the sentiments of so great a body of the people by whom they were esteemed and beloved. The House of Commons too showed a desire to procure some relief for the oppressed puritans. But

* In their letters to their friends at home and abroad, they not only reprobate the obnoxious institutions, but promise to withstand them "till they be sent back to hell, from whence they came," to sow discord, confusion, and vain formality in the church. Burnet, part iii. p. 314. Neal, i. 49. There seems to be very little difference between these expressions of English bishops and the language of a Scotch presbyterian minister about the same time, who pronounced, in a sermon, that the Queen of England was no better than an atheist, and "all kings were the devil's children." Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland. The difference was, that the conduct and language of the one were more consistent than those of the other.

Whitgift flung himself on his knees before the queen and implored her to uphold the sinking church, and to suffer no alteration that would give men leave to say that she had maintained an error. His humiliation, most probably, was prompted rather by flattery than fear; for Elizabeth had shown no inclination whatever to mitigate an imperious policy so congenial to her own character. The enforcing of implicit deference to her judgment, and of rigid conformity to the model she had enacted, was the result of her early and stubborn choice, and maintained with her usual vigor and vehemence of determination. She overbore all opposition; and the primate and his associates being encouraged to proceed in the course they had begun, their zeal enlarging as it flowed, soon transported them beyond all bounds of decency and humanity. They were allowed to establish a court of commissioners for the detection of non-conformity, which even the privy council remonstrated against as a copy of the Spanish inquisition. By the assistance of this tyrannical engine, they made freer course for the severities of the law; and having rendered integrity hazardous, they made prudence unavailing to the puritans. In vain were they reminded of the maxim of the first christian council, which recommended the imposition of no greater burthen on the people than the observation of necessary things. For the purpose of imposing a load of ceremonies, which without the actual profession of popery they could never represent as observances essential to salvation, they committed such oppression as rendered the ceremonies themselves tenfold more obnoxious to those to whom even indulgent treatment would have failed to recommend them, and roused the opposition of others who would willingly have complied with the ceremonial ordinances if they had been proposed to them merely as matters of convenient observance, but revolted from them, as fraught with danger and mischief, when it was attempted to bind them on the conscience, and place them on a level with the most sacred obligations. The most signal fruit of this increased severity was the enkindling of great additional zeal and fervor in the minds of the puritans; a rapid multiplication of their numbers by strong sympathy with their courage, and compassion for their sufferings; and a growing abhorrence in their body to the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny. It is certain that the puritans of those times were exceedingly averse to separate from the church of England; and their ministers were still more reluctant to abet a schism and renounce their preferments. They willingly allowed her to be a true church, and merely claimed indulgence in the matter of a few ceremonies which did not affect her constitution. But the injurious treatment they received, held out a premium to very different considerations, and not only influenced their passions, but stimulated their inquiries and extended their objections. Cast out of the national church, they were forced to inquire if they could not do without that which they found they could not have; and were easily led to question if the features of a true church could be discerned in that body, which not only rejected but persecuted them for a conscientious adherence, in a matter of ceremonial observance, to what they believed to be the will of Christ. As the puritan principles spread through the mass of society, and encountered in their progress a greater variety of character in their votaries, and of treatment from their adversaries, considerable differences and inequalities of sentiment and conduct appeared in different portions of the puritan body. Some of them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent. They combined the doctrines of the New with the practices of the Old Testament, in a manner which will not excite the wonder of those who recollect that the very first little flock of Christians who were collected in the world committed the same error; and so far forgot the spirit they had received, as even in the presence of their Divine Head to propose the invocation of fire from heaven on the men who had insulted them. But the instances of this spirit were exceedingly rare; and it was not till the following reigns that it prevailed either strongly or widely. In general the oppressed puritans conducted themselves with the fortitude of heroes and the patience of saints; and, what is surprising, they made more zealous and successful efforts to maintain their loyalty, than the queen and the bishops did to extinguish it.* Many, in defiance of

* Numberless instances might be adduced of the patience with which they endured the severities of ecclesiastical vengeance. Nor was their patience and magnanimity less conspicuous in the endurance of civil tyranny. A puritan having

every danger, followed the preaching of their ministers into the highways and fields, or assembled privately in conventicles, which the general sympathy, or the convenience of their secret partisans within the church, sometimes preserved from detection. Many reluctantly abided in the national church, unweariedly pursuing their ineffectual attempts to promote parliamentary interference in behalf of the puritans, and casting a wistful eye on the presumptive succession of a prince who had been educated in a presbyterian society. Some at length openly disclaimed the national establishment, and were led, by the cruel excesses of human authority, to the conviction, that human authority had no proper place in the administration of the kingdom of Christ.

The proceedings of the queen were, doubtless, cordially abetted by the angry zeal of those churchmen who had partaken of the controversy that had raged between the two parties during their exile on the continent in the preceding reign. But the whole civil and ecclesiastical policy of this reign was mainly and essentially the offspring of Elizabeth's own character. The Puritan writers, bestowing an undue proportion of their resentment on the persons whose functions rendered them the instruments as well as the apologists of the queen's ecclesiastical system, have been disposed to impute the tyrannical features of this system exclusively to the bishops, and particularly to Whitgift, whose influence with Elizabeth they ascribe to his constant habit of addressing her on his knees. But Whitgift, in abetting her enmity to the Puritans, merely paid his court to a disposition which she had already evinced in the strongest manner, and swam with the tide of that resolute determination which he saw must prevail. The abject homage which he paid her was nothing more than she was universally accustomed to receive; and the observation which it has seemed to deserve from the Puritans, denotes rather a peculiarity in their own manners, than any thing remarkable in the conduct of their adversary. Not one of her subjects ever addressed the queen without kneeling; wherever she turned her eye, every one fell on his knees; and even in her absence, the nobility, who were alone thought worthy to cover her table, made three genuflexions every time they approached or retired from it in the performance of their menial duty.* Thus was an exact counterpart of the homage rendered by the catholics to the Real Presence, which they believed to reside in the Host; and the sentiments which it tended to form both in the party receiving, and the parties who rendered it, were confirmed by the language of Parliament, in which the queen was continually flattered with praises and attributes appropriated to the Supreme Being. Nor was this servile system of manners peculiar to the reign of Elizabeth. On the contrary, it had been carried even to a greater extent under the government of her predecessors; and her ministers frequently noted and deplored the decay of that fearfulness and reverence of their superiors which had formerly characterized the inferior estates of the realm. Sense and reason participated in the ignominy and degradation of manners; arrogance disordered the understanding of the prince, while servility deformed the sentiments of the people; and if Henry the Eighth, by a royal proclamation, assured the populace that they were *brutes*, the same populace, in their petitions against his measures, represented the promotion of *low-born persons* to public trust and honor, as one of the most serious and intolerable grievances that they had to complain of.

The sentiments which such practices and manners tended to form in the mind of the queen, enhanced the displeasure with which she regarded the Puritans, who were fated to offend her by their political conduct, as well as their religious opinions. Many of the more eminent persons among them obtained seats in Parliament, where they endeavored to revive a spirit of liberty and direct its energy to the protection of their oppressed brethren. Impelled by the severity of the restraints

written a book against the dancer which might attend the marriage of the queen with a popish prince, was condemned to lose his right hand as a rebel. The instant the blow was struck, he took off his hat with his other hand, and, waving it in the air, cried "God save the queen." The puritans were so much more afraid of the revival of popery in England, than of the severity of those ecclesiastical laws under which papists and puritans were equally liable to oppression. To this extent they concurred with the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth.

* Hentzner's Journey into England in 1598 (Strawberry Hill edition), a. 50, 51. This abject ceremonial was abolished by King James, who, though highly pleased with adulation, found himself embarrassed by a mode of displaying it so ill suited to his awkward manners and ungainly appearance.

they experienced, to investigate the boundaries of that authority from which they originated, and regulating their sentiments rather by the consequences they foresaw than by the precedents that confronted them, they questioned the most inveterate abuses, and obtained the confidence of the people by showing themselves the indefatigable and fearless defenders of the oppressed. In the annals of these times, we find them continually supporting petitions in parliament against monopolies, and advocating motions for reformation of ecclesiastical abuses. Attracting popular favor, and willing to undergo the burden of parliamentary attendance, they gradually multiplied their numbers in the House of Commons, and acquired an ascendancy over its deliberations. The queen, observing that the Puritans were the sole abettors of measures calculated to restrict her prerogative, was easily led to ascribe the peculiarity of their religious and political opinions to the same source—a malignant aversion to dignities, and impatience of subordination. Their reluctance to render to the Deity that ceremonious homage which the most illustrious persons in the land rendered to herself, and their eagerness to control her prerogative, which nowhere else experienced resistance, appeared to her the indications of an insolent disregard, no less of the Supreme Being than of herself.—His acknowledged vicegerent and representative; a presumptuous insurrection of spirit against the reverence due to God, and the loyalty due to the prince.* Nothing could be more unjust and fallacious than this royal reasoning. The religion, as well as the loyalty, of the Puritans, was the less ceremonious, only because it was the more reflective, profound, and substantial. To preserve a good conscience, they encountered the extremities of ecclesiastical rigor. In spite of every wrong, they evinced a resolute constancy of regard to their sovereign. And neither intimidated by danger nor dispirited by defeat, they maintained a continual effort to check the excesses of despotic authority, and to rear and cherish the public liberties of their country. They have been charged with a sour and caustic spirit, by those who forced them to eat their bread in bitterness and carry their lives in their hands; of an enmity to literature, and an exclusive reference to the Bible, by those who destroyed their writings, committed the press to episcopal licensers, and deprived them of every source of comfort and direction but what the Bible could supply; of an exaggerated estimate of little things, by those who made such things the cause of cruel suffering and enormous wrong; of a stern jealousy of civil power, by those who made it continually their interest to question and abridge the authority by which they were oppressed. It is acknowledged by an eminent philosophic historian, who will not be suspected of any undue partiality for these people, that the puritans were the preservers of civil and religious liberty in England.† It was a scion of the same stock that was destined to propagate these blessings in America.

The minds of a considerable party among the Puritans had been gradually prepared to disclaim the authority of the national church, and to deny the lawfulness of holding communion with it; inasmuch, that when these opinions were first publicly preached by Robert Brown in 1586, they rapidly obtained the assent and open profession of multitudes. Brown, who gained the distinction of bestowing his name on a sect which derived very little credit from the appellation, was a

young clergyman, of good family, endowed with a restless, daring character, a fiery temper, and a heart of controversy. Encountering the wrath of the ecclesiastics with fiercer wrath, and trampling on their arrogance with more than clerical pride,* he roamed about the country inveighing against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, and ordination of ministers, and exulting, above all, in the boast that he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. His impetuous and illiberal spirit accelerated the declaration of opinions which were not yet matured in the puritan body, and which, but for his unseasonable interposition and perverting influence, might sooner have been ripened into the system of the independents. The queen and the bishops applied the usual remedy of persecution to this innovation, with even more than the usual evidence of the unfitness of their policy to effect its object. Supported by powerful arguments, maintained with zeal and courage, and opposed by cruelties that disgraced the name of religion, the principles of the Brownists spread widely through the land. Brown himself, and a congregation more immediately attached to him, expatriated to Middleburgh, in Zealand, where they were permitted to establish themselves unmolested. But Brown had collected around him spirits too congenial to his own, to preserve their union when the strong band of oppression was withdrawn. The congregation crumbled into parties, and was soon dissolved; and Brown, returning to England, joined the national church, and, contracting dissolute habits, ended his days in indolence and contempt. But the doctrines which he had been the means of introducing to public notice had firmly rooted themselves in the puritan body, and received daily accessions to the numbers and respectability of the votaries.

The Brownists did not differ from the church of England in any of her articles of faith, but they looked upon her discipline as popish and anti-Christian, and all her sacraments and ordinances as invalid; and they renounced communion, not only with her, but with every other protestant church that was not constructed on the same model as their own. Their model was derived from the closest imitation of the primitive institutions, as delineated in scripture. When a church was to be gathered, all who desired to be members of it, made a confession of their faith before one another, and signed a covenant by which they obliged themselves to walk together in the order of the gospel. Each congregation formed an independent church, and the admission or exclusion of members resided with the brethren composing it. Their church officers were elected from among themselves, and separated to their several offices of preaching the word, administering their ordinances, and taking care of the poor, by fasting and prayer and the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren. They did not allow the priesthood to be a distinct order, or to invest a man with an indelible character; but, as the appointment of the church conferred his function (which in its exercise, too, was limited to the special body to which he was attached), so the same authority was sufficient to deprive him of it. It was lawful for any one of the brethren to exercise the liberty of prophesying, as it was called, which meant the giving a word of exhortation to the people; and it was usual for some of them, after sermon, to ask questions, and reason upon the doctrines that had been preached. The condition to which the puritans were reduced by their oppressors, favored the acceptance of all that was separating and unsocial in the principles of the Brownist teachers; for, while every congregation had to assemble by stealth, it was impossible to maintain any intercourse between their churches, or to ascertain how far they mutually agreed in doctrine and discipline.

Against these men, in whose characters were united more piety, virtue, courage, and loyalty than any other portion of her people displayed, did Elizabeth and her ecclesiastical counsellors direct the whole fury of the law. John Udall, one of their ministers, was tried in the year 1591, for having published a defence of their tenets, which he entitled *A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places until the World's End*. This, consistently with Elizabeth's declaration, that whoever attacked the church, slandered the queen, was regarded as a scandalous

libel, and Udall was arraigned for a capital felony. When he was told by one of the judges that a book replete with sentiments so inconsistent with the established institutions, tended to the overthrowing of the state and the rousing of rebellion, he replied, "My lords, that be far from me; for we teach that, reforming things amiss, if the prince will not consent, the weapons that subjects are to fight with all, are repentance and prayers, patience and tears." The judge offered him his life if he would recant; and added, that he was now ready to pronounce sentence of death. "And I am ready to receive it," cried this magnanimous man; "for I protest before God (not knowing that I am to live an hour) that the cause is good, and I am contented to receive sentence, so that I may leave it to posterity how I have suffered for the cause." He was condemned to die; and being still urged to submit to the queen, he willingly expressed his sorrow that any of his writings should have given her offence, and disclaimed any such wish or intention, but resolutely refused to disown what he believed to be the cause of truth and of liberty of conscience. By the interest of some powerful friends, a conditional pardon was obtained for him; but before the terms of it could be adjusted, or the queen prevailed on to sign it, he died in prison. Penry, Greenwood, Barrow,* and Deonis, of whom the first two were clergymen, and the others laymen, were soon after tried on similar charges, and perished by the hands of the executioner. These men were offered a pardon if they would retract their profession; but, inspired by a courage which no earthly motive could overcome, they clung to their principles, and committed their life to its author. Some others were hanged for dispersing the writings, and several for attending the discourses, of the Brownists. Many more endured the torture of severe imprisonment, and numerous families were reduced to indigence by heavy fines. As the most virtuous and honorable are ever, on such occasions, most exposed to danger, every stroke of the oppressor's arm is aimed at those very qualities in his adversaries that constitute his own defence and security; and, hence, severities so odious to mankind, and so calculated to unite by the strongest sympathy the minds of the spectators and sufferers together, are more likely to diminish the virtue than the numbers of a party. By dint of long continuance, and of the exertion of their influence on a greater variety of character, they finally divested a great many of the puritans of the spirit of meekness and non-resistance for which the fathers of the party had been so conspicuous. But this fruit was not gathered till a subsequent reign; and their first effort was not only to multiply the numbers, but to confirm the virtue of the puritans. When persecution had as yet but invigorated their fortitude without inspiring ferocity, a portion of this people was happily conducted to the retreat of America, there to plant and extend the principles of their noble cause, while their brethren in England remained behind to avenge its accumulated wrongs.

When the queen was informed, by Dr. Reynolds, of the calumny which these martyrs had displayed, how they had blessed their persecuting sovereign, and turned the scaffold to which she had consigned them into an altar, whence they had prayed for her long and happy reign, her heart was touched with a sentiment of remorse, and she expressed regret that she had taken their lives away. But repentance with all mankind is too often but a barren anguish; and princes have been known to bewail, even with tears, the mortality of multitudes whom they were conducting to slaughter, and the shortness of that life which they were contributing still farther to abridge. Elizabeth, so far from abating, increased the legislative severities whose effects she had deplored; and was fated never to see her error till it was too late to repair them. In the year 1593, a few months after the executions which we have alluded to, a new and severer law was enacted against the puritans. This body was not only extending itself every day, but so rapidly adopting the independent opinions, that, in the debate which took place in the House of Commons on the introduction of this law, Sir Walter Raleigh stated, that the numbers of professed Brownists alone then amounted to twenty thousand. The humane arguments, however, which he

* In a speech from the throne, she informed the commons (after a candid confession that she knew nobody who had read or reflected as much as herself) that whoever attacked the constitutions of the church, slandered her as its supreme head, divinely appointed; and that, if the papists were inveterate enemies to her person, the modern sectaries were no less formidable to all kingly government. She added, that she was determined to suppress their overboldness in presumptuously scanning the will of God Almighty,—thus presuming, by the word of her mouth, to arrest the stayless course of thought, and practically appropriating the power of that Being whose honor she pretended to vindicate. *D'Ewes Account of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments*, p. 325. The cruel law that was passed in the thirty-fifth year of the queen's reign, against all recusants to attend the national church, is entitled "An act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," and was intended, as the preamble declared, to repress the evil practices of "seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,"—anyonymous descriptions of guilt in the estimation of Elizabeth.

† So absolute indeed was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty had been kindled and was preserved by the puritans alone; and it was to this sect, whose principles appear so frivolous and habits so ridiculous, that the English owe the whole freedom of their constitution." *Home's England*, vol. v. p. 183. Again, "It was only during the next generation that the noble principles of liberty took root, and, spreading themselves under the shelter of puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people." *Ibid*, p. 469. The only fault that this historian can find with the puritans is, that they were imbued with the only principles which can inspire men with a courage insurmountable by any human motive.

* His grandfather had a charter from Henry the Eighth, confirmed by act of Parliament, "giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king, or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease or pleasure." The cap seems to have transmitted its properties with its privileges to the grandson of him whose arrogance could solicit such a distinction.

* This man, while lingering in the dungeon, where he awaited his fate, presented a supplication to parliament, which contains a faithful picture of the horrors of imprisonment at that age. "We crave for all of us," he says, "but the liberty either to die openly or to live openly in the land of our nativity. If we deserve death, it becometh the majesty of justice not to see us closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stilled in loathsome dungeons," &c. *Neal*, i. 64. But the parliament was compelled to leave Barrow and his fellow sufferers to the mercy of the queen and the bishops.

derived from this consideration were unavailing to prevent the passing of a law, which enacted, that any person above sixteen years of age who obstinately refused, during the space of a month, to attend public worship, should be committed to prison; that, if he persisted three months in his refusal, he must abjure the realm; and that, if he either refused this condition, or returned after banishment, he should suffer death as a felon. If this act was not more fortunate than its predecessors in accomplishing the main object of checking the growth of puritan principles, it effected at least the subordinate purpose of driving a great many of the professors of independency out of England. One body of these fugitives was collected about the close of the sixteenth century, at Amsterdam, where they flourished in peace and piety for upwards of a hundred years. Others retired to different protestant states on the continent, whence with fond delusive hope, they expected to be recalled to their native land by the accession of Elizabeth's successor. The remainder continued in England to fluctuate between the evasion and the violation of the law, cherishing with their principles a stern impatience arising from the galling restraints that impeded their expression; and yet retained in submission by the hope which in common with the exiles they indulged of a mitigation of their sufferings on the demise of the queen. Some historians have expressed no small wonder at the ungrateful impatience for a new reign that was manifested in the close of Elizabeth's life, and at the very sudden disgust which the government of her successor experienced. But these seeming inconsistencies arose from the same cause. Elizabeth had exhausted the patience and loyalty of a great body of her subjects; and the adherence to her policy which her successor so unexpectedly manifested, disappointed all the hopes by which these virtues had been sustained.

The hopes of the puritans were derived from the education of the Scottish king, and supported by many of his declarations, which were eagerly repeated in England. James had been bred a presbyterian; he had publicly declared that the kirk of Scotland was the purest church in the world, and that the English Liturgy sounded in his ears like an *ill-mumbled mass*. On his accession to the English crown, he was eagerly assailed by petitions from the puritans; and at first he showed himself so far disposed to attend to their wishes as to appoint a solemn conference between them and the heads of the church party at Hampton Court. But the hopes inspired by this conference were completely disappointed by its result [Jan. 1604]. If James had ever been sincere in preferring a presbyterian to an episcopal establishment, his opinion was entirely reversed by the opportunity he now enjoyed of comparing them with each other, and by the very different treatment he experienced from the ministers of both. In Scotland he had been involved in perpetual contentions with the clergy, who did not recognise in his regal office any supremacy over their church, and who differed from him exceedingly in their estimate of his piety, capacity, and attainments. Precluded by his poverty from a display of royal pomp that might have dazzled their eyes and hid the man behind the king, he stood plainly revealed to their keen glance, an awkward personification of conceit and pedantry, obstinate but unsteady, fraught with learning, void of knowledge. They have been accused of disturbing his government by exercising a censorial power over it; but it was himself that first taught them thus to overstep their functions. Extending his administration into their peculiar province, where it had no right to penetrate, he seemed to legitimize as well as provoke their censorial strictures on his intrusion. Mingling religion with his politics, he attempted to remodel the church; and the clergy, mingling politics with their divinity, complained of his interference and censured his government. Defending institutions not less respected than beloved by the people, they easily obtained the victory; and James met with the same success in attempting to control the sentiments of the Scotch, that in his tobacco controversy he afterwards experienced in attempting to prevail over the senses of the English. One of the ministers had gone the length of declaring that "all kings were the devil's children;" and the king retorted the discourtesy when he found himself safe in England, by vehemently protesting that "a Scottish presbytery agrees as well with monarchy as God and the devil." The sentiments that naturally resulted from offended arrogance and mortified presumption, were expanded to their amplest plenitude by the blaze of flattery and adulation with which the dignitaries of the English church received him. By them he was readily hailed

the supreme head of their establishment, the protector of its privileges, the source of its splendor, the patron of its dignities; and Whitgift went so far as to declare, in the conference at Hampton Court, that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit. This was the last impulse that Whitgift was able to lend to royal pride and folly. Confounded at the universal explosion of puritan sentiments, which he had flattered himself with the hope of having almost completely extinguished, his grief and concern so violently affected his aged body as to cause his death very shortly after. But he had already contributed to revive the ecclesiastical spirit of Elizabeth in the mind of her successor; and James, inflamed with admiration of a church which, like a faithful mirror, so fairly reflected and illustrated his royal perfections, became henceforward the determined patron of the establishment, and the persecutor of all who opposed its institutions. His natural arrogance, fortified by such unexceptionable testimony, soared to a height which nothing but royalty or a disordered understanding has ever attained; and he who in Scotland had found himself curbed in every attempt to interfere with the religious institutions of his own narrow realm, now thought himself entitled to dictate the ecclesiastical policy of foreign nations. Having entered into a dispute with Vorstius, professor of theology in a Dutch university, and finding his adversary insensible to the weight of his arguments, he resolved to make him feel at least the weight and length of his arm; and roused to a degree of energy and haughtiness to which no other foreign concernment was ever able to excite him, he remonstrated so vigorously with the states of Holland, that to put an end to his clamor, they submitted to the mean injustice of deposing and banishing the professor. With this sacrifice to his insulted logic, James was forced to be contented, though he had endeavored to rouse his republican allies to more royal revenge, by informing them "that as to the burning of Vorstius for his blasphemies and atheism, he left them to their own christian wisdom: but surely never heretic better deserved the flames." He did not fail to reinforce this charitable counsel by his own example; and in the course of his reign burned at the stake two persons who were so unhappy as to entertain the Arian heresy, and an unfortunate lunatic who mistook himself for the Deity,* and whose frenzy was thus cruelly treated by a much more dangerous and deliberate invader of the divine attributes. If James had not been restrained by the growing political ascendancy of the puritans, there would probably have been more of such executions in England. He did, however, as much as he dared; and finding in Bancroft a fit successor to Whitgift, he made with his assistance so vigorous a commencement, that in the second year of his reign three hundred puritan ministers were deprived, imprisoned or banished. To prevent the communication of light from abroad, the importation of any books hostile to the restraints imposed by the laws of the realm or the king's proclamations, was forbidden under the severest penalties; to prevent its rise and repress its spread at home, no books were suffered to be printed in England without the consent of a committee of bishops or their deputies; and arbitrary jurisdictions for the trial of ecclesiastical offences were multiplied and extended. Persons suspected of entertaining puritan sentiments, even though they adhered to the church, were subjected to fine and imprisonment for barely repeating to their families, in the evening, the substance of the discourses they had heard at church during the day, under the pretence that this constituted the crime of irregular preaching. Some of the puritans having conceived the design of withdrawing to Virginia, where they hoped that distance would at least mitigate the violence of oppression, a small number of them proceeded to carry their purpose into effect; and a larger body were preparing to follow, when Bancroft, apprised of their intention, obtained a proclamation from the king, commanding that none of his subjects should settle in Virginia without an express licence under the great seal. Thus harassed and oppressed in England, and deprived of a refuge in Virginia, the puritans began to retire in considerable numbers to the protestant states of the continent; and the hopes of the still greater and increasing numbers who remained at home were fixed on the House of Commons. In this assembly the puritan ascendancy

* One of these victims is termed by Fuller, in his *Church History* (B. x. § 4), "Our English Vorstius." The king, in imitation of Henry the Eighth's generosity to Lambert, held a personal dispute with him, and concluded it by delivering him to the hands of the executioner.

at length became so manifest, that in spite of the king's proclamations for encouraging mirthful games on Sunday, a bill was introduced for compelling a more strict and solemn observance of the day, to which it gave the denomination of the sabbath; and when one member objected to this as a puritan appellation, and ventured to justify dancing by a gay misapplication of some passages in scripture, he was, on the suggestion of Mr. Pym, expelled the house for his profanity. But we have now reached the period at which we must forsake the main stream of the history of the puritans, to follow the fortunes of that illustrious branch which was destined to visit and ennoble the deserts of America. In reviewing the strange succession of events which we have beheld, and the various impressions they have produced on our minds, it may perhaps occur to some as a humiliating consideration, that the crimes and follies, the cruelties and weaknesses which would excite in other sentiments but those of horror, grief, or pity, in an angelic beholder, are capable of presenting themselves in such an aspect to less purified eyes, as to excite the splenetic mirth even of those whose nature is degraded by the odious or absurd display.

In the year 1610, a congregation of Brownists, driven by royal and ecclesiastical tyranny from their native land, had removed to Leyden, where they were permitted to establish themselves in peace under the ministry of their pastor, John Robinson.* This excellent person was the father of the Independents, having been the first who realized a middle course between the path of Brownism and the Presbyterian system; to one or other of which the views and desires of the Puritans were now generally tending. The sentiments which he entertained when he first quitted his country, bore the impress of the persecution under which they had been formed; and when he began his ministry at Leyden he was a rigid Brownist: but after he had seen more of the world, and been enabled to converse in a friendly manner with learned and good men of different ecclesiastical denominations, he began to entertain a more charitable opinion of those minor differences, which he plainly perceived might subsist, without injury to the essentials of religion, and without violating charity, or inciting persecution. Though he always maintained the lawfulness and expediency of separating from those established protestant churches among which he lived, he willingly allowed them the character of true churches; esteemed it lawful to communicate with them in preaching and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline; and freely admitted their members to partake the sacrament with his congregation. He maintained that each particular church, or society of Christians, was vested with the power of choosing its own officers, administering the gospel ordinances, and exercising over its own members every necessary act of discipline and authority; and consequently, that it was completely independent of all classes, synods, convocations and councils. He admitted the expediency of synods and councils for the reconciling of differences among churches, and the tendering of friendly advice to them; but denied their competence to exercise any act of jurisdiction, or authoritatively to impose any articles or canons of doctrine. These sentiments Mr. Robinson recommended to esteem by exemplifying, in his life and demeanor, the fruits of that spirit by whose teaching they were communicated; by a character, in which the most eminent faculties, and the highest attainments, were absorbed by the predominating power of a solemn, affectionate piety.

Enjoying the counsel and direction of such a pastor, and blessed with an adequate sense of his value, the English congregation remained for ten years at Leyden, in harmony with each other, and at peace with their neighbors. But, at the end of that period, the same pious views that had prompted their original departure from England incited them to undertake a more distant migration. They beheld with deep concern the loose profane manners that prevailed very generally around them, and, in particular, the utter neglect among the Dutch of a reverential observance of Sunday; and they reflected with apprehension on the danger to which their children were exposed from the natural contagion manners so unfavorable to serious piety; their country too, still retained a hold on their affections; and they were loth to see their posterity melted into the Dutch population. The fewness of their numbers, and the difference of language, forbade the hope of propagating, in Holland, the principles

* Cardinal Bentiveglio, in his *Account of the United Provinces*, describes them as a body of English puritans, who had resorted to Holland for purposes of commerce.

which, with so much suffering and hazard, they had hitherto maintained; and the state of the English government extinguished every hope of toleration in their native land. In these circumstances, it occurred to them that they might combine the indulgence of their patriotic attachment with the propagation of their religious principles, by establishing themselves in some distant quarter of the English dominions; and, after many days of earnest supplication for the counsel and direction of Heaven, they unanimously determined to transport themselves and their families to the territory of America. It was resolved that a part of the congregation should go out before the rest, to prepare a settlement for the whole; and that the main body should till then, remain behind at Leyden with their pastor. In choosing the particular scene of their establishment, they hesitated, for some time, between the territory of Guiana, of which Sir Walter Raleigh had published a most dazzling and fanciful description, and the province of Virginia, to which they latterly gave the preference; but the hand of Providence was exerted no less in the general direction of their counsels, than in the control of their political proceedings, and their residence was ordained to be established in New England.

Through the medium of agents, whom they deputed to solicit the interposition of the proper authorities, they represented to the English government, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land: that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontent cause to wish themselves at home again." The king, wavering between his desire to promote the colonization of America, and his reluctance to suffer the consciences of any portion of his subjects to be emancipated from his control, refused to grant them a charter assuring the free exercise of their religion, but promised to connive at their practices, and on no account to molest them. They were forced to accept this precarious security; but relied with more reason on their distance from the Spiritual Courts of England, and from the eye and arm of their persecuting sovereign. Having procured from the Virginia Company a grant of a tract of land, lying, as was supposed, within the limits of its patent, several of the congregation sold their estates, and with the money equipped two vessels, in which a hundred and twenty of their number were appointed to embark from an English port for America.

All things being ready for the departure of this detachment of the congregation from Delft haven, where they took leave of their friends, for the English port of embarkation, Mr. Robinson held a day of solemn worship with his people, to implore a blessing upon the hazardous enterprise. He preached a sermon to them from *Ezra, viii. 21*:—*I proclaimed a fast there at the river Ahara, that we might afflict our souls before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.* He concluded his discourse with the following noble exhortation, to which, with all its intrinsic merits, our sentiments will fail to do justice, if we neglect to remember, that such a spirit of Christian liberty as it breathes was then hardly known in the world. "Brethren, said he, "we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows; but whether the Lord has appointed that or no, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, I am very confident, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

"This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times,

yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace farther light, as that which they first received. [1620.] I beseech you remember it, 'tis an article of your church covenant, *that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God.* Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth before you receive it; for 'tis not possible the christian world should come solutely out of antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and shake off the name of Brownist; 'tis a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion, and the professors of it, odious to the Christian world." Having said thus much, he exchanged with them embraces and affectionate farewells; and kneeling down with them all on the sea shore, commended them in a fervent prayer, to the blessing and protection of Heaven. Such were the men, nobler than all his tribe, whom the English monarch cast out of his dominions; and such were the scenes of wisdom and piety, which the control of Providence elicited from the folly, insolence, and bigotry, of a tyrant.

The emigrants, after having been once driven back by a storm, and lost one of their vessels, finally embarked from Plymouth, in the other, on the sixth of September, and, after a long and dangerous voyage, reached the coast of America. Hudson's river had been the place of their destination, and its banks the scene of their intended settlement; but the Dutch, who conceived that a preferable right to this territory accrued to them from its discovery by Captain Hudson, had maintained there, for some years, a small commercial establishment, and were actually projecting a scheme of more extensive occupation, which they were neither disposed to forego, nor yet prepared to defend. In order to defeat the design of the English emigrants, they bribed the captain of their vessel, who was a Dutchman, to carry them so far towards the north, that the first land which they made was Cape Cod, a region, not only beyond the precincts of their grant, but beyond the territories of the company from which the grant was derived. But the lateness of the season, and the sickness occasioned by the hardships of a long voyage, compelled the adventurers to settle on the soil to which their destiny had conducted them, and which seemed to have been expressly prepared and evacuated for their reception by a pestilential disease, which, in the former year, had swept away nine-tenths of its savage and idolatrous population. After exploring the coast, they chose for their station a place now belonging to the province of Massachusetts bay, to which they gave the name of New Plymouth, either as a testimony of respect to the company within whose jurisdiction they found themselves situated, or in commemoration of the city with which their last recollections of England were associated. To remedy in some measure, their defect of formal title, they composed and subscribed an instrument declaratory of the purpose with which they had come to America, recognising the authority of the English crown, and expressing their own combination into a civil body politic, and their determination to enact all just and necessary laws, and honour them by a due obedience.* Here, then, remote from the scenes and paths of human grandeur, these men embarked on a career of life, which, if the true dignity of actions be derived from the motives that prompt them, the principles they express, and the ends they contemplate, I cannot term otherwise than elevated and admirable.

The speedy approach and intense severity of their first winter in America painfully convinced the settlers that a more unfavourable season of the year could not have been selected for the formation of their colony; and that the slender stores with which they were provided were far short of what was requisite to comfortable subsistence, and constituted a very inadequate preparation to meet the rigour of the climate. Their exertions to provide themselves with suitable dwellings were obstructed, for some time, by the hostile attacks of some of the neighbouring Indians, who had not forgotten the provocation they had received

from Captain Hunt; and the colonists had scarcely succeeded in repulsing them, when disease occasioned by scarcity of provisions, and the increasing horrors of the season afflicted them with a calamity, perhaps less dangerous to their virtue, but more destructive to their strength and numbers than the perils of war.—More than one half of their number, including John Carver, their first governor, perished of hunger or disease before the return of spring; and, during the whole of the winter, but few were capable of providing for themselves, or rendering assistance to the rest; but hope and virtue survived, and rising into greater vigour beneath the pressure of accumulated suffering surmounted and ennobled every calamity. [1621.] Those who retained their strength became the servants of the weak, the sick, and the dying; and no distinguished himself more in this honourable duty than Mr. Carver, the governor. He was a gentleman of large estate, but larger heart; he had spent his whole fortune on this project; and now, willing, contributing his life to its accomplishment, he exhausted a feeble body in laboriously discharging the meanest offices of kindness and service to the sick.—When the distress of the colony was at its height, the approach of a powerful Indian chief seemed to portend the utter destruction of the settlers; but, happily, in the train of this personage, was the ancient guest and friend of the English, Squanto, who eagerly and successfully laboured to mediate a good understanding between them and his countrymen. He afterwards cancelled the merit of this useful service, and endeavoured to magnify his own importance by fabricating charges of plots and conspiracies against some of the neighboring tribes, while at the same time he kept these tribes in terror, by secret information that the English were in possession of a cask filled with the plague, which only his influence prevented them from setting abroad for the destruction of the Indians. But, before he resorted to this mischievous policy, the colonists had become independent of his services. Some of the neighbouring tribes, from time to time, made alarming demonstrations of hostility; but they were at length completely overawed by the courage and resolution of Captain Miles Standish, a gallant and skilful officer, who, with a handful of men, was always ready to encounter their greatest force, and anticipate their most rapid movements.*

With the arrival of summer the health of the colonists were restored, and their numbers continued to be reinforced from time to time, by successive emigrations of their friends from Europe. But these additions fell far short of their expectations; and of the main reinforcement which they had looked for from the accession of the remainder of the congregation at Leyden, they were utterly disappointed. The unexpected death of Mr. Robinson deprived his people at Leyden of the only leader whose animating counsels could have overcome the timidity inspired by the accounts of the distresses sustained by their friends in New England; and, accordingly, upon that event the greater part of those who had remained behind at Leyden now retired to join the other English exiles at Amsterdam, and very few had the courage to proceed to New Plymouth. This small colony, however, had evinced a hardy virtue that showed it was formed for endurance; and having surmounted its first misfortunes, continued to thrive in the cultivation of piety, and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience and political freedom. A noble attachment was formed to the soil which had been earned with so much virtue, and to the society whose continuance attested so manly a contest, and so signal a victory over every variety of ill. While they demonstrated a proper respect for the claims of the original inhabitants of the country, by purchasing from them the territory over which the settlement extended, they neglected no preparation to defend by force what they had acquired with justice; and, alarmed by the tidings of the massacre of their countrymen in Virginia, they erected a timber fort, and adopted other prudent precautions for their defence. This purchase from savages, who rather occasionally traversed than continually occupied the territory, is perhaps the first instance on record of the full prevalence of the principles of justice in a treaty between a civilized and a barbarous people. [1621—4.] The constitution of their church was the same with that which

* Mather, b. i. Cap. ii. § 5.—Neal, i. 80—82. 87. Olmixon, i. 29. Hutchinson, ii. Append. 452. The fraud, by which the Dutch had contrived to divert these emigrants from Hudson's river, was discovered and stated in a memorial, which was published in England before the close of this year (1620). Prince's New England Chronology, p. 83.

* Mather, Neal. Peter Martyr declares that the hardships endured by the Spaniards in South America were such as none but Spaniards could have supported. But the hardships sustained by the first colonists of Plymouth appear to have exceeded them both in duration and intensity. See Hutchinson, ii. Append. 477.

which had been established at Leyden, and their system of civil government was founded on those ideas of the natural equality among men to which their ecclesiastical policy, so long the main object of their concern, had habituated their minds. The supreme legislative body was composed of all the freemen who were members of the church, and it was not until the year 1639 that they established a house of representatives. The executive power was committed to a governor and council annually elected by the members of the legislative assembly. Their jurisprudence was founded on the laws of England, with some diversity, however, in the scale of punishments, which was more nearly approximated to the Mosaic institutions. Considering the protection of morals more important than the preservation of wealth, they punished fornication with flogging, and adultery with death, while on forgery they inflicted only a moderate fine. The clearing and cultivation of the ground, fishing, and the curing of fish for exportation, formed the occupation of the colonists. The peculiarity of their situation naturally led them, like the Virginians, for some time, to throw all their property into a common stock, and, like members of one family, to carry on every work of industry by their joint labor for the public behoof. But the religious zeal which enforced this self-denying policy was unable to overcome the difficulties which must always attend it, and which are continually revived and augmented in a society deriving its increase not so much from its own internal growth as from the confluence of strangers. About three years after the foundation of New Plymouth, it was judged proper to introduce separation of possessions, though the full right of separate property was not admitted till a much later period; and even that change is represented as having produced a great and manifest increase of the industry of the people. The slow increase which, for a considerable period of time, the numbers of the colonists evinced, has been ascribed to the prolonged operation of this system of equality; but it seems more likely that the slowness of the increase (occasioned by the poverty of the soil and the tidings of the hardships attending a settlement in New England) was the cause of the retardation of the complete establishment of the right of private property. In the first society of men collected by the bond of christianity, and additionally united by persecution, we find an attempt made to abolish individual property; and, from the apostolic direction that *he who would not work should not eat*, we may conclude that the disadvantage which the operation of this principle is exposed to in a society deriving its increase from the continual confluence of strangers of dissimilar characters, was pretty early experienced. In Paraguay, the Jesuits formed a settlement where this peculiar disadvantage was not experienced, and which affords the only instance of the introduction and prolonged subsistence of a state of equality in a numerous society. But there the great fundamental difficulty was rather evaded than encountered by a system of tuition adapted, with exquisite skill, to confound all diversities of talent and disposition among the natives, in an unbounded and degrading dependence on their Jesuitical instructors.

[1624.] After having continued for some years without a patent for their occupation, the colonists, whose numbers now amounted to a hundred and eighty, employed one Pierce as their agent in England to solicit a grant of this nature from the English government and the grand council of Plymouth—a new corporation by which James, in the year 1620, had superseded the original Plymouth company, and to which he had granted all the territory lying within the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of northern latitude. This corporate body continued to subsist for a considerable time, notwithstanding a vote of the House of Commons, in the year after its creation, declaring its privileges a grievance, and its patent void. Pierce procured a charter from the council, and caused it to be framed in his own name, with the appropriation of large territories and privileges to himself and his family: but, having embarked with a numerous body of associates, whom he had collected in England, to accompany him, and assist in the enforcement of his designs, his vessel was shipwrecked, and Pierce himself so dismayed with the disastrous issue of his injustice, that he confessed what he had done, and resigned his patent. The colonists, informed of his treachery, sent over Mr. Winslow,

one of their own number, to resume the solicitation for a charter. He appears not to have been able to procure a patent from the crown, but he obtained, after long delay, a grant of land and charter of privileges from the council. It was directed to William Bradford, the existing governor, and the immunities it conferred were appropriated to him, his heirs, associates, and assigns; but Mr. Bradford willingly surrendered all that was personal in the grant, and associated the general court of the freemen to all the privileges it conferred. By this grant of the grand council of Plymouth, the colonists were authorised to choose a governor, council, and general court, for the enacting and executing all laws which should be judged necessary for the public good. The colonial historians have mistaken this grant for a patent from the crown. But no such patent was ever issued; and the settlement of New Plymouth was never incorporated into a body politic, but remained a subordinate and voluntary association until it was united to its more powerful neighbor the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Both before and after the reception of this charter, the colonists were aware of the doubts that might be entertained of the validity of the acts of government which they exercised. Perhaps this defect was not altogether unfavorable to the interests and happiness of the settlers, and may have contributed to the moderate principles and conciliatory strain by which their administration was honorably distinguished from that which afterwards unfortunately prevailed among their neighbors in New England. But the soil around New Plymouth was so meagre, and the supplies they received from Europe so scanty and infrequent, that in the tenth year of their colonial existence their numbers did not exceed three hundred. But their exertions were not destitute of great and important consequences. They held up to the view of the oppressed puritans in the parent state, a scene where persecuted virtue might retire to, and where only the hardy virtue that could withstand persecution seemed fated to obtain a permanent establishment. At the expense of the noblest sacrifices and most undaunted efforts, this handful of men laid the foundations of New England. A few years after their first establishment at Plymouth, a messenger arrived at this settlement from the governor of the Dutch plantation on Hudson's river, with letters congratulating the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendering the good will and friendly services of the Dutch, and proposing a commercial intercourse between the two settlements. The governor and council of Plymouth returned a courteous answer to this communication, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness which they had received in the native country of the Dutch, and a grateful acceptance of the proffered friendship. Nothing farther seems to have ensued from this overture than a series of small commercial dealings, and an occasional interchange of similar civilities, which, but a few years after, gave place to the most inveterate jealousy, and a continual reciprocation of complaints between the Dutch and the English colonists.

Various attempts had been made during this interval to emulate the successful establishment of New Plymouth; but they had all failed from inability to emulate the virtues from which the success of this colony was derived. In the year 1622, a rival colony was planted in New England by one Weston and a troop of disorderly adventurers, who, in spite of the friendly assistance of the settlers at New Plymouth, quickly sunk into such helplessness that some of them condescended to become servants to the Indians, some perished of hunger, others turned robbers, and by their depredations involved both themselves and the colonists of New Plymouth in hostilities with the natives, and the rest were glad to find their way back to England. In the following year an attempt of greater importance was made under the patronage of the grand council of Plymouth, which bestowed on Captain Gorges, the leader of the expedition, the title of governor-general of the whole country, with an ample endowment of arbitrary power, and on a clergyman whom he had brought with him, the office of bishop and superintendent of all the churches. But New England was not in such a condition that an establishment of this description could take root in it; and the governor and his bishop, deserting their charge, made haste to return to a climate more congenial to the growth

of temporal dominion and ecclesiastical dignity. Of their followers, some retired to Virginia, and others returned to England.* At a later period a similar undertaking, conducted by Captain Wollaston, was attended with a repetition of the same disastrous issue. Yet, all these unsuccessful plantations were attempted on land more fertile, and at a situation more commodious, than the settlers at New Plymouth enjoyed. The situation which they pitched upon was that of Massachusetts Bay, where, a few years after, a colony, which was formed on the same principles that had founded New Plymouth, and whose origin I now proceed to relate, afforded the second example of a successful establishment in New England.

The reign of Charles the First was destined to produce the consummation and the retribution of royal and ecclesiastical tyranny. Charles committed the government of the church to men who openly professed the most arbitrary principles, and whose inclinations carried them much more strongly to enforce an approximation to the church of Rome, than to promote agreement among the professors of the protestant faith. Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, being restrained by the moderation of his principles and the mildness of his temper from lending his instrumentality to the designs of the court, was treated with harshness, and, at length, suspended from his office,† [1627] of which the functions were committed to a board of prelates, of whom the most eminent was Laud, who afterwards succeeded to the primacy. From this period, both in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of the realm, a system of deliberate and insolent invasion of whatever was most valued by freemen, or most revered by protestants, was pursued with stubborn pride and folly, and enforced by cruelties that at length exhausted the patience of mankind. To the historian of England, the political abuses that distinguished this period will probably appear the most interesting features in its history; and, doubtless, they contributed at least as powerfully as any other cause to the production of the great convulsions that ensued. But, as it was the ecclesiastical administration that mainly contributed to the peopling of America, it is this branch of the English history that chiefly merits our attention, in investigating the sources of the colonization of New England.

Not only were the ancient ceremonies, which long oppression had rendered so obnoxious, enforced with additional rigor on the increasing numbers of the puritans, but new and more offensive rites were introduced into the church. A design seems to have been formed of enabling the church of England to vie with the Romish see in the splendor of its pageantry, the superstitious ceremonial of its worship, and the power of its hierarchy. Laud, indeed, boasted that he had refused the offer of a cardinal's hat from Rome; but the offer was justly considered a much more significant circumstance than the refusal; and, having already assumed to himself the papal title of *His Holiness*, which he substituted in place of *His Grace*, his style would have been lowered instead of elevated by the Romish promotion which he rejected. The communion table was converted into an altar, and all per-

* The most important act of Captain Gorges' administration that has been transmitted to us, is one which affords an explanation of a passage in Hudibras, where the New Englanders are accused of hanging an innocent, but bedrid, weaver, in stead of a guilty, but useful, cobbler—

“That sinners may supply the place
Of suffering saints, is a plain case.
Our brethren of New England use
Choice malefactors to excuse,
And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need—
As lately happened. In a town
There lived a cobbler,” &c. Hudibras, Canto ii.

Some of Gorges' people had committed depredations on the Indians, who insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. Gorges satisfied and deceived them by hanging up either a dying man or a dead body. Hutchinson, i. p. 6. Butler's witty malice, studious to defame the puritans, has rescued from oblivion an act of which the whole merit or demerit is exclusively due to his own party.

† The pretext commonly assigned for Abbot's disgrace is, that, in shooting at a deer with a cross-bow, he had accidentally killed a man. But he had been solemnly acquitted of this charge, and declared exempt from all its consequences, long before he was sequestered from ecclesiastical functions; and the real causes of his temporal disgrace seem to have been, that he opposed the persecution of the puritans, that he refused to license a sermon that had been preached in support of the king's right to tax the people without the intervention of parliament, and that he could not be prevailed with to countenance the infamous proceedings for the divorce of the countess of Essex. Wollaston's Court and Character of King James. Fuller's Worthies.

sons commanded to bow to it on entering the church. All the week-day lectures, and all afternoon sermons on Sunday, were abolished, and, instead of them, games and sports were permitted to all the people, "excepting known recusants," who were thus with matchless absurdity debarred, as a punishment, from practices which they regarded with the utmost detestation. Every minister was commanded to read the royal proclamation of games and sports from his pulpit, under the pain of deprivation. This ordinance, like all the other novelties, was productive of the greater discontent and disturbance, from the extent to which puritan sentiments had made their way into the church, and the number of puritan ministers within the establishment whom habit had taught to fluctuate between the performance and the evasion of the ancient obnoxious canons, and trained to submit, without at all reconciling to the burden. Nothing could be more ill timed than an aggravation of the load under which these men were laboring; it reduced many to despair, provoked others to the most vehement indignation, and deprived the church of a numerous body of her most attached and most popular ministers. Nor were these the only measures that were calculated to excite discontents within as well as without the establishment. Three-fourths of the English clergy were Calvinists; but Laud and the ruling prelates being Arminians, they caused a royal proclamation to be issued against the preaching of the Calvinistic tenets; and while the Arminian pulpits resounded with the sharpest invectives against them, a single sentence that could be construed into their defence exposed the preacher to the pains of contempt of the king's authority.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the churchmen had been eager to shift from themselves upon the courts of common law as much as possible of the odium of enforcing the ecclesiastical statutes. But Laud* and his associates, inaccessible to fear, remorse, or shame, courted the office of persecution, and in the court of commission exercised such arbitrary power, and committed such enormous cruelty, as procured to that odious tribunal the name of the *protestant inquisition*. Fines, imprisonment, banishment, the pillory, were among the most lenient of the punishments inflicted by this tribunal. Its victims were frequently condemned to have their flesh torn from their bodies by the lash of the executioner, their nostrils slit, and their ears cut off, and in this condition exhibited to the people as monuments of what was termed the justice of their sovereign and the zeal of the prelates. Of the extent as well as the severity to which this arbitrary system was pushed, some notion may be formed from the accounts that have been transmitted to us of the proceedings within the diocese of Norwich alone. In the articles of impeachment afterwards exhibited against Bishop Wren, it is stated, that during his possession of that diocese, which lasted only for two years and a half, fifty ministers were deprived for not complying with the innovations, and three thousand of the laity compelled to abandon the kingdom.† In perfect harmony with the ecclesiastical, was the civil policy of Charles's administration. Arbitrary impositions superseded the functions of parliament: the patents of judicial office had their tenure altered from the good behavior of the judges to the good pleasure of the king; every organ of liberty was suspended or perverted; and the kingdom at length subjected to the exclusive dominion of a stern and uncontrolled prerogative. Insult was employed, as if purposely to stimulate the sensibility

which injuries might not have sufficiently excited. A clergyman having maintained in a sermon before the king that his majesty's simple requisition of money from his subjects, obliged them to comply with it "under pain of eternal damnation," Charles at first observed that he owed the man no thanks for giving him his due; but a censure of the House of Commons having followed the discourse, the preacher was forthwith accounted a proper object of royal favor, and promoted, first to a valuable living, and afterwards to a bishopric. A system of such diffusive and exasperating hostility waged by the government against the people, wanted only a sufficient duration to provoke from universal rage a vindictive retribution the more to be dreaded from the patience with which the heavy arrer of injury had been endured and accumulated. But before the system of oppression had time to mature the growing discontents, and to produce extremities so perilous to the virtue of all who are called to abide them, it was destined to give occasion to efforts of nobler energy and purer virtue; and much good was yet to be deduced out of all this scene of evil, and great and happy consequences were yet to be effected, by the dominion of Providence over the passions of men.

The severities exercised on the puritans in England, and the gradual extinction of the hopes they had so long entertained of a mitigation of ecclesiastical rigor, had for some time directed their thoughts to that distant territory in which their brethren at New Plymouth had achieved a secure establishment and obtained the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. In the last year of James's reign, a few non-conformist families had removed to New England and taken possession of a corner of Massachusetts Bay; but being disappointed in the hope they had entertained of the accession of numbers sufficient to found a permanent society, they were on the point of returning to England, when they received the agreeable intelligence of the approach of a numerous and powerful reinforcement. Mr. White, a non-conformist minister at Dorchester, had projected a new settlement at Massachusetts Bay, and by his zeal and activity he succeeded in forming an association of a number of the gentry in his neighborhood who had imbibed the puritan sentiments, for the purpose of conducting a colony to that region. The views and feelings that actuated the leaders of this enterprise were committed to writing, and circulated among their friends under the title of *General Considerations for the Plantation of New England*. The framers of this remarkable and characteristic document, began by adverting to the progress of the Jesuit establishments in South America, and to the duty and advantage of counteracting their influence by the propagation of the gospel in that quarter of the world. They observed that all the other churches of Europe had been brought under desolations; that the same fate seemed to impend over the church of England; and that it might reasonably be supposed that God had provided this unoccupied territory as a land of refuge for many whom he purposed to save from the general destruction. England, they alleged, grew weary of her inhabitants; insomuch that man, which is the most precious of all creatures, was there more vile and base than the earth he trod upon; and children and friends (if unwealthy) were accounted a burdensome incumbrance, instead of being hailed as the choicest earthly blessings. A taste for expensive living, they added, prevailed so strongly, and the means of indulging it had become so exclusively the object of men's desires, that all arts and trades were tainted by sordid maxims and deceitful practices; and the seminaries of learning abounded with so many spectacles and temptations of dissolute irregularity, that vice was there more effectually communicated by example, than knowledge or virtue were imparted by precept. "The whole earth," they proclaimed, "is the Lord's garden, and he hath given it to the sons of Adam to be tilled and improved by them: Why, then, should any stand starving here for places of habitation, and, in the mean time, suffer whole countries, as profitable for the use of man, to lie waste, without any improvement?" They concluded by adverting to the situation of the colony of New Plymouth, and strongly enforced the duty of supporting the infant church which had there been so happily planted. Actuated by such views, these magnanimous projectors purchased from the council of Plymouth all the territory extending in length from three miles north of the river Merrimack to three miles south of Charles river, and, in breadth, from the Atlantic to the Southern Ocean. Their acts were as vigorous as their designs were elevated. As the precursors of the main body of emigrants whom it was intended to transport, a small body of planters and

servants were despatched under Mr. Endicot, one of the leading projectors; who, arriving safely in Massachusetts, [1628,] were cordially greeted and kindly assisted by the colonists of New Plymouth, and laid the foundations of a town, which they denominated Salem, from a Hebrew word that signifies Peace.

But zealous as these projectors were to accomplish their favorite purpose, they very soon perceived their total inability to maintain effectual possession of such an extensive territory, without the aid of more potent coadjutors. Of these, by the influence and activity of Mr. White, they obtained a sufficient number in London, among the commercial men who openly professed, or secretly favored the tenets of the puritans. These auxiliaries brought an accession of prudent precaution, as well as of pecuniary resources, to the conduct of the design; and, justly doubting the expediency of founding a colony on the basis of a grant from a private company of patentees, who might convey a right of property in the soil, but could not confer jurisdiction, or the privilege of governing the society which it was proposed to establish, they persuaded their associates to unite with them in an application to the crown for a royal charter. The readiness with which this application was granted, and the terms in which the charter was framed, are absolutely unaccountable, except on the supposition that Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors were willing, at this time, to disencumber the church, in which they meditated such extensive innovations, of a body of men, from whom the most unbending opposition to their measures might be expected; a line of policy which appears perfectly credible; although, at a subsequent period, they endeavored to counteract it, when they were sensible of the reflective influence exercised on the puritan body in England by the spread and predominance of their tenets in America. It seems impossible, on any other supposition, to account for the remarkable facts that, at the very time when this monarch was introducing despotic authority into the government of Virginia, he extended to a colony of puritans a constitution containing all the immunities of which the Virginians beheld themselves so unjustly deprived; and that, well aware of the purpose of the applicants to escape from the constitutions of the church of England, he granted them a charter containing ample commendation of the religious ends they had in view, without the imposition of a single ordinance respecting the constitution of their church government, or the forms and ceremonies of their worship; nay, so completely in this instance, did he surrender the maxims of his colonial policy to the wishes of the projectors of a puritan colony, that, although he had recently declared, in a public proclamation, that a mercantile company was utterly unfit to administer the affairs of a remote colony; yet, on the present occasion, he scrupled not, in compliance with the wishes of the mercantile part of the adventurers, to commit the supreme direction of the colony to be planted in the province of Massachusetts Bay, to a corporation consisting chiefly of merchants resident in London. The new adventurers were incorporated as a body politic; and their right to the territory which they had purchased from the council of Plymouth being confirmed by the king, they were empowered to dispose of the lands, and to govern the people who should settle upon them. The first governor of the company and his council were named by the crown; the right of electing their successors was vested in the members of the corporation. The executive power was committed to the governor and a council of assistants; the legislative, to the body of proprietors, who might make and enforce statutes and orders for the good of the community, not inconsistent with the laws of England. They obtained the same temporary exemption that had been granted to the Virginian company from internal taxes, and from duties on goods exported or imported; and notwithstanding their migration to America, they and their descendants were declared to be entitled to all the rights of natural-born subjects.

The meaning of this charter, with respect to the religious rights of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, has given rise to a great deal of discussion. By the puritans, and the puritan writers of that age, it was universally regarded as bestowing on them the amplest liberty to regulate their worship by the dictates of their own conscience. And this, I think, is manifestly, its import. The grantors were fully aware, and the grantees had neither the wish nor the power to conceal, that their object was to make a peaceable secession from a church which they could no longer conscientiously adhere to, and to establish for themselves, at Massachusetts Bay, an ecclesiastical constitution similar to that

* It is impossible to read the speeches of this prelate on the trials of the puritans without astonishment at the strange meanness of which his mind was composed. Learning and elegance are conmixed with vulgar railing and obscene ribaldry; and the most beautiful delineations of Christian mildness and mercy, with the proposition or approbation of vindictive cruelties that would have disgraced an American savage. The light within him was darkness; and his acquaintance with the theory of religion seemed only to give him assurance of his sinfulness and rectitude in practically disregarding it. The sentences proposed by the bishops in the Star Chamber were always sorer than the suggestions of the lay judges. The bishops, no doubt, were frequently exasperated by the sarcasms of their victims. Bastwick, before his trial, wrote a letter to Laud humbly petitioning for a pittance from the archbishop's bounty, to support him in prison, and concluding thus:—"How thank you, sir, in your palace, demandeth, in humble petition, John Bastwick." One of the lay judges in the Star Chamber, on one occasion, addressed a puritan on his trial with a text of which the bishops probably did not admire the application:—"Be not righteous over much; neither make thyself over wise: why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" See Howell's State Trials, Vol. in. Nos. 134, 135, 142, 145, &c.

† Neal, i. 117-121. These bishops, said a member of the Long Parliament, "placed the excellency of priesthood in worldly pomp and greatness, and gave the glory of the invisible God to pictures, images, and altars; therefore God gave them up to vile affections, to be implacable, unmerciful, and without natural affection." Howell's State Trials, iv. 27.

which was already established and maintained without molestation at New Plymouth. A silent acquiescence in such designs was all that could reasonably be expected from the king and his ministers; and when this emphatic silence on a point which is quite ludicrous to suppose could have escaped the attention of either party, is coupled with such a ready departure from all the arbitrary principles which the king was preparing to enforce in every other branch of his domestic and colonial administration, it seems impossible to doubt that Charles was at this time not unwilling to make a temporary sacrifice of authority, in order to rid himself of these puritan petitioners, and that the interpretation which they gave to their charter was perfectly correct. And yet writers have not been wanting, whom enmity to the puritans has induced to explain this charter in a manner totally repugnant to every rule of legal or equitable construction. It is a maxim of law, and the dictate of common sense and universal equity, that, in all cases of doubtful construction, the presumption lies against that party whose office it was to speak, and who had the power to clear every ambiguity away. In defiance of this rule, these writers have insisted that the silence of the charter respecting the ecclesiastical constitution of the colony, implies the imposition on the colonists of every particular of the constitution of the church of England.* The most eminent writer of this party has taken occasion from hence to reproach the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with having laid the foundations of their church establishment in fraud. "Without regard," says this distinguished author, "to the sentiments of that monarch, under the sanction of whose authority they settled in America, and from whom they derived right to act as a body politic, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that none of their acts or ordinances should be inconsistent, they adopted in their infant church that form of policy which has since been distinguished by the name of independence." He accounts for the silence of the charter on a point which was unquestionably uppermost in the minds of both parties, by remarking, that "the king seems not to have foreseen, nor to have suspected, the secret intentions of those who projected the measure;" and he explains the conduct of the colonists, by pronouncing that they were "animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy as well as in religion." But, truly, it seems not a little unreasonable to make it matter of reproach to the puritans, who were driven by oppression from their native land, that they did not cross the Atlantic and settle in a savage desert for the purpose of cultivating a more perfect conformity to the sentiments of their oppressor. The provision in their charter, that the laws to be enacted by them should not be repugnant to the jurisprudence of England, could never be understood to imply any thing farther than a general conformity to the common law of England, suitable to the acknowledged dependence of the colony on the main body of the British dominions. The unsuspecting ignorance, too, that is imputed to the king and his counsellors, appears perfectly incredible, when we consider that the example of New Plymouth, where a bare exemption from express restrictions had been followed by the establishment of the independent model, was fresh in their recollection; that it was avowed and notorious puritans who now applied for permission to proceed to the land where that constitution was established; and, above all, that, in their application to the king, they expressly desired leave to withdraw in peace from the bosom of a church to whose ordinances they could not conscientiously conform. Whether the king and Laod were, or were not, aware of the intentions of the puritans, they must surely be allowed to be the best judges of what they themselves had intended to convey; and their acquiescence in the constitution which the colonists of Massachusetts Bay proceeded forthwith to establish, demonstrates, in the strongest manner, that they were aware they had no violation of the charter to complain of. When they afterwards became sensible that the progress of puritan establishments in New England increased the ferment which

their measures were creating in the parent state, they interposed to check the intercourse between the two countries, but tacitly acknowledged that the system which they followed so rigidly in England was excluded by positive agreement from the colonial territory.

Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony had been rendered complete by the royal charter, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous puritans, accompanied by some eminent non-conformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding adventurers had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, sustained by the worth and dignity of the purpose which they had combined to pursue. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous design; and they experienced none of those jealousies which inevitably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among men unequally qualified to obtain the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers; but it had long ceased to wear an aspect of parental kindness towards them, and, in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which its saints and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom by kindling and preserving there the sacred fires of religion and liberty, which so many efforts were made to extinguish in the shrines of England, whence they carried their embers. They confidently hoped that the religious and political sentiments which had languished under such protracted persecution in Europe would now, at length, shine forth in their full lustre in America. Establishing an asylum where the professors of their sentiments might at all times find shelter, they justly expected to derive continual accessions to the vigor of their own virtue from the resolute character of men who might hereafter be prompted to forsake their native habitations, and be willing, like them, to recognize their country wherever they could find the lineaments of truth and liberty. They did not postpone the practice of piety till the conclusion of their voyage; but, occupied continually with the exercises of devotion, they caused the ocean which they traversed to resound with unwonted acclaim of praise and thanksgiving to its great Creator. The seamen, partaking their spirit, readily joined in all their religious exercises and ordinances, and expressed their belief that they had practised the first *sea-fasts* that had ever been kept in the world. After a prosperous voyage, the emigrants had the happiness of re-uniting themselves to their friends already established at Salem, under Mr. Endicot, who had been appointed deputy-governor of the colony.

To the body of men thus collected together, the institution of a church appeared the most interesting of all their concerns, and it occupied, accordingly, their earliest and most solemn deliberation. They had been advised before they quitted England to agree among themselves on the form of church government which was to be established in the colony; but, neglecting this advice, they had gone no farther than to express their general concurrence in the principle that *the reformation of the church was to be endeavored according to the written word of God*. They now applied to their brethren at Plymouth, and desired to be acquainted with the grounds of the constitution which had there been established; and, having heard these fully explained, and devoted some time to a diligent comparison of the model with the warrants of scripture which were cited in its vindication, and earnestly besought the enlightening aid of Him who alone can teach his creatures how to worship him with acceptance, they declared their entire approbation of the sister church, and proceeded to copy her structure in the establishment of their own. They united together in religious society by a covenant, in which, after a solemn dedication of themselves to live in the fear of God, and to walk in his ways, so far as he should be pleased to reveal himself to them, they engaged to each other to cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; to avoid jealousies, suspicions, and secret risings of spirit; and in all cases of offence to bear and forbear, give and forgive, after the example of their Divine pattern. They promised, in the congregation, to repress their forwardness to display their gifts; and, in their intercourse, whether with sister churches or with the

mass of mankind, to study a conversation remote from the very appearance of evil. They engaged, by a dutiful obedience to all who should be set over them in church or commonwealth, to encourage them to a faithful performance of their duty; and they expressed their resolution to approve themselves in their particular callings, the stewards and servants of God, shunning idleness as the bane of every community, and dealing hardly or oppressively with none of the human race. The form of policy which they adopted was that which distinguished the churches of the independents, and which I have already had occasion to describe. The form of public worship which they instituted, rejected a liturgy and every superfluous ceremony, and was adapted to the strictest standard of Calvinistic simplicity. They elected a pastor, a teacher, and an elder, whom they set apart for their respective offices by imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith drawn up by their teachers, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as christians; and it was declared that no person should thereafter be permitted to subscribe the covenant, or be received into communion with the church, until he had given satisfaction to the elders with respect to the purity of his faith and the consistency of his conduct.

The constitution of which we have now beheld an abstract, and especially the covenant or social engagement so fraught with sentiments of genuine piety and enlarged benevolence, has excited the derision of some writers, who refuse to consider the speculative liberality which it indicates in any other point of view than as contrasted with the practical intolerance which the colonists soon after displayed. But however agreeable this aspect may be to eyes that watch for the frailties of the good and the weaknesses of the strong, this is not the only light in which it will present itself to humane and liberal minds. Philosophy admits that the soul is enlarged by the mere purpose of excellence; and religion has pronounced that even those designs which men are not deemed worthy to perform, it may be well for them to have entertained in their minds. The error of the inhabitants of Salem was the universal error of their age; the virtues they demonstrated were peculiar to themselves and their puritan brethren. In the ecclesiastical constitution which they established for themselves, and the sentiments which they interwove with it, they rendered a sincere and laudable homage to the rights of conscience and the requirements of piety; and these principles, no doubt, exercised a highly beneficial influence on the practice which unhappily they did not entirely control. The influence of principles that tend to the restraint of human ferocity and intolerance is frequently invisible to mortal eyes, because it is productive chiefly of negative consequences; and when great provocation or alarm has led the professors of these principles to violate the restraints they impose, they will be judged with little justice, if charity neglect to supply the imperfection of that knowledge to which we are limited while we see but in part, and to suggest the secret and honorable forbearance which may have preceded the visible action which we condemn or deplore. In the very first instance of intolerant proceeding with which the adversaries of the puritans have reproached this American colony, it appears to me that the influence of genuine piety in mitigating human impatience is very strikingly apparent. It is a notable fact that, although these emigrants were collected from a body embracing such diversity of opinion respecting church government and the rights of worship as then prevailed among the puritans of England, and though they had landed in America without having previously ascertained how far they were likely to agree on this very point, for the sake of which they had incurred banishment from England, the constitution which was copied from the church of New Plymouth gave satisfaction to almost every individual among them. Two brothers, however, of the name of Broome, one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of note and among the number of the original patentees, dissented from this constitution, and arguing with vehement absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become anabaptists, endeavored to obtain converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation on a model more approximated to the forms of the church of England. The defectiveness of their argument they endeavored to supply by the vehemence of their clamor; and they obtained a favorable audience from a few who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the colonial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the

* Chalmers attempts to support this interpretation by citing from the charter the following clause,—"That the oath of supremacy shall be administered to every one who shall pass to the colony to inhabit there." *Annals*, p. 141. Dr. Robertson cites the same words for the same purpose. But there is no such clause in the charter. There is a clause, not requiring, but empowering, the governor, if he think proper, to administer the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Chalmers makes himself exceedingly merry with the enthusiasm of the puritans, who "considered the charter as sacred, because they supposed it to be derived from the providence of heaven," p. 139. Dr. Robertson is less charitable. He supposes the puritans to have wilfully misinterpreted the charter which he himself misrepresents.

laws of morality. Mr. Endicott, the governor, called these men, together with the ministers, before the people; who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system they had consented to; and, as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavored to excite a mutiny against the government, they were judged unfit to remain in the colony, and sent back by the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England.* Their absence restored unity of sentiment to the colonists, who were proceeding to complete their settlement and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter, and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence.

Notwithstanding the sarcastic comments which the banishment of the two individuals whose case I have just related has received from some eminent writers, the justice of the proceeding cannot fail, I think, to commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men: and I should hardly have thought it necessary to notice the charge of intolerance to which the colonists have been subjected, if their conduct had never given greater occasion to it. But unfortunately a great proportion of the puritans at this period were strongly infected with the prevalent error of their age,† and regarded the peaceable co-existence of different sects in the same community as nearly impossible—a notion which, it must be confessed, the treatment they received from their adversaries tended very strongly to enforce. If it was right that they who had suffered from persecution, should themselves abstain from what their own experience had feelingly shown to be so hateful and odious, it was natural that flying to deserts for the sake of particular opinions, they should expect to see these opinions flourish unmolested and undisputed. The sufferings they had endured from their adversaries, they regarded as one of the legitimate consequences of the pernicious errors that these adversaries had imbibed; and they customarily regarded their opponents as the enemies of their persons as well as persecutors of their opinions. The activity of government in support of the national opinion, they were far from condemning in the abstract. They admitted the legitimacy of such interposition, and condemned it only when it seemed to them erroneously directed. Even when oppressed themselves, they exclaimed against indiscriminate toleration. They contradicted so far their own principles; and maintained that human beings might and ought to punish what God alone could correct and alter.‡ Some of them, no doubt, had already anticipated the sentiments which at a later period came to be generally characteristic of the independents, and which induced them to reject all connexion between church and state, and disallow the competence of the interposition of human authority to sustain one church or to suppress another. Unfortunately some of the early votaries of

these liberal sentiments combined with them a set of political opinions which it would not be easy to realize without subverting civil society. Of this, a remarkable instance will very shortly occur in the progress of our narrative. But very opposite sentiments prevailed among the bulk of the colonists of Massachusetts, who came to America fresh from the influence of persecution, and had not, like their brethren at New Plymouth, the advantage of an intermediate residence in a land where a peaceful co-existence of different sects was demonstrated to be not only practicable, but eminently conducive to the promotion of those excellent graces of christian character, patience, charity, and a spirit of forbearance. Much might be urged and will doubtless suggest itself, in extenuation of this error, which long remained a root of bitterness to disturb their peace and felicity. But the considerations which may be allowed to mitigate our censure of the intolerant spirit which these people displayed, can never be permitted to transform it into a virtue. It was sharpened by the copious infusions which the colony received of the feelings excited in England by the increased severity of persecution, from which the victims began to fly in increasing numbers to America.

The British dominion in America underwent, about this period, some vicissitudes which in after years affected materially the prosperity both of New England and of the other colonial establishments in the same quarter of the world. The war which the king so wantonly declared against France in 1627, and which produced only disgrace and disaster to the British arms in Europe, was attended with events of a very different complexion in America. Sir David Kirk having obtained a commission to attack the American dominions of France, invaded Canada in the summer of 1628; and so successful was the expedition, that in July, 1629, Quebec was reduced to surrender to the arms of England. Thus was the capital of New France subdued by the English, about one hundred and thirty years before they achieved its final conquest by the sword of Wolfe. This signal event was unknown in Europe when peace was re-established between France and England; and Charles, by the subsequent treaty of St. Germain, not only restored this valuable acquisition to France, but expressed the cession he made in terms of such extensive application, as undeniably inferred a recognition of the French, and a surrender of the British claims to the province of Nova Scotia. This arrangement manifestly threatened no small prejudice to the settlements of the English; and we shall speedily find that what it threatened, it did not fail to produce.

CHAPTER II.

The Charter Government transferred from England to Massachusetts—Numerous Emigration—Foundation of Boston—Hardships of the New Settlers—Disfranchisement of Dissenters in the Colony—Influence of the colonial clergy—John Cotton and his Colleagues and Successors—Williams' Schism—He founds Providence—Representative Assembly established in Massachusetts—Arrival of Hugh Peters— and Henry Vane, who is elected Governor—Foundation of Connecticut— and New Haven—War with the Pequot Indians—Severities exercised by the victorious Colonists—Disturbances created by Mrs. Hutchinson—Colonization of Rhode Island— and of New Hampshire and Maine—Jealousy, and fluctuating Conduct of the King—Measures adopted against the Liberties of Massachusetts—interrupted by the Civil Wars—State of New England—Population—Laws—Manners.

THE directors of the Massachusetts Bay company in England meanwhile exerted their utmost endeavors to reinforce the colony with a numerous body of additional settlers. Their designs were promoted by the rigor and intolerance of Laud's administration, which, daily multiplying the hardships imposed on all who scrupled entire conformity to the ecclesiastical ordinances, proportionably diminished, in their estimation, the danger and hardships attending a retreat to America. Many persons began to treat with the company for a settlement in New England, and several of these were people of distinguished family and fortune. But foreseeing the misrule inseparable from the residence of the legislative power in Britain, they demanded, as a previous condition of their emigration, that the charter and all the powers of government should be transferred to New England, and exercised within the territory of the colony. The company, who had incurred a considerable expense with little prospect of speedy remuneration, were very well disposed to obtain such important aid by embracing the measure that was proposed to them: but doubting its legality, they thought proper to consult lawyers of eminence on the subject. Unaccountable as it must appear to every

person in the slightest degree conversant with legal considerations, they received an opinion favorable to the wishes of the emigrants; and accordingly it was determined, by general consent, "that the charter should be transferred, and the government be settled in New England." To the members of the corporation who choose to remain at home, was reserved a share in the trading, stock, and profits of the company, for the term of seven years. By this transaction, one of the most singular that is recorded in the history of a civilized people, the liberties of the New England communities were placed on a sure and respectable basis. When we consider the means by which this was effected, we find ourselves encompassed with doubts and difficulties, of which the only solution that I am able to discover is the opinion I have already expressed, that the king was at this time exceedingly desirous to rid the realm of the puritans, and had unequivocally signified to them, that if they would bestow their presence on another part of his dominions, and employ their energies in peopling the deserts of America, instead of disturbing his operations on the church of England, they were free to arrange their internal constitution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, according to their own discretion. An English corporation, appointed by its charter to reside in London, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts: and this was openly transacted by men whose principles rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to their rules, and under the eyes of a prince no less vigilant to observe, than vigorous to repress every encroachment on the limits of his prerogative. So far was Charles from entertaining the slightest dissatisfaction at this proceeding, or from desiring, at this period of his reign, to obstruct the removal of the puritans to New England, that about two years after this change had been carried into effect, when a complaint of arbitrary and illegal proceedings was preferred against the colony by a papist who had been banished from it, and who was supported by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the king, after a full hearing of the case in the privy council, issued a proclamation not only justifying but commending the whole conduct of the colonial government, reprobating the prevalent reports that he "had no good opinion of that plantation," and engaging not only to maintain the privileges of its inhabitants, but to supply whatever else might contribute to their further comfort and prosperity.† From the terms of this document (of which no notice is taken by the writers inimical to the puritans,) and from the whole complexion of the king's conduct towards the founders of this settlement, it would appear that, whatever designs he might secretly cherish of adding the subjugation of New England, at a future period, to that of his British and Virginian dominions, his policy at this time was to persuade the leaders of the puritans, that if they would peaceably abandon the contest for their rights in England, they were at liberty to embody and enjoy them in whatever institutions they might think fit to establish in America. And yet some writers, whom it is impossible to tax with ignorance, as they had access to all the existing materials of information, whom it would justly be held presumptuous to charge with defect of discernment, and whom it may perhaps appear uncharitable to reproach with iniquity towards the puritans, have not scrupled to accuse the founders of this colony of effecting their ends by a policy not less impudent than fraudulent, and by acts of disobedience little short of rebellion. The colonists themselves, notwithstanding all the facilities which the king presented to them, and

* There is not the slightest reason for supposing that the opinion was dishonest, or that it proceeded on erroneous information. Even at a subsequent period, the attorney-general, Sawyer, gave it as his official opinion, "that the patent having created the grantees and their assigns, a body corporate, they might transfer their charter, and act in New England." Chalmers, p. 173. He had not perused the charter with sufficient attention. It conveyed the soil to the corporation and its assigns; but conferred the powers of government on the corporation and its successors. His mistake, however, may well seem to acquit the patentees of intentional deviation from the terms of their grant.

† Neal i, 137, S. This proclamation is very artfully worded, and contains indications of deeper designs, which were kept in reserve till the present policy had produced the effect that was expected from it. The ample inquiry that preceded the proclamation, must have induced the puritans to believe, that the whole proceedings of the colonists had received the royal approbation; and yet the pledge of protection and security is dexterously qualified with the condition of its appearing to the satisfaction of the king that the charter had been in all things effectuated according to its true meaning—an indication that a day might come when it would be more convenient for him to seek for a cause of quarrel with the colony. Had he succeeded in extinguishing liberty in England, the freedom of Massachusetts would not long have survived it.

* Mather, B. i. cap. 4. sect. 8. Neal, i. 139. On their return to England they preferred a heavy complaint against the colonists of oppressive demeanor to themselves and enmity to the church of England. The total disregard which their complaint experienced (Chalmers, p. 146) strongly confirms the opinion I have expressed of the understanding of all parties with regard to the real import of the charter.

† The richest endowment of reason could not exempt the greatest of philosophers from intolerance; nor could the experience of persecution fully convince its injustice even to its own victims. Lord Bacon thought that uniformity in religious sentiment and worship was essential to the support of government, and that no toleration could with safety be granted to sectaries. Bacon, De unitate ecclesie. During the administration of Cromwell, an eminent presbyterian minister, who had himself felt the hand of persecution, published a treatise against what he was pleased to term "this cursed intolerable toleration." Orme's Life of Owen.

To the objection that persecution serves to make men hypocrites, an eminent minister in New England answered, "better tolerate hypocrites and tares, than briars and thorns." Another, in a work published in 1645, thus expresses himself, "It is said that men ought to have liberty of conscience, and that it is persecution to debar them of it. I can rather stand amazed than reply to this. It is an astonishment that the brains of men should be parboiled in such supine ignorance." Belknap's History of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. 3.

‡ None have condemned them more strongly than the popish theologians, who have insultingly urged that persecution, however congenial to the Roman catholic principle, or submitting all private judgment to the regulation of an infallible church, was totally repugnant to the fundamental principle of protestantism, which asserts the supremacy of private judgment and individual opinion. But there is a fallacy here: for although the particular dogmas of catholic faith may be derived, not immediately from private judgment, but from the canons of the church, it must be to the private judgment of every catholic that this church is indebted for the recognition of its authority to enact such canons.

the unwonted liberality and consideration with which he showed himself willing to grace their departure, were so fully aware of his rooted enmity to their principles, and so little able to reconcile his present conduct with his favorite policy, that they openly declared they had been led by Providence to a land of rest, through ways that were unintelligible to themselves, and that they could ascribe the blessings they obtained to nothing else but the special interposition of that Being who orders all the steps of his people, and holds the hearts of princes and of all men in his hands. It is indeed a strange coincidence, that this arbitrary prince, at the very time when he was exercising the sternest despotism over the royalists in Virginia, should have been cherishing the principles of liberty among the puritans in New England.

Having effected this important revolution in their system of government, the adventurers proceeded to make the most vigorous exertions to realize the designs they had undertaken. In a general court, John Winthrop was appointed governor, and Thomas Dudley, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants were chosen; in whom, together with the body of freemen who should settle in New England, were vested all the corporate rights of the company. With such zeal and activity did they prepare for emigration, that, in the course of the ensuing year, above fifteen hundred settlers, among whom were several wealthy and high-born persons, both men and women, who chose to follow truth into a desert, rather than to enjoy all the pleasures of the world under the dominion of error, set sail aboard a fleet of seventeen ships for New England. On their arrival at Salem [1630] many of them were so ill satisfied with its situation, that they explored the country in quest of better stations; and settling in different places around the bay, according to their various predilections, laid the foundation of Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury, and other societies which have since expanded into considerable towns. In each of these a church was established on the same model with that of Salem. This, together with the care of making provision for their subsistence during winter, occupied them entirely for several months. The approach of winter was attended with a repetition of those trials and distresses through the ordeal of which every body of settlers in New England was long fated to pass. Afflicted with severe scarcity, which all the generous contributions of the other settlements in the province were able but feebly to mitigate, attacked with various distempers, the consequence of hunger, cold, and the peculiarities of a soil and climate uncongenial to constitutions formed in Europe, and lodged for the most part in booths and tents that afforded but imperfect protection from the weather, great numbers of them were carried to the grave. But the noble determination of spirit which had impelled them to emigrate, preserved all its force; the survivors endured their calamities with unshaken fortitude; and the dying expressed a grateful exultation at having at least beheld with their eyes the gathering of a church of Christ in these desolate ends of the earth. The continuance of the pestilence enforced their devout supplications; and its cessation, which they recognised as the answer to their prayers, excited their devotional gratitude. This calamity was hardly removed when they were alarmed by the tidings of a universal conspiracy of the neighboring Indians for their destruction. The colonists, instead of relying on their patent, had, on their first arrival, fairly purchased from the Indians all the tracts of land which they afterwards possessed; and in the hour of their peril, both they and the faithless vendors who menaced them, reaped the fruit of their concurrence or collusion with the designs of Eternal Justice. The hostility of these savages was interrupted by a pestilential disorder that broke out among themselves, and with rapid desolation swept whole tribes of them away. This disorder was the small-pox, which has always proved a much more formidable malady to Indian than to European constitutions. In spite of the most charitable exertions on the part of the colonists to arrest the progress of the distemper by their superior medical skill, nine-tenths of the neighboring savages were cut off, and many of the survivors flying from the infection, removed their habitations to more distant regions.

1631.] When the restoration of plenty, by the arrival of supplies from England, and the abatement of the severity of winter, permitted the colonists to resume their assemblies for the transaction of public business, their very first proceedings demonstrated that a great majority of them were considerably leavened with a spirit of intolerance, and were determined in their practical administration to exemplify a thorough intermixture,

and mutual dependence of church and state. A law was passed, enacting that none should hereafter be admitted freemen, or be entitled to any share in the government, or be capable of being chosen magistrates, or even of serving as jurymen, but such as had been or should hereafter be received into the church as members. This law at once divested every person who did not hold the prevailing opinions, not only on the great points of doctrine, but with respect to the discipline of the church and the ceremonies of worship, of all the privileges of a citizen. An uncontrolled power of approving or rejecting the claims of those who applied for admission into communion with the church, being vested in the ministers and leading men of each congregation, the most valuable civil rights were made to depend on their decision with respect to qualifications purely ecclesiastical. Even at a later period, when the colonists were compelled, by the remonstrances of Charles the Second, to make some alteration of this law, they altered it only in appearance, and enacted that every candidate for the privilege of a freeman, should produce a certificate from some minister of the established church, that they were persons of orthodox principles, and of honest life and conversation—a certificate which they who did not belong to the established church necessarily solicited with great disadvantage. The consequence of such laws was to elevate the clergy to a very high degree of influence and authority; and, happily for the colony, she was long blessed with a succession of ministers whose admirable virtues were calculated to counteract the mischief of this inordinate influence, and even to convert it into an instrument of good. Though dissenters from the colonial church were thus deprived of political privileges, it does not appear that they were subjected to any other inconvenience, except where their tenets were considered as blasphemous, or when they endeavored by the propagation of them to detach others from the established church, or by the practical realization of them to disturb the public peace. The exclusion from political privileges to which they were subjected, seems not at first to have given them any annoyance; but to have been felt to be the necessary consequence of that intertexture of church and commonwealth in which the main end of political institutions was the preservation of the church estate, and the chief value of political privileges considered to arise from their subservience to this end. Various persons resided in peace within the colony, though excluded from political franchises: and one episcopal minister is particularly noted for having said, when he signified his refusal to join any of the colonial congregations, that as he had left England because he did not like the lord bishops, so they might rest assured he had not come to America to live under the lord brethren.

1632.] The diminution of their original numbers, which the colonists had suffered from hardship and disease, was soon much more than compensated by the ample reinforcements which they continually received from their persecuted brethren in England. [1633] Among the new settlers who arrived not long after the transference of the seat of government to Massachusetts, were some eminent puritan ministers, of whom the most remarkable were Elliot and Mayhew, the first protestant missionaries to the Indians, and John Cotton, a man whose singular worth procured, and long preserved, to him a patriarchal repute and authority in the colony. After ministering for twenty years in England to a congregation by whom he was highly respected and beloved, Mr. Cotton had been summoned before the Court of High Commission on a charge of neglecting to kneel at the sacrament. Lord Dorset and other persons of distinction by whom he was known and valued, employed the strongest intercession in his behalf with Laud: but their exertions proving unavailing, Dorset sent to inform him, "that if it had been only drunkenness or adultery he had committed, he might have found favor, but the sin of puritanism was unpardonable." Mr. Cotton, in consequence, retired to New England, and found there a scene peculiarly calculated to develop and give efficacy to his piety and virtue. To an earnest concern for religion he united a deep and ever prevail-

* Many instances of their influence in matters of importance will occur in the further progress of our narrative. An instance of their control over public opinion on a point which, being quite beyond the province of reason, was the more likely to interest the most obstinate and unassailable prejudices, is mentioned by Hutchinson, p. 132. Tobacco was at first prohibited under a penalty; and in some writings that were popular in the colony, the smoke of it is, with most audacious absurdity, compared to the fumes of the bottomless pit. But some of the clergy having fallen into the practice of smoking, tobacco was instantly, by an act of government, "set at liberty."

ing sense of it; and continually marching in front of his doctrine, he enforced its acceptance by the weight of his character and the animating influence of his example. The kindness of his disposition, and the courteous benevolence of his manners, enabled him, in all his intercourse with others, to diffuse the influence of his piety no less sensibly than agreeably through the veins of his conversation. The loftiness of the standard which he had continually in his view, and the assimilating influence of that strong admiration which he entertained for it, communicated to his character an elevation that commanded respect; while the continual sense of his dependence on divine aid, and of his short-coming to his great pattern, graced his manners with a humility that attracted love, and disarmed the contentious opposition of petulance and envy. It is recorded of him, that having been once followed from the church where he had been preaching to his house, by an ignorant disputatious mechanic, who told him with a frown that his ministry had become dark and flat, he replied, "Both, brother, it may be both; let me have your prayers that it may be otherwise." On another occasion, being accosted in the street by a pragmatical cockcomb, who insolently told him that he was an old fool, Mr. Cotton, with a mildness that showed he forgave his rudeness, and a solemnity that evinced he was very far from disregarding the opinion of his brethren, answered, "I confess I am so; the Lord make thee and me wiser than we are, even wise unto salvation." The character of this excellent clergyman, and of many of his contemporaries in the colonial ministry, seems to have been formed by Providence for the express purpose of counteracting, by strong individual influence, the violent, divisive, and contentious spirit that long continued to ferment among a community of men whom persecution had rendered rigid and inflexible in following out their opinions, whose sentiments had not been harmonized by previous habits of union, who were daily receiving into their body a fresh infusion of dissimilar characters and exasperated feeling, and among whom each naturally considered the opinions for which he had individually suffered, as the most important features in the common cause. When we recollect the presence of such elements of discord, and the severe and lengthened operation that had been given to that influence which tends to drive even the wise to frenzy, we shall be less disposed to marvel at the vehement heats and acrimonious contentions that in some instances broke forth to disturb the peace of the colony, than that in the midst of such threatening symptoms so much coherence and stability was preserved, and so much virtue, happiness, and prosperity attained. Among the instruments which the Divine Being adapted and employed to compose the frenzy and moderate the fervor of his people, were this eminent individual John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, a man very little inferior to him in worth, and, at a later period, Dr. Increase Mather, who succeeded to the estimation which Mr. Cotton had enjoyed, and whose family supplied no less than ten of the most popular ministers of their age to the church of Massachusetts, and produced the celebrated author of the ecclesiastical history of New England. Had the colonial ministry been composed entirely of such or such-like men, the agitated minds of the inhabitants might have much sooner attained a settled composure; but, unfortunately, the wild and impetuous spirit that was working in many of them did not long wait for leaders to excite and develop its powers.

The first religious dissension that arose in the colony was promoted by Roger Williams, [1634.] who had come over to New England in 1630, and preached for some years to the inhabitants of New Plymouth; but, not finding there an audience suitable to his purposes, he had solicited his dismissal, and had recently been appointed minister of Salem. This man was a rigid Brownist, precise, illiberal, unbearing, and passionate: he began to vent from the pulpit which he had gained by his substantial piety and fervid zeal, a singular medley of notions; some wildly speculative, some boldly opposed to the constitutions of civil society, and some which, if unexceptionable in theory, were highly unsuitable to the place from which they were delivered, and the exercises and sentiments with which he endeavored to associate them. He maintained that it was not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor for christians to join in family prayer with those whom they judged unregenerate; that it was not lawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate, not even the oath of allegiance, which he had declined himself to take, and advised his congregation equally to refuse; that King Charles had no right to usurp the power of disposing of the territory of the Indians, and hence the

colonial patent was utterly invalid; that the magistrate had no right to restrain or direct the consciences of men; and that any thing short of unlimited toleration for all religions was detestable persecution. These liberal principles of toleration he combined with a spirit so rigid and separating, that he not only refused all communion with any who did not profess every one of the foregoing opinions, but forbade the members of the church at Salem to communicate with any of the other churches in the colony; and, when they refused to obey this prohibition, he withdrew from them, and set up a separate meeting in his own house. Here he was attended by a select assembly of zealous admirers, composed of men, in whose minds an impetuous temper, inflamed by persecution, had greatly impaired the sense of moral perspective; who entertained disproportioned ideas of those branches of the trunk of godliness, for the sake of which they had endured such mighty sufferings, and had seen worth and piety so foully wronged; and who abhorred every symbol, badge, and practice, that was associated with the remembrance, and spotted, as they conceived, with the iniquity of their idolatrous oppressors. One of his followers, Mr. Endicot, a magistrate of the place, and formerly deputy-governor of the colony, in a transport of zeal against superstition, cut the red cross out of the king's colors; and many of the trained bands, who had hitherto followed these colors without objection, caught the contagion of Endicot's zeal, and protested that they would follow them no longer, if the cross were permitted to remain. The riotous and violent conduct of Endicot was universally disapproved, and the colonial authorities punished his misdemeanor by reprimand and disability of holding office for one year; but they were obliged to compromise the dispute with the protesters among the trained bands, and comply, to a certain extent, with their remonstrances. They were preparing to call Williams to a judicial reckoning, when Mr. Cotton and other ministers interposed and desired to be allowed to reason with him, alleging that his violence was prompted rather by a misguided conscience, than seditious principles; and that there was hope they might gain, instead of losing, their brother. *You are deceived in that man, if you think he will condescend to learn of any of you,* was the prediction of the governor, and the result of the conference proving the justice of it,* sentence of banishment from the colony was forthwith pronounced upon Williams. This sentence excited a great uproar in Salem, and was so successfully denounced as persecution by the adherents of Williams, that the bulk of the inhabitants of the place were preparing to follow him into exile; when an earnest and pious admonition, transmitted to them by Mr. Cotton and the other ministers of Boston, induced them to relinquish their purpose, to acknowledge the justice of the proceeding, and abandon Williams to his fortunes. He was not, however, abandoned by his more select adherents, whose esteem and affection he had gained to such a degree, that they resolved to incur every hazard, in order to live and die with him. Accompanying him in his exile, they directed their march towards the south, and settling at a place beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, they bought a considerable tract of land from the Indians, and bestowed on their settlement the name of Providence. Had this man encountered the treatment to which the publication of his peculiar opinions would have exposed him in England, he would probably have been driven to madness: the wiser and kinder treatment he experienced from the Massachusetts authorities was productive of happier effects; and Mr. Cotton and his associates were not deceived, in supposing that they would gain their brother. They gained him in a manner, indeed, less flattering to themselves than a triumphant issue of the conference would have been, but much more beneficial to the interests of America. He concurred, as we shall see, at a later period, in founding the state of Rhode Island, and was one of its most eminent benefactors. He lived to an advanced age; and soon throwing off the wild and separating spirit with which his sentiments had been leavened, he regained the friendship and esteem of his ancient fellow colonists,

* Though he would not retract his dogmas, it seems that some of the arguments that were employed with him sank into his mind, and at least reduced him to silence. Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers who was sent to deal with him, urged, among other reasonings,—“If it be unlawful for an unregenerate person to pray, it is unlawful for your unregenerate child to ask a blessing on his meat; and if so, it is unlawful for him to eat, since food is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer unsanctified (1 Tim. iv. 4, 5); and it must be equally unlawful for you to invite him to eat, since you ought not to tempt him to sin.” To this he declined making any answer. Cotton Mather.

and preserved a friendly correspondence with Mr. Cotton and others of them till his death. The principles of toleration, which he had formerly discredited, by the rigidity with which he disallowed the slightest difference of opinions between the members of his own communion, he now enforced by exercising that forbearance by which the differences that distinguish Christians are prevented from dividing them, and by cultivating that charity, by which even the sense of these differences is often melted down. The great fundamental principles of christianity daily acquiring a more exclusive and absorbing influence over his mind, he began to labor for the conversion of the Indians; and, in addition to the benefits of which his ministry among them was productive to themselves, he acquired over them an influence which he rendered highly advantageous to his old associates in Massachusetts, whom he was enabled frequently to warn of conspiracies formed against them by the savages in their vicinity, and communicated to him by the tribes with whom he maintained relations of friendship. The vehemence that Endicot had displayed, was not less mellowed by time and the ascendancy of sound wisdom and piety. He remained in Massachusetts, and, at a later period, held for many years the chief office in its government with great advantage and general respect.

The colony of Massachusetts had continued meanwhile to attain stability and prosperity, and to extend its settlements; and this year an important and beneficial change took place in its internal constitution. The mortality that had prevailed among the Indians, had vacated a great many of the stations which their tribes had occupied, and as many of these were well chosen, the colonists took possession of them with an eagerness that dispersed their settlements widely over the province. This necessarily led to the introduction of representative government, and, accordingly, at the period of assembling the general court, the freemen, instead of attending it in person, according to the prescription of the charter, elected representatives in their several districts, whom they authorised to appear in their name and act in their behalf. The representatives were admitted, and henceforward considered themselves, in conjunction with the governor and assistants, as the supreme legislative assembly of the colony. The abstract wisdom of this innovation could not admit of doubt, and, in defence of their right to effect it, it was forcibly urged that the colonists were only making a new way to the enjoyment of a right already extended to them, and preventing their assemblies from becoming either too numerous to transact business, or too thin and partial to represent the interests which they were intended to administer, and supposed to embrace. The number of freemen had greatly increased since the charter was granted; many resided at a distance from the places where the supreme courts were held; personal attendance had become inconvenient; and, in such circumstances, it will not be easy to blame them for making with their own hands the improvement that was necessary to preserve their existing rights, instead of applying to the government of England, which was steadily pursuing the plan of subverting the organs of liberty in the mother country, and had already begun to exhibit an altered countenance towards the colony.* In consequence of this important measure the colony advanced beyond the state of a corporation, and acquired by its own act the condition of a society which was endowed with political liberty, and which had framed for itself a government derived from the model of the English constitution. The representatives having established themselves in their office, proceeded to assert the rights which necessarily attached to it, by enacting that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no public officer appointed but by the general assembly.

The increasing violence and injustice of the royal government in England meanwhile co-operated so powerfully with the tidings that were circulated of the prosperity of Massachusetts; and the simple frame of ecclesiastical policy that had been established in the colony presented a prospect so desirable, and rendered the gorgeous hierarchy and recent superstitious innovations in the ceremonies of the English church so additionally odious, that the flow of emigration seemed

* In the preceding year the privy council, alarmed by the strong sensation which was excited in England by the intelligence of the happiness enjoyed by the puritans under their ecclesiastical establishments in Massachusetts, issued an order to stay certain vessels which were about to proceed thither with emigrants.—Chalmers, p. 155—probably with the view of suppressing the agitations and discussions which the projects of emigration engendered. The order was not carried into effect.

rather to enlarge than subside, and crowds of new settlers continued to flock to New England. [1635] Among the passengers, in a fleet of twenty vessels that arrived in the following year, were two persons who afterwards made a distinguished figure on a more conspicuous theatre. One of these was Hugh Peters, the celebrated chaplain and counsellor of Oliver Cromwell, and the other was Vane, whose father, Sir Henry Vane the elder, was a privy councillor, and high in office and credit with the king. Peters became minister of Salem, and, possessing a mind unusually active and enterprising, he not only discharged his sacred functions with zeal and advantage, but roused the planters to new courses of useful industry, and encouraged them by his own successful example. His labors were blessed with a produce not less honorable than enduring. The spirit which he excited has continued to prevail with unabated vigor; and nearly two centuries after his death, the piety, good morals, and industry by which Salem has ever been distinguished, have been traced to the effects of Peters's ministry. He remained in New England till the year 1641, when, at the request of the colonists, he went to transact some business for them in the mother country, from which he was fated never to return.* Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane the younger, had been for some time restrained from indulging his wish to proceed to New England by the prohibition of his father, who was at length induced to waive his objections by the interference of the king. A young man of noble family, animated with such ardent devotion to the cause of pure religion and liberty, that, relinquishing all his hopes in England, he chose to settle in an infant colony which as yet afforded little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, was received in New England with the fondest regard and admiration. He was then little more than twenty-four years of age. His youth, which seemed to magnify the sacrifice he had made, increased no less the impression which his manners and appearance were calculated to produce. The awful composure of his aspect and demeanor stamped a serious grace and grandeur on the bloom of manhood; his countenance appeared the surface of a character not less resolute than profound, and whose energy was not extinguished, but concentrated into a sublime and solemn calm. He has been charged with enthusiasm by some who have remarked the intensity with which he pursued purposes which to them have appeared worthless and ignoble; and with hypocrisy by others who have contrasted the strength and stretch of his resolution with the calmness of his manners. But a juster consideration, perhaps, may suggest that it was the habitual energy of his determination that repressed every symptom of vehement impetuosity, and induced an equality of manner that scarcely appeared to exceed the pitch of a grave composure and constancy. It is the disproportion so frequently evinced between the genius and the character of eminent men, that occasions their irregular conduct and impetuous demeanor. But Vane, fully embracing the loftiest projects of his genius with all the faculties of his being, was deeply impressed with the vast and arduous nature of the work he undertook, and devoted himself to it with such a diligence and concentration of his forces as to the idle, the careless, and the speculative part of mankind, appears like insanity. So much did his mind predominate over his senses, and the nobler control the more ignoble part of his being, that, though constitutionally timid and susceptible, in no common degree, of impressions of pain, yet his whole life was one continued course of great and daring enterprise; and when amidst the wreck of his fortunes and the treachery of his associates, death was presented to himself in the appalling form of a bloody execution, he prepared for it with an animated and even cheerful intrepidity, and encountered it with dignified composure. The man who could so subdue himself, was formed to exercise a strong influence on the minds of others. He was instantly complimented with the freedom of the colony; and enforcing his claims to respect, by the address and ability which he showed in conducting business, he was elected governor in the year subsequent to his arrival, by the

* Bishop Burnet has termed this man “an enthusiastical buffoon,” and reproached him with cowardice at his execution. But his life (stained, no doubt, with moral imperfection) evinced a piety that Burnet never knew, and his death was dignified by a courage that distinguished him even among the recidives. After his fellow-sufferer Cook had been quartered before his face, the executioner approached him, and, rubbing his bloody hands, said, “Come, Mr. Peters, how do you like this work?” Peters answered, “I thank God I am not terrified at it; you may do your worst.” Trials and Deaths of the Recidives.

universal consent of the colonists, and with the highest expectations of a happy and advantageous administration. [1636.] These hopes, however, were disappointed. Vane, not finding the political affairs of the colonists a wide enough field for the excursion of his active spirit, embarked his energy in their theological discussions; and, unfortunately, connecting himself with a party who had conceived singularly just and profound views of doctrine, but associated them with some dangerous errors, and discredited them by the wildest vehemence and disorder, he very soon witnessed the abridgement of his usefulness and the decline of his popularity.

The increasing numbers of the colonists, causing the inhabitants of some of the towns to feel themselves straitened for room, suggested the formation of additional establishments. A project of founding a new settlement on the banks of the river Connecticut was now embraced by Mr. Hooker, one of the ministers of Boston, and a hundred of the members of his congregation. After enduring extreme hardship, and encountering the usual difficulties that attended the foundation of a society in this quarter of America, with the usual display of puritan fortitude and resolution, they at length succeeded in establishing a plantation, which gradually enlarged into the flourishing state of Connecticut. Some Dutch settlers from New York, who had previously occupied a post in the country, were compelled to surrender it to them; and they soon after obtained from Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele, an assignation to a district which these noblemen had acquired in this region, with the intention of flying from the royal tyranny to America.* They had at first carried with them a commission from the government of Massachusetts Bay, for the administration of justice in their new settlement; but, afterwards reflecting that their territory was beyond the jurisdiction of the authorities from whom this commission was derived, they combined themselves by a voluntary association into a body politic, constructed on the same model with the state from which they had separated. They continued in this condition till the Restoration, when they obtained a charter for themselves from King Charles the Second. That this secession from the colony of Massachusetts Bay was occasioned by lack of room in a province as yet so imperfectly peopled, has appeared so improbable to some writers, that they have thought it necessary to assign another cause, and have found none so satisfactory as the jealousy which they conclude Mr. Hooker must inevitably have entertained towards Mr. Cotton, whose influence had become so great in Massachusetts that even a formidable political dissension was quelled by one of his pacific discourses. But envy was not a passion that could dwell in the humble and holy breast of Hooker, or be generated by such influence as the character of Cotton was fanned to exert. The sense of a redundant population was the more readily experienced at first from the unwillingness of the settlers to remove far into the interior of the country and deprive themselves of an easy communication with the coast. Another reason, indeed, appears to have enforced the formation of this new settlement; but it was a reason that argued not dissension, but community of feeling and design between the settlers who remained in Massachusetts and those who removed to Connecticut. By the establishment of this advanced station, a barrier, it was hoped, would be erected against the troublesome incursions of the Pequot Indians.† Nor is it utterly improbable that some of the seceders to this new settlement were actuated by a restless spirit which had hoped too much from

external change, and which vainly urged a farther pursuit of that spring of contentment which must rise up in the mind of him who would enjoy it.

In the immediate neighborhood of this new settlement, another plantation was formed about two years after, by a numerous body of emigrants who arrived from England under the guidance of Theophilus Eaton, a gentleman of fortune, and John Davenport, an eminent puritan minister. Massachusetts Bay appearing to them overstocked, and being informed of a large and commodious bay to the south-west of Connecticut river, they purchased from the natives all the land that lies between that stream and Hudson's river, which divides the southern parts of New England from New York. Seating themselves in this bay, they spread along the coast, where they built first the town of Newhaven, which has given its name to the settlement, and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Braintree. After some time they crossed the bay, and planted several settlements in Long Island; in all places where they came, erecting churches on the model of the independents. When we perceive the injustice and cruelty exercised by the government of Britain, thus contributing to cover the earth with cities and to plant religion and liberty in the savage deserts of America, we recognise the overruling providence of that great Being who can render even the fierceness of men conducive to his praise. Having no patent, nor any other title to their lands than the vendition of the natives, and not being included within the boundaries of any colonial jurisdiction, these settlers entered into a voluntary association of the same nature and for the same ends with that which the settlers in Connecticut had formed for themselves: and in this condition they remained till the Restoration, when Newhaven and Connecticut were united together by a charter of King Charles the Second.*

When the settlement of Connecticut was projected, it was hoped that it might conduce to overawe the hostility of the Indians; but it produced a perfectly opposite effect. The tribes of Indians in the immediate vicinity of Massachusetts Bay were comparatively feeble and unwarlike; but the colonies of Providence and Connecticut were planted in the midst of powerful and martial hordes. Among these, the most considerable were the Naragansets, who inhabited the shores of the bay which bear their name, and the Pequods, who occupied the territory which stretches from the river Pequot to the banks of the Connecticut. The Pequods were a formidable people, who could bring into the field a thousand warriors not inferior in courage to any in the new world. They had early entertained a jealous hatred of the European colonists, and for some time past had harassed them with unprovoked attacks, and excited their abhorrence and indignation by the monstrous outrages to which they had subjected their captives. Unoffending men, women, and children, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, were scalped and sent back to their friends, or put to death with every circumstance of torture and indignity, while the assassins with diabolical joy called aloud to them to invoke the God of the christians, and put to the proof his power to save them. The extension of the English settlements excited their fury anew, and produced a repetition of attacks, which Mr. Vane the governor of Massachusetts, determined at length to encounter and punish by offensive operations. Receiving intelligence of a serious attack that had been made by the Pequods on the Connecticut settlers, [1637.] he summoned all the New England communities to embody the strongest force they could spare, and march to defend their brethren and vindicate the common cause. The Pequods, aware of the impending danger, were not wanting in endeavors to encounter and repel it. For this purpose, they sought a reconciliation with the Naragansets, their hereditary enemies and rivals in power, and requested these people to forget their ancient animosities, and for once to co-operate cordially with them against a common foe, whose progressive

encroachments threatened to confound them both in one common destruction. But the Naragansets had long cherished a vehement hatred against the Pequods; and less moved by a distant prospect of danger to themselves, than by the hope of an instant gratification of their implacable revenge, they rejected the proposals of accommodation, and determined to assist the English in the prosecution of the war.

The Pequods incensed, but not dismayed, by this disappointment, proceeded by the vigor of their operations to anticipate the junction of the allied colonial forces; and the Connecticut troops, while as yet they had received but a small part of the reinforcements that their friends were preparing to send them, found it necessary to advance towards the enemy. The Pequods, commanded by Sassacus, their principal sachem, occupied two fortified stations, against one of which Captain Mason and the Connecticut militia, attended by a body of Indian allies, directed their attack. Their approach was quickened by the information they obtained, that the enemy, deceived by a seeming retrograde movement of the colonial forces, had abandoned themselves to the conviction that the English dared not encounter them, and were celebrating in perfect security the supposed evacuation of their country. About daybreak, while in deep slumber and supine security, they were approached by the English; and the surprise would have been complete, if they had not been alarmed by the barking of a dog. The war-whoop was immediately sounded, and they flew to their arms. The English rushed on to the attack; and while some of them fired on the Indians through the palisades, others forced their way by the entrances into the fort, and setting fire to the huts which were covered with reeds, involved their enemies in the confusion and terror of a general conflagration. After a manly and desperate resistance, the Pequods were totally defeated with the slaughter of at least five hundred of their tribe. Many of the women and children perished in the flames; and the warriors, endeavoring to escape, were either slain by the English, or, falling into the hands of the Indian allies, who surrounded the fort at a distance, were reserved for a more cruel fate. Soon after this action, Captain Stoughton having arrived with the auxiliary troops from Massachusetts, it was resolved to pursue the victory. Several engagements took place which terminated unfavorably for the Pequods; and in a short time they sustained another general defeat which put an end to the war. A few only of this once powerful nation survived, who, abandoning their country to the English, dispersed themselves among the neighboring tribes, and lost their existence as a distinct people. Sassacus had been an object of superstitious terror to the Naragansets, who had endeavored to dissuade the English from risking a personal encounter with him, by the assurance that his person was divine and invulnerable. After the destruction of his people, when he fled for refuge to a distant tribe, the Naragansets, exchanging their terror for cruelty, solicited and prevailed with his hosts to cut off his head. Thus terminated a struggle more important in its consequences, than from the numbers of the combatants, or the celebrity of their names. On its issue there had been staked no less than the question, whether christianity and civilization, or paganism and barbarity should prevail in New England.

This first military enterprise of the colonists was conducted with vigor and ability, and impressed on the aborigines a high opinion of their invincible courage and superior skill. Their victory, however, it must be confessed, was sullied by cruelties which it is easy to account for and extenuate, but painful to recollect. The Massachusetts militia had been exceedingly diligent before their march in purging their ranks of all whose religious sentiments were thought to argue want or weakness of faith.* It had been well if they could have purged their own bosoms of the vindictive feelings which the outrages of the savages were but too powerfully calculated to inspire. Some of the prisoners were tortured by the Indian allies, whose cruelties we can hardly doubt that the English might have prevented: a considerable number were sold as slaves in Bermuda,† and the rest were reduced to servitude in the colonial settlements. In aggravation of the vio-

* Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele had proceeded so far in their design as to send over an agent to take possession of their territory, and build a fort. Happily for America, the sentiments and habits that rendered their unit members of a society where complete civil freedom and perfect simplicity of manners were esteemed requisite to the general happiness, prevented these noblemen from carrying their project into execution. They proposed to establish an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy in America; and consumed so much time in arguing this important point with the other settlers who were to be associated with them, that at length their ardor for emigration abated, and nearer and more interesting prospects opened to their activity in England. Chalmers 289, 290.

† Mather, B. i. cap. 6. sect. 2, 3. Hutchinson, i. 43–45. Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. cap. 1. It appears from Mather's Lives of Cotton and Hooker, that these men were knit together in the firmest bonds of christian friendship and cordial esteem. Paul and Barnabas (doubtless for wise purposes) were separated from each other. So were Cotton and Hooker, though by less unpleasant instrumentality. These men who forsook houses, lands, and country for the sake of the gospel, are described by Dr. Robertson as "rival competitors in the contest for fame and power." This is the only light in which many eminent and even reverend writers are capable of regarding the labors of the patriot, the saint, and the sage.

* Neal, i. 132. The colonists of Massachusetts were very desirous that Mr. Davenport and his associates should settle among them. But "it had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, that whenever a reformation had been effected in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution as near as possible to scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen who had followed him to America had the same views. In laying the foundations of a new colony, there was a fair probability that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed." Trumbull, i. 97.

* Regimental chaplains accompanied the New England forces in their campaigns; and in circumstances of doubt or danger, the chaplain was invited to pray for divine direction and assistance. Trumbull, i. 81, 89. When a commander-in-chief was appointed, his military staff was delivered to him by one of the clergy. Ib. 95.

† A similar punishment was inflicted many years after in England on some of the royalists who had been implicated in Penruddock's insurrection. Hume, vii. 244.

active spirit displayed in these proceedings, it has been urged, but with very little reason, that the Pequods were entitled to the treatment of an independent people making a gallant effort to defend their property, their rights and their freedom. But in truth, the Pequods were the aggressors in a causeless quarrel, and were fighting all along in support of barbarous outrage and purposes of extermination. The colonists had conducted themselves with undeviating justice, civility and piety towards the Indians. They had treated fairly with them for their territories; assisted them by counsel and help in their diseases and their agriculture, and labored to communicate to them the blessings of religion. They disallowed all acquisitions of territory from the Indians but such as should undergo the scrutiny of the general court; and they offered a participation of all their privileges and property to every Indian who would adopt the religion of a christian and the manners of a civilized human being. In return for these demonstrations of good-will, they were treated with outrage and barbarity, directed against all that they revered or loved; and were forcibly impressed with the conviction that they must extirpate these sanguinary idolaters, or leave their fellow-christians, their wives, children, and brethren, exposed to a more horrid destruction from their barbarous hands.* Even in the course of the war, they made propositions of lenity to the savages on the condition of their delivering up the murderers of the English; but their offers were uniformly rejected; and the people who adopted the murders as national acts, invited the avengers of blood to visit them with national punishments. The mutual hostilities of civilized nations, conducted by dispassionate mercenaries, and directed by leaders more eager for fame than prompted by anger or personal apprehension, may be administered on the principles of a splendid game. But such hostilities as those which the New England colonists were compelled to urge with the hordes of savage assassins who attacked them, will always display human passions in their naked horror and ferocity. The permission (for I suppose they could have prevented it) of the barbarity of their savage allies, appears the least excusable feature in their conduct. And yet, in considering it, we must add to our allowance for passion inflamed by enormous provocation, the recollection of the danger and inexpediency of checking that mutual hostility of the savages which prevented a conurbation that might have proved fatal to the European name. The reduction of their captives to servitude was unquestionably a great evil; but one for which it would not have been easy to suggest a substitute to men too justly alarmed to permit the enemies whom, overcoming by force, they had but half subdued, to go free, and too poor to support them in idle captivity. The captive Pequods were treated with the utmost possible kindness, and regarded rather as indentured servants than slaves. It must be acknowledged at least that the colonists observed a magnanimous consistency in their international policy, and gave the Indians the protection of the same stern principles of justice of which they had taught them to feel the vindictive energy. They not only offered a participation of their own privileges and territory to all civilized and converted Indians; but having ascertained the stations which the savages most highly valued, and the range of territory that seemed necessary to their comfort and happiness, they prohibited and annulled every transaction by which these domains might be added to the European acquisitions. A short time after the termination of the Pequot war, an Indian having been wantonly killed by some vagabond Englishman, the murderers were solemnly tried and executed for the crime; and the Indians beheld with astonishment the blood of three men deliberately shed for the slaughter of one. The sense of justice co-operating with the repute of valor, secured a long tranquility to the English settlements.

While the military force of Massachusetts was thus employed in the field, the commonwealth was shaken and torn by intestine disputes, which had been excited by theological discussions, and inflamed by the gail of unruly tongues and the bitterness of railing accusation. It was the custom at that time in Boston, that the members of every congregation should assemble in

weekly meetings to repeat the sermons of the preceding Sunday; to debate the doctrines they had heard; to revive the impressions that had been produced by their Sabbatical exercises; and extend the sacred influence of the Sabbath throughout the week. Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one of the most respectable inhabitants of the colony, a lady of masculine spirit and great subtlety and vivacity of apprehension, submitted with impatience to the regulation by which women at these meetings were debarred from the privilege of joining in the debates: and at length, apprehending that she was authorised to exercise her qualifications by the precepts of Scripture which enjoins *the elder women to teach the younger*, she established separate meetings of the christians of her own sex, where her zeal and talent soon procured her a numerous and admiring audience. These women, who had partaken the struggles and perils of the male colonists, had also caught no small portion of the various hues of their spirit; and as many of them had been accustomed to a life more replete with external elegance and variety of interest and employment than the state of the colony could supply, they found a listless craving for something to animate and engage their faculties, and judged nothing fitter for this purpose than an imitation of those exercises for the promotion of the great common cause which seemed to minister such comfort and support to the spirits of the men. The issue of their design illustrated very signally some of the least estimable peculiarities of female character, and amply demonstrated that its defects are not cured but fortified by such irregular congregation. Mrs. Hutchinson, their leader, had by her earnest zeal gained the cordial esteem of Mr. Cotton, whose charity never failed to recognise in every human being the slightest trace of those graces which he continually looked for: and towards him she entertained and professed for some time a very high veneration. The friendship of Mr. Vane and some others had a less favorable influence on her mind; and the admiration they expressed of the depth and vigor of her ratiocination, seems to have elevated in her apprehension the gifts of intellect above the graces of character. She acquired the title of *The Vansuch*, which the admiration of her followers had eagerly derived from an anagrammatical transposition of the letters of her name; and gave to her female assemblies the title of *gossippings*; a term at that time of respectable import, but which the scandalous repute of female conventions and debates has since consigned to contempt and ridicule. Doing amiss what the Scriptures plainly forbade her to do at all, she constituted herself a teacher of orthodoxy, and a censor of the faith of all the ministers and inhabitants of the colony. Her canons of doctrine were received by her associates as the unerring standard of truth, and a defamatory persecution was industriously waged against all who rejected or professed themselves unable to understand them. A scrutiny was instituted into the characters of all the clergy and laity of the province; and of those who refused to receive the doctrinal testimony of the concave, few found it easy to stand the test of a censorious gaze, quickened by female petulance and controversial rancor. Women, neither fitted by the constitution of their nature, nor prepared by their education and habits, for the rough contests and collisions of the world, demonstrate, in general, great pertinacity, severity, and impatience, when they assume the direction of affairs, or arrogate a jurisdiction over those who conduct them. Losing the gentle graces of their own sex when they step beyond the sphere of its duties, without acquiring the hardy virtues of the other sex, whose province they invade, they show themselves keenly susceptible and utterly unforbearing, swift to speak and slow to hear, headlong in conduct, prompt to accuse, intolerant of contradiction, acrimonious in reproach. In these female assemblies, there was trained and exercised a keen pugnacious spirit and unbridled license of tongue, of which the actings were quickly felt in the serious disturbance, first of domestic happiness, and then of the public peace. The matrons of Boston were transformed into a synod of *tattlers and busy bodies*, whose bold decrees and slanderous deliberations sent their influence into the innermost recesses of society: and the spirits of men being in that combustible state which the application of a very feeble flash will kindle into a formidable conflagration, the whole colony was set on fire by the incontinence of female spleen and verbosity. A line of demarcation was drawn between those whom Mrs. Hutchinson esteemed the sound, and those whom she denominated the unsound; and all who were included in this latter description heard themselves continually

stigmatized as a generation of unchristian vipers, or helpless bondslaves to a covenant of works.

The tenets which this faction, and a few ministers who united with it, adopted and inculcated, were denounced by their adversaries as constituting the heresy of antinomianism—a charge which, when preferred by the world at large, indicates no more than the reproach which the gospel, from its first promulgation, has been fated to sustain, and when advanced by christians against members of their own body, generally implies nothing else than the deductions which they draw from certain views of doctrine, but which the holders of these views utterly reject and disallow. Nothing can be more perfectly antinomian than the system of the gospel; nor any thing more powerfully operative than the influence which it is fitted to exert. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents contended more earnestly for the freedom, than for the constraining influence of divine grace: and with the eagerness and impetuosity of female feeling, were not slow to brand with terms of heretical and contemptuous designation, every inhabitant of the colony, and particularly every minister, whose views did not coincide with their own. The doctrines which they gave forth, and the censures which they propagated, were received with equal eagerness by a considerable party; and equally provoking the displeasure of others, excited the most violent dissensions throughout the whole colony. Mr. Cotton endeavored to reconcile or moderate the heats that arose, by representing to the parties that their strife was prejudicial to that which he firmly believed to be the great object of both, the exalting and honoring of divine grace; *the one* (said he) *seeking to advance the grace of God within us in the work of sanctification, the other seeking to advance the grace of God without us, in the work of justification.* But the strife was not to be stopped; and his endeavors to arrest it attracted upon himself the fulmination of a censure of timorous and purblind incapacity from the assembly of the women; and, as even this could not induce him to take a strong part against them, he incurred a temporary abatement of his popularity with the bulk of the inhabitants. He could not consent to condemn the form of sound words by which some of the tenets of the sectaries were peculiarly distinguished; but he viewed with grief and amazement the fierce and contemptuous spirit with which they were maintained, and the wild and dangerous errors with which they very soon came to be associated. The controversy raged with a violence very unfavorable to the discernment and reception of truth. Mrs. Hutchinson and her adherents, both male and female, persuaded (and justly so, I think, on some points) of the superior clearness, truth, and simplicity of their system of doctrines, forgot to consider how far the opposition which it encountered might be traced to the obscurity and imperfection with which they themselves received and enforced it—a consideration which no human being is entitled to disregard, and which is eminently fitted to render superior attainments more amiable and efficacious, by rendering them more productive of candor and humility. The principles they discarded from their creed laid hold upon their spirit; and while they contended for the sovereignty of divine grace in communicating truth, they attacked the sentiments of their adversaries with an acrimony and invective that might have been thought to imply that truth was easily and exclusively attainable by the mere will and endeavor of men. The most enlightened and consistent christian will ever be the most ready to acknowledge that *he knows nothing yet as he ought to know*, and may have more cause than he can yet discover, to blush for the defectiveness of a testimony, which, exhibited with more clearness and simplicity, might have found greater acceptance with mankind. But no such considerations suggested themselves to mitigate the vehemence, or soften the asperity, of those busy, bold, and presumptuous spirits; nor did it ever occur to them that the truths they held forth would be liable to be evil spoken of, from association with the deadly poison of that world of iniquity, an untamed, licentious tongue. It is asserted that the heat of their tempers gradually communicated itself to the understandings of Mrs. Hutchinson and her party, and that in addition to their original tenets, that believers are personally united with the spirit of God, that commands to work out salvation with fear and trembling belong only to those who are under a covenant of works, and that sanctification is not the proper evidence of christian condition, they received that unhappy error of the Quakers, that the spirit of God communicates with the minds of believers independently of the written word; and, in consistency with this, received many

* The colonists considered themselves in some degree accessory to the crimes which they might fail to prevent by neglect of any of the means warranted by strict justice. Belknap cites the following entry in a *Ms. Journal* of events in New-England, some years posterior to this period. "The house of John Keniston was burned and he killed at Greenland. The Indians are Simon, Andrew, and Peter. Those three we had in prison and should have killed. The good Lord pardon us." *History of New Hampshire*, i. 153

revelations of future events announced to them by Mrs. Hutchinson as equally infallible with the prophecies of Scripture. But the accounts that are transmitted to us of such theological dissensions are always obscured by the cloud of contemporary passion, prejudice, and error: hasty effusions of passionate zeal are mistaken for deliberate sentiments; and the excesses of the zealots of a party held up as the standard by which the whole body may fairly be tried.*

Some ministers adopting Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions, began to enforce them from the pulpit with such vehement invectives against all by whom they were rejected, as at length brought the dissenters to a crisis; and Mr. Vane being considered the confederate and protector of Mrs. Hutchinson, his continuance in office, or dismissal from it at the approaching annual election, was the first test by which the parties were to try with which of them resided the power of imposing silence on the other. So much had been done to gall and irritate the feelings of the people, and to stimulate them to mutual dislike and suspicion, that the utmost efforts of the sober and humane could barely prevent the day of election from being disgraced by a general riot. All the exertions of Vane's partisans failed to obtain his re-appointment; and, by a great majority of votes, the government was conferred on Mr. Winthrop. Vane still remained in the colony, professing his willingness to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity; and the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, regarding his deprivation of office as a dangerous blow to themselves, ceased not to labor for his reinstatement with as much warmth as they had exerted in the propagation of their tenets. The government was loudly declaimed against, and Mr. Winthrop openly slighted and affronted. At length it was determined by the prevailing party, to cut up this source of contention by the roots; and a general synod of the churches of the colony having been assembled, the new opinions were condemned as erroneous and heretical. As this proceeding seemed only to provoke their professors to assert them with greater vehemence than ever, the leaders of the party were summoned before the general court. Mrs. Hutchinson rebuked her judges for their wicked persecution of truth, compared herself to the prophet Daniel when cast into the den of lions, and proceeded to complete the comparison by venturing to exercise what she believed to be the gift of prophecy, and predicting that her exile would be attended with the ruin of her adversaries and all their posterity.† To this punishment, nevertheless, she was condemned, together with her brother Wheelwright, who was a preacher, and had been the great pulpit champion of her doctrines; and some of the inferior members of the faction, partly on account of the violence with which they still maintained their theological tenets, and partly for the seditious insolence with which they had treated the new governor, were fined and disfranchised. In consequence of these proceedings, Vane quitted the colony and returned to England, "leaving a caveat," says Mather, "that all good men are not fit for government."

From the unpleasant contemplations of these religious dissensions, we now turn to the more agreeable survey of some of the consequences of which their issue was productive. A considerable number of per-

sons, highly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the synod and the general court of Massachusetts, voluntarily forsook the colony; some of these proceeded to join Roger Williams and his friends at Providence; and, being soon after abandoned by Mrs. Hutchinson, they fell under the guidance of that meliorated spirit which Williams had now begun to display. By a transaction with the Indians, these associated exiles obtained a right to a fertile island in Naraganset Bay, which acquired the name of Rhode Island.* Williams remained among them upwards of forty years, respected as the father and director of the colony which he had planted, and of which he was several times elected governor. In the year 1643, he made a journey to England, and, by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained and brought back to them a parliamentary charter, by which Providence and Rhode Island remained united till the Restoration. Others of the exiles, under the guidance of Wheelwright, betook themselves to the north-east parts of New England; and, being joined by associates who were allured by the prospects of rich fisheries and an advantageous beaver trade, they gradually formed and peopled the provinces of New Hampshire and Maine. These provinces had been respectively purchased by Mason and Gorges from the council of Plymouth, and many intellectual attempts were made by these two adventurers to colonize their acquisitions with advantage to themselves. Mason and Gorges were actuated by very different views from those which prevailed in general among the colonists of New England; they wished to become the proprietaries or hereditary chiefs of vast manors and seigniories, and to establish in America the institutions which the emigrants to America were generally seeking to escape from. They found it totally impracticable to obtain a revenue from the settlers in New Hampshire and Maine, or to establish among them a form of government suited to their own views. These settlers, composed partly of adventurers from England, and partly of exiles and voluntary emigrants from Massachusetts, framed for themselves separate governments, under which they continued to subsist, till, wearied with internal disputes and divisions, they petitioned the general court of Massachusetts to be taken under its protection, and were again associated with the colony from which they had departed.

A schism, similar to that which Mrs. Hutchinson had created, was fomented at Plymouth by one Samuel Gorton; but his career in this place was cut short by a conviction for swindling. Thence he went to Rhode Island, where he created such disturbance, that even in this community, where unlimited toleration was professed, he was sentenced to be flogged and banished. Proceeding to Providence, he had nearly involved the people of this settlement in a war with the Indians; till, at length, on the entreaty of Roger Williams, the government of Massachusetts sent a party to apprehend him, and, after imprisoning him and some of his adherents in the workhouse, obliged them to depart the country.† [1638]

The losses, which the population of Massachusetts sustained by the various emigrations which we have witnessed, were supplied, in the following year, by the arrival of a fleet of twenty ships, with three thousand settlers from England. The same year witnessed the establishment of an institution calculated to improve the moral condition of the people. This was Harvard College, at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, the first seminary of learning erected in North America. So highly prized were the advantages of knowledge and the influence of education by these generous colonists, that, as early as the close of the year 1630, and while yet struggling with the first difficulties and distresses of their arrival, the general court at Boston had appropriated four hundred pounds to the erection of a seminary of learning. The bequest of a colonial minister, who desired his whole fortune to be applied to the same design, enabled them now to enrich their country with an establishment whose operation has proved as beneficial to their posterity, as its institution, at so early a period of their history, is honorable to themselves.‡

* The price paid to the Indians was fifty fathoms of white beads, ten coats, and twenty shoes. *Chalmers*, 271.

† Gorges America painted to the Life, Part II. Cap. 21. Neal i. 179, 180. Gorton went to England, and, during the civil wars, involved the colony in no small trouble by his complaints of the persecution he had undergone.

‡ Mather, B. iv. cap. 1. Neal, i. 181, &c. Hutchinson i. 88. For some time the college labored under the defect of a library. The efforts of the managers to accumulate one, were aided by considerable donations of books made to them by that great and pious ecclesiastic Archbishop Usher, the celebrated non-conformist minister Richard Baxter, and that distinguished warrior and philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby. It is an interest-

The population of New England was now to be left to depend on its own resources; and the impulse which had been communicated to it by the stream of emigration from the parent state was to cease. For some time past, the policy of the English government towards the colony had been singularly irresolute and unsteady: many demonstrations had been made of jealous dislike and tyrannical design; but, never being carried into execution, they had served merely to keep the colonists united by a sense of common danger, and to endear the institutions of liberty by the destruction with which they were ineffectually menaced. The king appears to have doubted pretty early the congeniality of his first proceedings towards the emigrants with the general policy of his administration: the experience of every year had confirmed his doubts, and he had wavered in irresolute perplexity between his original wish to evacuate England of the puritans, and his apprehension of the dangerous and increasing influence which their triumphant establishment in America was visibly exerting. The success of his politic devices had appeared at first to answer all his expectations, and he seemed likely to prevail over the puritans by the demonstration of a hollow good-will or lenity suspended on the condition of their abandoning the realm. A considerable portion of the embers of puritan and patriotic feeling had been removed from England, and seemingly cast away in deserts, where as yet no colony had been able to survive. But they had neither languished nor perished; and, on the contrary, had kindled in America a conflagration so powerful and extensive that all England was warned and enlightened by the blaze. The palous attention of Laud was soon awakened to the disastrous issue of this branch of the royal policy, and while he meditated the means by which its effects might be counteracted, he maintained spies in New England, whose intelligence confirmed his misgivings, and who counted his favor by traducing the objects of his dislike. The detection of this correspondence served to animate the resentment and enforce the caution and the union of the colonists. So early as the year 1633, the English government, yielding to its first alarm, made a hasty and ill-considered attempt to repair its error by issuing a proclamation reprobating the designs that prompted emigration to New England, and ordering all ships that were about to proceed thither with passengers to be detained. It was quickly felt that this measure was premature, and that it could serve no other end than to irritate the impatience of the puritans to obtain either at home or abroad the institutions which they had made preparation to realize and enjoy. Not only was the proclamation suffered to remain unenforced, but even, at a later period, Charles reverted so far to his original policy as to promote, by his own interposition, the expatriation of young Vane, of whose political and religious sentiments he was perfectly aware. After an interval of hesitation, measures more deliberate were adopted for subverting the colonial liberties. In the year 1635, a commission was granted to the great officers of state and some of the nobility for the regulation and government of the plantations. By this commission the archbishop of Canterbury (Laud,) and a few others, were authorized to make laws and constitution for the colony; to establish an order of clergy, and assign them a maintenance; and to punish capitally, or otherwise, all who should violate their ordinances. The general body of the commissioners were directed to examine all existing colonial patents and charters, and if they found that any had been unduly obtained, or that the liberties they conferred were hurtful to the prerogative royal, to cause them to be revoked and quashed.* The English grand council of Plymouth was quickly persuaded to give the first example of submission to this arbitrary authority; and, accordingly, the same year they surrendered their useless patent to the king, under reservation of their claims as individuals to the property of the soil. These reserved claims gave occasion at an after period to much dispute, perplexity, and inconvenience. The only proceeding, however, which immediately ensued against the New England colonists, was the institution of a process of *quo warranto* against their charter in the Court of King's Bench, of which no intimation

we find, and which seems to strengthen and dignify the relationship between the two countries, that many of the most illustrious men that England has ever produced, contributed to lay the foundation of civilized society in America. The enumeration of the patentees in the Virginian charters, includes almost every distinguished individual in England at the time.

* This strongly corroborates the opinion I have expressed of the real meaning, understanding, and intention of the king and the puritan emigrants at the time when the New England charter was framed and granted.

* That to a certain extent, however, this error had crept in among them, seems undeniably manifest; and it is remarkable that the notion which united them with the fundamental tenet of the Quakers should have issued from a society which, with farther resemblance to the Quakers, admitted the anti-scriptural irregularity of female teaching. Captain Underhill, one of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, carried this error to a monstrous length, and combined with it the grossest immorality of conduct. He gave great offence by publicly maintaining that he had received a special communication of his everlasting salvation while he was smoking a pipe. He was banished along with his patroness; and, a few years after, returned to Boston, where he made a public confession of hypocrisy, adultery, and delusion. Belknap's Hist. of New Hampshire, vol. i. cap. ii. Another of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers was a woman named Mary Dyer, who retired to Rhode Island, where she subsequently became a Quaker. Winthrop's History (Savage's edition), i. 261.

† Her presumption was very signally punished. The ruin she predicted as the consequence of her exile fell on herself and her family. She went to Rhode Island, but not liking that situation, removed to one of the Dutch settlements, where she and all her family were murdered by the Indians. We may hope that the errors, by which she darkened and discredited the truth, were occasioned by a head over-heated with controversy, and rendered guilty by an undue elevation. Before she quitted Massachusetts, she signed a recantation of some of the erroneous tenets she had propounded; but maintained, in the face of the clearest evidence to the contrary, that she had never entertained them. This was considered a proof of dissimulation. Perhaps it might rather have warranted the inference that the visionary and violent spirit which had laid hold of her had departed or subsided, and that she no longer knew or understood the opinions which through its medium had formerly presented themselves to her imagination.

was made to the parties interested, and which was never prosecuted to a judicial issue.* It is vain to speculate on all the varying motives and purposes that from time to time directed and varied the policy of the king. He was formed to hate and oppress political freedom and the rights of conscience; but fated to do them signal service by his unavailing and ill-directed hostility. In the year 1637 he granted a commission to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, appointing him governor-general of New England, and issued a proclamation prohibiting all persons from transporting themselves, or others, to that country without a special warrant from the king, which, it was added, would be granted to none who could not produce credible certificates of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and fully conformed to the discipline of the church of England. But the critical state of affairs at home prevented the adoption of measures requisite to give effect to Gorges' commission; and the irresistible impatience of the oppressed puritans and friends of liberty to escape from impending ruin, or approaching civil war, rendered the restrictions imposed on their emigration utterly unavailing. We have seen that, in the year 1638, a numerous transportation of additional emigrants was effected. But, in the course of that year, the king at length was roused to a vigor which now alone was wanting to mature and accelerate his ruin; and, after this long course of blundering, wavering, and failure, he adopted a measure which, unfortunately for himself, was effectual. Hearing that another fleet was about to sail for New England with a body of emigrants, among whom were some of the most eminent leaders of the patriots and puritans, he caused an order of council to be issued for their detention; and the order being promptly enforced, the voyage was prevented. On board this fleet there appeared to have been, among other eminent individuals, Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Oliver Cromwell—men to whom, but a few years after, he was fain to tender the highest offices in his realm, and whom his injustice now detained to avenge the tyranny by which so many of their brethren had been driven away. Various proclamations were issued the same year in restraint of emigration to New England, which, from this time, accordingly, appears to have been discontinued.† This proceeding naturally inflamed the public mind to the highest pitch of discontent. Even the hospitality of rude deserts, it was exclaimed, was denied to the oppressed inhabitants of England; and men were constrained to inquire if the evils which could not be evaded might not be repelled, and since retreat was impracticable, if resistance might not be unavailing. By promoting emigration at first, the king had opened a vein which it was eminently hazardous to close; and the increased severity of his administration augmented the flow of evil humours at the very time when he thus imprudently deprived them of their accustomed vent. The previous emigration had already drained the puritan body of a great number of those of its members whose milder tempers and more submissive piety rendered them more willing than their brethren to decline

a contest with him: the present restrictions forcibly retained in the realm men of more daring spirit and trained in long habits of enmity to his person and opposition to his measures.* He had now at length succeeded in stripping his subjects of every protection that the law could extend to their rights; and was destined soon to experience how completely he had divested them of every restraint that the law could impose on the vindictive retribution of their wrongs. From this period till the assembling of the long parliament, he pursued a short and headlong career of disgrace and disaster, while the cloud of calamities in which he had involved himself seemed to veil his eyes from the destruction to which he was infallibly advancing.

In pursuance of the policy which the king at length seemed determined openly and vigorously to pursue, a requisition was transmitted by the privy council to the governor and general court of Massachusetts, commanding them to deliver up their patent and send it back by the first ship that should sail for England, that it might abide the issue of the process of *quo warranto* that was depending against the colony. To this requisition the general court returned for answer, a humble and earnest petition that the colonists might be heard before they were condemned. They declared that they had transported their families to America, and embarked their fortunes in the colony, in reliance on his majesty's licence and encouragement; that they had never willingly or knowingly offended him, and now humbly deprecated his wrath, and solicited to be heard with their patent in their hands. If it were wrested from them, they must either return to England or seek the hospitality of more distant regions. But they prayed that they might "be suffered to live in the wilderness," where they had as yet found a resting-place, and might experience in their exile some of that favor from the ruler of their native land which they had largely experienced from the Lord and Judge of all the earth. They retained possession of their patent while they waited an answer to this petition, which, in the shape wherein they looked for it, they were happily destined never to receive. The insurrections which soon after broke out in Scotland, directed the whole attention of the king to matters which more nearly concerned him; and the long gathering storm which was now visibly preparing to burst upon him from every corner of his dominions, forcibly induced him to contract as far as possible the sphere of hostility in which he found himself involved.† The benefit of his altered views was experienced by the Virginians, [1639,] in the abolition of the despotism to which he had hitherto subjected them, and by the inhabitants of New England, in the cessation of his attempts to supersede by a similar despotism the liberal institutions which they had hitherto enjoyed. He would doubtless now have cordially consented to disencumber himself of his adversaries by promoting the emigration which he had so imprudently obstructed: but such a revolution of sentiment had now taken place in England, and such interesting prospects began to open to the patriots and puritans at home, that the motives which had formerly induced them to migrate to the new world ceased any longer to prevail.

1640.] When the intercourse which had for twenty years subsisted between the colony and the parent state underwent this modification, the number of the inhabitants of New England appears to have amounted to about twenty-one thousand persons,‡ or four thousand

* The commencement of resistance in Scotland originated with some individuals of that country who had purchased an allotment of territory in New England, and made preparation to transport themselves thither, but were prevented (it does not appear how) from carrying their design into execution. They had obtained from the colonial assembly an assurance of the free exercise of their presbyterian form of church government. Mather, B. i. cap. 5. Sec. 7.

† Hutchinson, i. 87. and Appendix, No. v. Chalmers, p. 162. This year (1638) was distinguished by an earthquake in New England, which extended through all the settlements, and shook the ships in Boston harbor and the neighboring islands. The sound of it reminded some of the colonists of the rattling of coaches in the streets of London. Winthrop's Journal, 155. Trumbull, i. 93.

This work had been for some time in the press, when an opportunity was afforded me by the kindness of my friend Mr. Herschel of examining a recent American publication entitled "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649," by Governor Winthrop, of which a copy had been sent as a present to the Royal Society of London. It is a republication of Winthrop's Journal (which I had already consulted at Gottingen), with the lately discovered continuation of it till 1649. Mr. Savage, the editor, has bestowed much labor and learning on the illustration of a work which I think hardly deserved such care.

‡ Josselyn's Voyage to New England, p. 258. Hutchinson, i. 93. Neal's error, in computing the number of the settlers at only 4000, seems to have been occasioned by the mistake or inaccuracy of Dr. Mather in mentioning that number of

families, including about a hundred ministers. The money that had been expended during that period in equipping vessels and transporting emigrants, amounted to nearly two hundred thousand pounds—a prodigious sum in that age, and which nothing but the noble and unconquerable principle that animated the puritans could have persuaded men to expend on the prospect of forming an establishment in a remote uncultivated desert, which offered to its inhabitants only a naked freedom and difficult subsistence. When the civil wars commenced, the colonists had already planted fifty towns and villages; they had erected upwards of thirty churches and ministers' houses; and combining with their preponderating regard to the concerns of religion, a diligent and judicious conduct of their temporal affairs, they had improved their plantations to a high degree of cultivation. For the first seven years after the foundation of the settlement that was made in 1630, even subsistence was procured with difficulty, and trade was not generally attempted; but soon after that period, they began to extend their fishery and to open a trade in lumber, which subsequently proved the staple article of the colonial commerce. In the year 1637 there were but thirty ploughs in the whole colony of Massachusetts; and less than the third of that number in Connecticut. The culture of the earth was generally performed with hoes, and was consequently very slow and laborious. Every commodity bore a high price. Valuable as money was at that period the price of a good cow was thirty pounds; Indian corn cost five shillings a bushel; labor and every other article of use was proportionably dear. Necessity at first introduced what the jurisprudence of the colonists afterwards confirmed; and desiring to perpetuate the habits that had proved so conducive to piety and virtue, they endeavored by legislative enactments to exclude luxury and promote industry. When the assembling of the long parliament opened a prospect of safety, and even of triumph and supremacy to the puritans in England, a number of those who had taken refuge in America returned to their native country: but the great majority of the settlers had experienced so much of the life and happiness of religion in the societies that had sprung up and the mode of living that had been formed in the colony, that they felt themselves united to New England by stronger ties than any that patriotic recollections could supply, and resolved to remain in the region which their virtue had converted from a wilderness into a garden. In an infant colony, where all hearts were strongly united by community of feeling on subjects the most interesting and important, where the inhabitants were in general very nearly on a level in point of temporal condition, and where the connexions of neighborhood were but extended family ties, the minds of men were warmed and invigorated by a freedom and simplicity of mutual communication unrepresed by the restraints of ceremony, or the withering influence of that spirit of sarcasm, and that dread of ridicule, which operate so powerfully in crowded and highly polished societies. And yet some indications of an aristocratical disposition, arising, not unnaturally, out of some of the peculiar circumstances in the formation of the colony, did occasionally manifest themselves. Several of the first planters, particularly Dudley, Winslow, Winthrop, Bradford, Bellingham, and Bradstreet, were gentlemen of considerable fortune, and besides the transportation of their own families, they had incurred the expense of transporting many poor families who must otherwise have remained in England. Others were members of the original body of patentees, and had incurred expenses in the procurement of the charter, the formation of the company, and the equipment of the first body of adventurers, of which they had now no prospect of obtaining indemnification. It was probably owing to the prevalence of the peculiar sentiments which these persons may very well be supposed to have entertained, that in the first general court that was held in the colony, the election of the governor, the appointment of all the other officers, and even the power of legislation, were

planters or heads of families in such terms as seem to comprehend the whole body of the inhabitants. It is amply refuted by his own and the other accounts of the particulars of the several emigrations. In the "History of New England from 1625 till 1632," (published in London in 1654) it is stated that prior to the year 1643 there had sailed for New England 298 ships and 21,200 emigrants, p. 31.

Josselyn, who visited New England more than once, was intrusted by Charles the poet with some of his metrical version of Scripture to be submitted to the perusal and consideration of Mr. Cotton. Josselyn, p. 20.

* Yet in the year 1636 a ship of 120 tons was built at Marblehead by the people of Salem. Collections of the Massachusetts' Hist. Soc. vi. 232.

* Chalmers asserts that judgment was given against the colony; but the reverse appears from the authorities to which he refers, and still more clearly from the record of the proceedings preserved in Hazard, p. 435.

† That Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet, or that they even intended to proceed to America, has been doubted, but I think without any reason. Hume has rather continued than removed the doubt by the manner in which he has referred to a passage in Hutchinson, the meaning of which he has evidently misunderstood. But Dr. Mather, who preceded Hutchinson, expressly names all the individuals mentioned in the text as having prepared for their voyage, and been assisted by the order of council. Oldmixon recites the grant of land in America in favor of Hampden and others, which the emigrants were proceeding to occupy. Mather's statement is confirmed by Neal, Clarendon, Bates, and Dugdale. The strong mind of Cromwell appears long to have retained the bias it had once received towards emigration, and the favorable opinion of the settlers of New England from which that bias had been partly derived. After the Remonstrance was voted in the Long Parliament, he told Lord Falkland that if the question had been lost he was prepared next day to have converted his effects into ready money and left the kingdom. When he was invested with the Protectorate he treated Massachusetts with distinguished partiality. Hume considered himself as levelling a most sarcastic reflection against Hampden and Cromwell, when he described them as willing to cross the Atlantic ocean for the sake of saying their prayers. Some writers, who partake the political, but not the religious, sentiments of these eminent persons, have been very willing to defend them from so scandalous an imputation.

‡ Mather, B. i. cap. 5. Neal, i. 118, 149, 151. Hutchinson, i. 32, 42, 86. and Appendix. No. iv. Oldmixon, i. 42, and in Pref. p. 12. Chalmers, 158, 159, 160, 161. Hazard, 421, 422, 423, &c. 433, 434. The American historians of this period are exceedingly careless, and most perplexingly discordant in their notation of dates, as I have frequently experienced, though never with so much inconvenience as in the arrangement of the events related in this paragraph.

withdrawn from the freemen, and vested in the council of assistants; and although the freemen reclaimed and renewed their rights in the following year, yet the exercise of legislation was confined almost entirely to the council of assistants, till the introduction of the representative system in the year 1631. From this time the council and the freemen, assembled together, formed one general court, till the year 1644, when it was ordained that the governor and assistants should sit apart; and thence commenced the separate existence of the democratic branch of the legislature, or house of representatives. Elections were conducted by ballot, in which the balls or tickets tendered by the electors were appointed to consist of Indian beans.

Some notice of the peculiarities of legislation that already prevailed in the various communities of New England, seems proper to illustrate the state of society and manners among this singular people. By a fundamental law of Massachusetts it was enacted, "that all strangers professing the christian religion, who shall flee to this country from the tyranny of their persecutors, shall be succored at the public charge till some provision can be made for them." Jesuits and popish priests, however, were subjected to banishment, and in case of their return, to death. This persecuting law was afterwards extended to the quakers; and all persons were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to import any of "that cursed sect," or of their writings, into the colony. By what provocations the quakers of that period excited these severities, we shall have an opportunity of considering hereafter. These persecuting edicts had no place in Rhode Island, where none were subjected to active molestation for religious opinions, and all were admitted to the full rights of citizenship except Roman Catholics. The usual punishments of great crimes were disfranchisement, banishment and servitude; but slavery was not permitted to be inflicted upon any except captives lawfully taken in the wars; and these were to be treated with the gentleness of christian manners, and to be entitled to all the mitigations of their lot enjoined by the law of Moses. Disclaiming all but defensive war, the colonists considered themselves entitled and constrained in self-defence to deprive their assailants of a liberty which they had abused and rendered inconsistent with the safety of their neighbors. The practice, however, was highly impolitic, and served to pave the way, at a later period, for the introduction of negro slavery into New England.

Adultery was punished by death; and fornication by compelling the offending parties to marry (an absurd device, which served to degrade the institution of marriage), or by fine and imprisonment. Burglary or robbery was punished, for the first offence by branding, for the second with superaddition of a severe flogging, and for the third with death; but if either of these crimes, while yet not inferring a capital punishment, were committed on Sunday, an ear was to be cut off in addition to the other inflictions. We must beware of supposing that these penal enactments indicate the existence, much less the frequency, of the crimes to which they refer. In those communities where civilization has been a gradual attainment, penal laws denote the prevalence of the crimes they condemn. But in the colonial establishments of a civilized people, many of the laws must be regarded merely as the expression of the opinion of the legislators, and by no means as indicating the actual condition of society. Blasphemy and idolatry were punishable with death; and though it was acknowledged in the preamble to one of the laws, "that no human power is lord over the faith and consciences of men," yet heresy, by this very law, was punished with banishment from the province. Witchcraft, and perjury directed against human life, were capital punishments. No capital charge was deemed capable of being proved by evidence less weighty than the oaths of two witnesses—a regulation that deserves to be universally established, as well on account of its own intrinsic soundness, as of its original derivation from the wisdom of the Creator and searcher of human hearts.

All gaming was prohibited; cards and dice were forbidden to be imported, and dancing in ordinaries was proscribed. By a law enacted in 1646, kissing a woman in the street, even in the way of civil salute, was punished by flogging. This law was executed about a century afterwards, on the captain of an English man of war, for saluting his wife, whom he met, after a long separation, in the streets of Boston. Flogging was not considered an infamous punishment by the people of Massachusetts; and even so late as the

middle of the eighteenth century, there were instances of persons who after undergoing this punishment, have associated with the most respectable circles of society in Boston. The economy of laws was regulated with a strictness that deserves to be noted as explanatory of a circumstance that has frequently excited the surprise of European travellers in America. The intemperance and immorality which these places are apt to promote, was punished with the utmost rigor; and all innkeepers were required, under the severest penalties, to restrain the excesses of their guests, or to acquaint the magistrates with their perpetration. For the more effectual enforcement of this law, it was judged expedient that innkeepers should be divested of the temptation that poverty presents to its infraction, and enjoy such personal consideration as would facilitate the exercise of their difficult duty; and, accordingly, none were permitted to follow this calling but persons of approved character and competent estate. One of the consequences of this policy has been, that an employment very little respected in other countries, has ever been creditable in the highest degree in New England, and not unfrequently pursued by men who have retired from the most honorable stations in the civil or military service of the state.

Persons wearing apparel which the grand jury should account unsuitable to their estate, were to be admonished in the first instance, and if contumacious, fined. Idleness, lying, swearing, and drunkenness, were subjected to various penalties and marks of disgrace. Usury was forbidden; and the prohibition was not confined to the interest of money, but extended to the hire of laboring cattle and implements of husbandry. Persons deserting the English settlements, and living in heathen freedom and profanity, were punished by fine and imprisonment. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them and other notorious offences; was (in conformity with the Mosaic code) subjected to capital punishment; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. Yet the parental authority was not left unregulated. All parents were commanded to instruct and catechise their children and servants, whom the select men or overseers were directed to remove from their authority and commit to fitter hands, if they were found deficient in this duty; and children were allowed to seek redress from the magistrate if they were denied convenient marriage. The celebration of the ceremony of marriage was confined to the magistrate or such other persons as the general court should authorize. Their law of tenures was exceedingly simple and concise. The charter had conveyed the general territory to the company and its assigns; and it was very early enacted, "that five years' quiet possession shall be deemed a sufficient title." Instead of enacting or in-

* The regulation of apparel was considered a fit subject of public police in England as late as the reign of Elizabeth, who, by a proclamation, appointed watches of grave citizens to be stationed at the gates of London in order to circumscribe with their scissars all the ruffs of passengers that exceeded certain legal dimensions. Stow. Chron. 869. By an act passed in the thirteenth year of the same sovereign's reign, hats were considered as a luxury; and all persons under a certain age commanded to wear woollen caps. In the churchwardens' accounts of the parish of Fulham is this item: "1678, paid for discharge of the parish for wearing hats, contrary to the statute, 5s. 3d."

† That these laws were not allowed to be a dead letter, appears from the following extracts from the earliest records of the colonial court. "John Wedgewood, for being in the company of drunkards, to be set in the stocks. Catharine, the wife of Richard Cornish, was found suspicious of incontinency, and seriously admonished to take heed. Thomas Pett, for suspicion of slander, idleness, and stubbornness, is censured to be severely whipped. Captain Lovel admonished to take heed of light carriage. Josias Plawstone, for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians, is ordered to return them eight baskets, to be fined five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, and not Mr., as formerly he used to be." Hutchinson, p. 436. Few obtained the title of Mr. in the colony; still fewer that of Esquire, Goodman and goodwife were the common appellations. It was to merit and services rather than wealth, that the distinctive appellations were given. Ibid. The strictness and scrupulousness of manners affected by many of the inhabitants exceeded the standard of the laws; and associations appear to have been formed for suppressing the drinking of healths, and wearing of long hair and of periwigs. Ibid. 151. In some instances, the purposes of these associations were afterwards adopted and enforced by the laws. It is related of some of the earlier settlers, that with a most absurd exaggeration of rigidity, they refrained from brewing on Saturday, because the beer would work upon Sunday. Douglas, Summary of the British settlements in America, i. 371.

‡ Such regulations were not unknown in Scotland. So late as the year 1678, a law was enacted by the corporation of the town of Rutherglen, commanding all parents to send their children to school, and adjudging that the schoolmaster should be entitled to his fees for every child in the parish, whether sent to his school or not. Ure's History of Rutherglen, p. 79.

tending that the deficiencies of their legislative code should be supplied by the common or statute law of England, it was declared, that when the customs of the commonwealth were found defective, recourse should be had to the word of God.*

Like the tribes of Israel, the colonists of New England had forsaken their native land after a long and severe bondage, and journeyed into the wilderness for the sake of religion. They endeavored to cherish a resemblance of condition, so honorable and so fraught with incitements to piety, by cultivating a conformity between their laws and customs and those which had distinguished the people of God. Hence arose some of the peculiarities which we have observed in their legislative code; and hence arose also the practice of commencing their sabbatical observances on Saturday evening, and of accounting every evening the commencement of the ensuing day. The same predilection for Jewish customs begot, or at least promoted, among them the habit of bestowing significant names on children, of whom the first three that were baptised in Boston church received the names of Joy, Recompense, and Pity. This custom seems to have prevailed with the greatest force in the town of Dorchester, which long continued to be remarkable for such names as Faith, Hope, Charity, Deliverance, Dependence, Preserved, Content, Prudent, Patience, Thankful, Hate-evil, Holdfast, and others of a similar character.

CHAPTER III.

New England embraces the cause of the Parliament—Federal Union between the New England States—Provincial exchange of money—Disputes occasioned by the Disfranchisement of Dissenters in Massachusetts—Impeachment and trial of Governor Winthrop—Arbitrary proceedings against the Dissenters—Attempts to convert and civilize the Indians—Character and labors of Elliot and Mayhew—Indian Bible printed in Massachusetts—Effects of the Missionary labor—A synod of the New England churches—Dispute between Massachusetts and the Long Parliament—The Colony foils the Parliament and is favored by Cromwell—The Protector's administration beneficial to New England—He conquers Acadia—His propositions to the inhabitants of Massachusetts—Declined by them—Persecution of the Anabaptists in Massachusetts—Conduct and sufferings of the Quakers—The Restoration—Address of Massachusetts to Charles the Second—Alarm of the colonists, and their declaration of Rights—The king's Message to Massachusetts—how far complied with—Royal charter of incorporation to Rhode Island and Providence, and to Connecticut and Newhaven

The coincidence between the principles of the colonists and the prevailing party in the Long Parliament, was cemented by the consciousness, that with the success of this body was identified the defence of the colonial liberties from the dangers that had so recently menaced them. [1641.] As soon as the colonists were informed of the convocation of that famous assembly, they despatched Hugh Peters and two other persons to promote the colonial interests in England. The mission terminated more fortunately for the colony than for its ambassadors. By a vote of the House of Commons in the following year, [1642] the inhabitants of all the various plantations of New England were exempted from payment of any duties, either upon goods exported thither, or upon those which they imported into the mother country, "until the House shall take further order therein to the contrary." The colonists, in return, cordially embraced the cause of their benefactors; and when the civil wars broke out in England, they passed an ordinance expressive of their approbation of the measures of parliament, and denouncing capital punishment against any who should disturb the peace of the commonwealth by endeavoring to raise a party for the King of England, or by discriminating between the king and the parliament, who

* Abridgment of the Ordinances of New England, apud Neal, i. Append. iv. p. 665, &c. Trumbull, i. 124. Josselyn, 178. Burnaby's Travels in America, 146. Chalmers, 167, 8. 276. W.throp's Hist. (Savage's edition), i. 73. The primitive rigidity discernible in some of these laws was tempered by a paternal benevolence of administration. Many instances of this occur in Mather's Lives of the Governors. One I may be permitted to notice as a specimen. Governor Winthrop being urged to prosecute and punish a man who pillaged his magazine of firewood in winter, declared he would soon cure him of that bad practice; and, accordingly, sending for the delinquent, he told him, "You have a large family, and I have a large magazine of wood; come as often to it as you please, and take as much of it as you need to make your dwelling comfortable.—And now," he added, turning to his friends, "I defy him to steal my firewood again."

† The reasons assigned by the House for this resolution, are, that the plantations of New England are likely to conduce to the propagation of the gospel, and already "have by the blessing of the Almighty had good and prosperous success without any public charge to the state." Yet, a few years after, the parliament expressed a different opinion of the obligations of Virginia to the endowment of the mother country, though, in this respect, the situation of the two colonies was precisely the same.

truly maintained the cause of the king as well as their own. Happily for themselves, they were unable to signalize their predilection by more active interference in the contest; and, with a wise regard to their commercial interests, they gave free ingress into their harbors to trading vessels from the ports in possessions of the king. They had likewise the good sense to decline an invitation that was sent to them, to depute Mr. Cotton, and others of their ministers, to attend, on their behalf, the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. Encouraged by the privileges that had been conferred on them, their industry made vigorous progress, and population rapidly increased. From the continent, they began to extend their occupation to the adjacent islands; and Mr. Mayhew, having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles, laid the foundation there of settlements that afterwards proved eminently serviceable to the conversion and civilization of the Indians. But an attempt which they made at the same time to extend, if not their settlements, at least their principles, in another quarter of the continent, proved quite unsuccessful. The colonists of Virginia were in general staunch royalists, and, with comparatively little of the substance of religion, united a strong attachment to the forms and constitutions of the church of England. Yet, as we have seen, they had received, even as early as the reign of James, an accession to their numbers, composed of persons who had imbibed puritan sentiments, and had fled from ecclesiastical persecution in England. A deputation from this portion of the Virginian settlers had been lately sent to Boston to represent their destitution of a gospel ministry, and solicit a supply of ministers from the New England churches. In compliance with this request, three clergymen were selected to proceed to Virginia, and furnished with recommendatory letters from the governor of Massachusetts to Sir William Berkeley. On their arrival in Virginia, they began to preach in several parts of the country, and the people flocked to hear them with an eagerness that might have been productive of important consequences. But the puritan principles, no less than the political sentiments of the colonists of New England, were too much the objects of aversion to Sir William Berkeley to admit of his encouragement being extended to proceedings so calculated to propagate their influence among his own people. So far from complying with the desire of his brother governor, he issued an order by which all persons who would not conform to the ceremonies of the church of England were commanded to depart from Virginia by a certain day. The preachers returned to their own settlement; and thus was laid the foundation of a jealousy which long subsisted between the two oldest colonies of North America.

The failure of this endeavor to establish a friendly intercourse with the sister colony of Virginia, was amply compensated to the New England settlers by an important event in their history, which occurred during the following year; [1643.] the formation of a league by which they were knit together in the frame of a confederacy that greatly increased their security and power. The Naraganset Indians had by this time had ample leisure to reflect on the policy of their conduct towards the Pequods; and the hatred which they had formerly cherished against that tribe being extinguished in the destruction of its objects, had been succeeded by an angry jealousy of those strangers who had obviously derived the chief and only advantage of which that event was productive. They saw the territories of their ancient rivals occupied by a much more powerful neighbor; and, mistaking their own inability to improve their advantages for the effect of fraud and injustice on the part of the colonists, who were so rapidly surpassing them in number, wealth, and power, they began to complain that the plunder of the Pequods had not been fairly divided, and proceeded to concert measures with the neighboring tribes for an universal insurrection of the Indians against the English. Their designs had advanced but a little way towards maturity, when they were detected in consequence of a sudden gust of that inordinate passion of private revenge which seemed fated to pervert and defeat their political views. The colonists, from the groundless murmurs they found themselves exposed to, and which proved only the rooted dislike of the savages, were sensible of their own danger without yet being aware of its extent, or feeling themselves entitled to anticipate some more certain indication of it; when, happily, they were called upon to act as umpires between two contending tribes. The Naragansets having conceived some disgust against a neighboring chief, employed an assassin to kill him; and failing in this attempt, plunged into a

war with the declared intention of exterminating the whole of his tribe. This tribe, who were at peace with the English, sent their chief to implore the protection of the Massachusetts colonists, who promised their interposition in his behalf. The Naragansets, apprised of this proceeding, recollecting the fate of the Pequods, and aware how well they deserved to share it, were struck with terror, and throwing down their arms, concluded a peace dictated to them by the English. When they found the danger blown over, they paid so little attention to the performance of their paction, that it was not till the colonists had made a demonstration of their readiness to employ force that they sullenly fulfilled it. Alarmed by such indications of fickleness, dislike, and furious passion, the government of Massachusetts deemed it prudent to provide by a mutual concert of the colonies, for the common danger which they might expect to encounter at no distant day, when the savages, instructed by experience, would sacrifice their private feuds to combined hostility against a people whose progressive advancement seemed to minister occasion of incurable jealousy. Having conceived, for this purpose, a plan which was framed in imitation of the bond of union among the Dutch provinces, and which readily suggested itself to some of their leading characters who had resided with the Brownist congregation in Holland, they proposed it to the neighboring settlements of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, by which it was cordially embraced. These four colonies accordingly entered into a league of perpetual confederacy, offensive and defensive. It was stipulated that the confederates should thenceforth be distinguished by the title of the United Colonies of New England: that each colony should remain separate and distinct, and have exclusive jurisdiction within its own territory; that in every war, offensive or defensive, each of the confederates should furnish its quota of men, money, and provisions, at a rate to be fixed from time to time in proportion to the number of people in each settlement; that an assembly composed of two commissioners from each colony should be held annually, with power to deliberate and decide on all points of common concern to the confederacy; and every determination sanctioned by the concurrence of six of their number, should be binding on the whole. The state of Rhode Island, which was not included in this confederacy, having petitioned a few years after to be admitted into it, her request was refused, except on the condition, which she declined, of merging her separate existence in an incorporation with the state of Plymouth. Thus excluded from the protection of the league or union, the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence endeavored to provide for their security by conciliating the friendship of the Indians; and in the prosecution of their humane and courteous policy they were eminently successful.

The colonists have been reproached with arrogating the rights of sovereignty in this transaction, which truly may be regarded as a considerable step to independence. Yet it was a measure that could hardly be avoided by a people surrounded with enemies, and abandoned to their own resources in a territory many thousand miles removed from the seat of the government that claimed sovereign dominion over them. Every step that a people so situated made in enlarging their numbers, combining their resources, or otherwise promoting their security, was a step towards independence. Nothing but some politic system, or a series of events that might have kept the various settlements continually disunited in mutual jealousy and weakness, could have secured their perpetual existence as a dependent progeny of England. But whatever effects the transaction which we have considered may have secretly produced on the course of American sentiment and opinion, and however likely it may now appear to have planted the seminal idea of independence in the minds of the colonists, it was regarded neither by themselves nor by their English rulers as indicating pretensions unsuitable to their condition. Even after the Restoration, the commissioners of the union were repeatedly noticed and recognised in the letters and official instruments of Charles the Second; and the union itself with some alterations subsisted till the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James. A few years after its establishment, the principal concern to which its efforts and deliberations were devoted was the conversion of the Indians, in co-operation with the society instituted by parliament in Britain for propagating the gospel in New England.

While the colonists were thus employed in measures calculated to secure and protect their institutions, the

parliament passed an ordinance carrying a most formidable aspect, and fraught with consequences the most injurious to their rights. It appointed the Earl of Warwick governor-in-chief, and lord high admiral of the colonies, with a council of five peers and twelve commoners to assist him; it empowered him, in conjunction with his associates, to examine the state of affairs in the colonies; to send for papers and persons; to remove governors and officers, and to appoint others in their place, and delegate to them as much of the power granted to himself by the ordinance as he should think proper. This appointment, which created an authority that might have new-modelled all the colonial governments, and abrogated all their charters, was not suffered to remain entirely inoperative. To some of the settlements the parliamentary council extended protection, and even granted new patents. Happily for Massachusetts, either the favor which it was thought to deserve, or the absorbing interest of the great contest that was carrying on in England, prevented the council from interfering with its institutions till a period when the colonial assembly were able, as we shall see, to employ defensive measures that defeated its undesirable interposition without disputing its formidable authority.

Various disputes had subsisted between the inhabitants of New England and the French settlers in Acadia. [1644] These were at length adjusted by a treaty between a commissioner for the king of France on the one part, and John Endicot, Esq. governor of New England, and the rest of the magistrates there, on the other.* The colonists had already debarred themselves from recognising the king as distinct from the parliament; and they probably found it difficult to explain to the other contracting parties to what denomination of authority they considered themselves to owe allegiance. This state of things, as it led to practices, so it may have secretly fostered sentiments, that savoured of independence. A practice strongly fraught with the character of sovereign authority was adopted a few years after, when the increasing trade of the colony with the West Indies, and the quantity of Spanish bullion that was brought through this channel into New England, induced the colonial authorities, for the purpose of preventing frauds in the employment of the circulating medium in this inconvenient shape, to erect a mint for the coining of silver money at Boston. The coin was stamped with the name of New England on the one side, of Massachusetts, as the principal settlement, on the other, and with a tree as an apt symbol of the progressive vigor which the colony had evinced. Maryland was the only other colony that ever presumed to coin any metal into money; and indeed this prerogative has been always regarded as the peculiar attribute of sovereignty. "But it must be considered" says one of the colonial historians, "that at this time there was no king in Israel." In the distracted state of England it might well be judged unsafe to send their bullion there to be coined; and from the uncertainty respecting the form of government which might finally arise out of the civil wars, it might reasonably be apprehended that an impress received during their continuance would not long retain its favor and currency. The practice gave no umbrage whatever to the English government. It received the tacit allowance of the parliament, of Cromwell, and even of Charles the Second during twenty years of his reign.

The separation of the two branches of the legislature of Massachusetts naturally gave rise to some disputes respecting the boundaries of jurisdiction in a constitution not yet matured by practice. But what precedent could not supply the influence and estimation of the clergy of the province was able to effect. [1645] By common consent, all the ministers were summoned to attend the session of the assembly, and the points at issue being submitted to them, their judgment was willingly embraced and assented to.† But in the following year [1646] a

* Journals of the House of Lords, vol. vi. p. 291. Chalmers, 175, 6. The people of Maine appear to have solicited the protection of the council in 1651. Hazard, 559.

† Hutchinson, 143, 4. One of the controversies that had occurred at this time between the two houses originated in a matter not more illustrious, than a difference of sentiment respecting the identity of a sow, which was claimed from the herd of a richer neighbor by a poor woman, who pretended that it had strayed from her some years before. Behold how great a matter a little fire will kindle! Not the court only, but the whole country was divided by this question, which, poverty concurring with resentment of imposition on the one part, and indignation at a charge that effected his character on the other, induced the parties to contest with the utmost rage and pertinacity. The identity of Martin Guerre was not more keenly controverted in France. Compassion for the poor woman prevailed with the poorer class of people over

disension much more violent in its nature, and much less creditable and satisfactory in its issue, was occasioned in this state by the intolerance which we have already noted in its original institutions. With the increasing prosperity and importance of the colony, the value of its political franchises had been proportionably augmented; and the increasing opulence and respectability of the dissenters seemed to aggravate the hardship of the disfranchisement to which they were subjected. Some of these having violently assumed the privileges from which they were excluded by law, and disturbed an election by their interference, were punished by Mr. Winthrop, the deputy-governor, who vigorously resisted and defeated their pretensions. They complained of this treatment to the general court by a petition couched in very strong language, demanding leave to impeach the deputy-governor before the whole body of his fellow-citizens, and to submit to the same tribunal the consideration of their general grievances, as well as of the particular severities they had experienced from Winthrop. The grievances under which they labored were enumerated in the petition, which contained a forcible remonstrance against the injustice of depriving them of their rights as freemen, and of their privileges as christians, because they could not join as members with the congregational churches, or when they solicited admission into them were arbitrarily rejected by the ministers. They petitioned that, either the full rights of citizenship might be communicated to them, or that they might no longer be required to obey laws to which they had not given assent,—to contribute to the maintenance of ministers who denied them the benefit of their ministry, and to pay taxes imposed by an assembly in which they were not represented. The court were so far moved by the petition, or by the respectability of its promoters, that Mr. Winthrop was commanded to defend himself publicly from the charges which it advanced against him.

On the day appointed for his trial he descended from the tribunal, and placing himself at the bar in presence of a numerous assemblage of the inhabitants, he proceeded to vindicate his conduct to his judges and fellow citizens. Having clearly proved that his proceedings had been warranted by law, and had no other end than to maintain the existing institutions, by the exercise of the authority which had been committed to him for that purpose, he concluded an excellent harangue in the following manner*. "Though I be justified before men, yet it may be the Lord hath seen so much amiss in my administration as calls me to be humbled: and indeed for me to have been thus charged by men is a matter of humiliation, whereof I desire to make a right use before the Lord. If Miriam's father spit in her face, she is to be ashamed." Then proceeding to enforce some considerations calculated, he said, to rectify the opinions of the people on the nature of government: "The questions," he observed, "that have troubled the country have been about the authority of the magistracy and the liberty of the people. It is you who have called us unto this office; but being thus called we have our authority from God. Magistracy is the ordinance of God, and it hath the image of God stamped upon it; and the contempt of it has been vindicated by God with terrible examples of his vengeance. I entreat you to consider that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject unto like passions with yourselves. If you see our infirmities, reflect on your own, and you will not be so severe censors of ours. The covenant between us and you is the oath you have exacted of us, which is to this purpose, 'That we shall govern you and judge your causes according to God's laws and the particular statutes of the land, according to our best skill.' As for our skill, you must run the hazard of it; and if there be an error only therein, and not in the will, it becomes you to bear it. Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature, which is affected both by men and beasts, to do what they list. This liberty is inconsistent with authority; impatient of all restraint (by this liberty *sumus omnes deteriores*;) 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty, which is the proper end and object of authority: it is a liberty for

that only which is just and good. For this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives; and whatsoever crosses it is not authority but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke, and lose their true liberty by their murmuring at the honor and power of authority."

The circumstances in which this address was delivered, remind us of scenes in Greek and Roman history; while the wisdom, worth, and dignity that it breathes, resemble the magnanimous vindication of a Judge of Israel. Mr. Winthrop was not only honorably acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so powerfully to the esteem of his fellow citizens by this and all the other indications of his character, that he was chosen governor of the province every year after as long as he lived*. His accusers incurred a proportional degree of public displeasure: their petition was dismissed, and several of the chief promoters of it severely reprimanded, and adjudged to make confession of their fault in seeking to subvert the fundamental laws of the colony. Refusing to acknowledge that they had done wrong, and still persisting in their demands of an alteration of the law, with very indiscreet threats of complaining to the parliament, they were punished with fine or imprisonment. As several of these persons were known to be inclined to the form of presbytery, and as that constitution was also affected by the prevailing party in the English House of Commons, the menace of a complaint to parliament excited general alarm and indignation; and several of the petitioners having made preparations to sail for England, with very significant hints of the changes they hoped to effect by their machinations there, some of them were placed under arrest, and their papers were violently taken from them. Among these papers were found petitions to Lord Warwick, urging a forfeiture of the colonial charter, the introduction of a presbyterian establishment, and of the whole code of English jurisprudence, into the colonial institutions, with various other innovations, which were represented as no less accordant with legislative wisdom and justice, than adapted to the important end of securing and effectuating the supreme dominion of the parliament over the colony. The discovery of the intolerance meditated by these persons served to exasperate the intolerance which themselves were experiencing from the society of which they formed but an insignificant fraction. The contents of their papers excited so much resentment that not a voice was raised against the arbitrary measure by which they had been intercepted; and the alarm was increased by the conviction of the utter impossibility of preventing designs so dangerous from being still attempted. The warmth of the public sentiment, as well as the peculiar nature of the subject that had excited it, introduced this all-prevalent topic into the pulpit; and even Mr. Cotton was so far overtaken with infirmity, as to declare, in a sermon, "That if any one should carry writings or complaints against the people of God in this country to England, he would find himself in the case of Jonas in the vessel." This was a prediction which a long voyage was very likely to realize. In effect, a short time after, certain deputies from the petitioners having embarked for England, were overtaken by a violent storm, and the sailors recollecting the prediction that had gone abroad, and, happily, considering the papers, and not the bearers of them, as the guilty parties, insisted so vehemently on casting all obnoxious writings overboard, that the deputies were compelled to commit their credentials to the waves. When they arrived in England, however, they did not fail to prosecute their application; but the attention of the parliamentary leaders at that time being deeply engaged with more important matters, and Winslow and Hugh Peters, on behalf of the colony, actively labouring to counteract their purposes, they obtained little attention and no redress.

From the painful contemplation of the intolerance of the colonists, and their inordinate contentions about the forms of religion, it is pleasing to turn to the substantial fruits of christian character evinced by those

noble exertions for the conversion of the Indians that originated in the same year that had witnessed so much dissension and violence. The circumstances that had promoted the emigrations to New England, had operated with particular force on the ministers of the puritans; and so many of them had accompanied the other settlers, that among a people who derived less enjoyment from the exercises of piety, the numbers of the clergy would have been thought exceedingly burdensome and very much disproportioned to the wants of the laity. This circumstance was highly favorable to the promotion of religious habits among the colonists, as well as to the extension of their settlements, in the plantation of which the co-operation of a minister was considered indispensable. It contributed also to suggest and facilitate missionary labor among the heathens, to whom the colonists had ascribed themselves by superadding the ties of a common country to those of a common nature. While the people at large were daily extending their industry, and overcoming by cultivation the rudeness of desert nature, the clergy eagerly looked around for some addition to their peculiar sphere of usefulness, and at a very early period entertained designs of redeeming to the dominion of piety and civility, the neglected wastes of human character that lay stretched in savage ignorance and idolatry around them. John Elliot, one of the ministers of Roxbury, a man whose large soul glowed with the intensest flame of zeal and charity, was strongly penetrated with a sense of this duty, and for some time had been diligently laboring to overcome the preliminary difficulty by which its performance was obstructed. He had now at length attained such acquaintance with the Indian language as enabled him not only himself to speak it with fluency, but to facilitate the acquisition of it to others, by the construction and publication of a system of *Indian grammar*. Having completed his preparatory inquiries, he began, in the close of this year, a scene of labor which has been traced with great interest and accuracy by the ecclesiastical historians of New England, and still more minutely, I doubt not, in that eternal record where alone the actions of men attain their just, their final, and everlasting proportions. It is a remarkable feature in his long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, evinced a steady and vigorous increase. He appears never to have doubted its continuance; but, constantly referring it to God, he felt assured of its derivation from a source incapable of being wasted by the most liberal communication. He delighted to maintain this communication by incessant prayer, and before his missionary labors commenced, he had been known in the colony by the name of "praying Elliot"—a noble designation, if the noblest employment of a rational creature be the cultivation of access to the Author of his being. Rarely, very rarely, I believe, has human nature been so completely embued, refined, and elevated by religion. Every thing he saw or knew occurred to him in a religious aspect: every faculty, and every acquisition that he derived from the employment of his faculties, was received by him as a ray let into his soul from that Eternity for which he continually panted. As he was one of the holiest, so was he also one of the happiest of men; and his life for many years was a continual outpouring of his whole being in devotion to God and charity to mankind.*

The kindness of Elliot's manner soon gained him a favorable reception from many of the Indians; [7] and both parties were sensible of the expediency of altering the civil and domestic habits that counteracted the impressions which he attempted to produce, he obtained from the general court an allotment of land in the neighborhood of the settlement of Concord, in Massachusetts, upon which a number of Indian families proceeded, by his directions, to build fixed habitations, and where they eagerly received his instructions both spiritual and secular. It was not long before a violent opposition to these innovations was excited by the powows, or Indian priests, who threatened death and other imprecations of the vengeance of the idols on all who should embrace christianity. The menaces and

* He died in the year 1690. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into his soul, and at length all his faculties (he said) seemed absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he did, he replied, "I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me; but I thank God joy charity holds out still, I find that rather grows than fails." Richard Baxter declared that these words had given him inexpressible comfort, and that the account of Elliot's life, which he read when he himself was laboring under a dangerous illness, had recalled him from the brink of the grave. Mather, B. iii. Neal, ii. 470.

all sense of equity: and, at length, even those magistrates who considered the defendant in the right, concurred in persuading him to surrender the object of dispute, and to forbear to seek his own at the expense of the tranquillity of the colony.

* Various editions of this speech have been published. It appears now, from the continuation of Winthrop's own journal (edited by Mr. Savage), that all these were abridgments. Mather's which I have followed, is the best.

* This excellent magistrate (says Cotton Mather) continually exemplified the maxim of Theodosius, that "if any man speak evil of the ruler, if it be through lightness, 'tis to be condoned; if it be through madness, 'tis to be pitied; if through malice, 'tis to be forgiven." One of the colonists who had long manifested much ill will towards his person, at length wrote to him, "Sir, your overcoming of yourself hath overcome me." His death, in 1649, was deeply and universally bewailed; and all declared that he had been the father of the colony, and the first no less in virtue than in place. Mather, B. iv.

artifices of these persons caused several of the seeming converts to draw back, but induced others to separate themselves more entirely from the society and converse of their countrymen, and seek the benefit and protection of a closer association with that superior race of men who showed themselves so generously willing to diffuse and communicate all the means and benefits of their superiority. A considerable body of Indians resorted to the land allotted them by the colonial government, and exchanged their wild and barbarous habits for the modes of civilized living and industry. Mr. Elliot was continually among them, instructing, animating, and directing them. They felt his superior wisdom, and saw him continually happy; and there was nothing in his circumstances or appearance that indicated sources of enjoyment from which they were debarred; on the contrary, it was obvious that of every article of selfish comfort he was willing to divest himself in order to communicate to them what he esteemed the only true riches of an immortal being. He who gave him this spirit, gave him favor in the eyes of the people among whom he ministered: and their affection for him reminds us of those primitive ages when the converts were willing, as it were, to pluck out their eyes if they could have given them to their pastor. The women in the new settlement learned to spin, the men to dig and till the ground, and the children were instructed in the English language, and taught to read and write. As the numbers of domesticated Indians increased they built a town by the side of Charles river, which they called *Natick*; and they desired Mr. Elliot to frame a system of internal government for them. He directed their attention to the counsel that Jethro gave to Moses; and, in conformity with it, they elected for themselves rulers of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens. The colonial government also appointed a court which, without assuming jurisdiction over them, offered the assistance of its judicial wisdom to all who should be willing to refer to it the determination of their more difficult or important subjects of controversy. In endeavoring to extend their missionary influence among the surrounding tribes, Mr. Elliot and his associates encountered a variety of success corresponding to the visible varieties of human character and the invisible predeterminations of the Divine will. Many expressed the utmost abhorrence and contempt of christianity: some made a hollow profession of willingness to hear, and even of conviction, with the view, as it afterwards appeared, of obtaining the tools and other articles of value that were furnished to those who proposed to embrace the modes of civilized living. In spite of every discouragement the missionaries persisted; and the difficulties that at first mocked their efforts seeming at length to vanish under an invisible touch, their labors were blessed with astonishing success. The character and habits of the lay colonists tended to promote the efficacy of these pious labors, in a manner which will be forcibly appreciated by all who have examined the history and progress of missions. Simple in their manners, devout, moral, and industrious in their lives, they enforced the lessons of the missionaries by demonstrating their practicability and beneficial effects, and presented a model which, in point of refinement, was not too elevated for Indian imitation.

While Mr. Elliot and an increasing body of associates were thus employed in the Province of Massachusetts, Thomas Mayhew, a man who combined in a wonderful degree an affectionate mildness that nothing could disturb with an ardor and activity that nothing could overcome, together with a few conditors, not less diligently and successfully prosecuted the same design in Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Elizabeth Isles, and within the territory comprehended in the Plymouth patent. Abasing themselves that they might elevate their species and promote the Divine glory, they wrought with their own hands among those Indians whom they persuaded to forsake savage habits; and zealously employing all the influence they acquired to the communication of moral and spiritual improvement, their labors were eminently blessed by the same Power which had given them the grace so fully to devote themselves to his service. [1647.] The character and manners of Mayhew appear to have been singularly calculated to excite the tenderness no less than the veneration of the objects of his benevolence, and to make them feel at once how amiable and how awful true goodness is. His address derived a captivating interest from that earnest concern, and high and holy value, which he manifestly entertained for every member of the family of mankind. Many years after his death the Indians could not hear his name mentioned without shedding tears and expressing transports of grateful emotion.

Both Elliot and Mayhew found great advantage in the practice of selecting the most docile and ingenious of their Indian pupils, and by especial attention to their instruction, qualifying them to act as schoolmasters among their brethren. To a zeal that seemed to increase by exercise, they added insurmountable patience and admirable prudence; and, steadily fixing their view on the glory of the Most High, and declaring that, whether outwardly successful or not in promoting it, they felt themselves blessed and happy in pursuing it, they found its influence sufficient to light them through every perplexity and peril, and finally conduct them to a degree of success and victory unparalleled, perhaps, since that era when the miraculous endowments of the apostolic ministry caused a nation to be born in a day. They were slow to push the Indians upon improved institutions; they desired rather to lead them insensibly forward, more especially in the adoption of religious ordinances. Those practices, indeed, which they considered likely to commend themselves by their beneficial effects to the natural understanding of men, they were not restrained from recommending to their early adoption; and trial by jury very soon superseded the savage modes of determining right or ascertaining guilt, and contributed to improve and refine the sense of equity. In the dress and mode of cohabitation of the savages, they also introduced at an early period, alterations calculated to form and develop a sense of modesty, in which the Indians were found to be grossly and universally defective. But all these practices which are, or ought to be, exclusively the fruits of renewed nature and Divine light, they desired to teach entirely by example, and by diligently radiating and cultivating in the minds of their flocks the principles out of which alone such practices can lastingly and beneficially grow. It was not till the year 1660 that the first Indian church was founded by Mr. Elliot and his fellow-laborers in Massachusetts. There were at that time no fewer than ten settlements within the province, occupied by Indians comparatively civilized.

Mr. Elliot had from time to time translated and printed various approved religious works for the use of the Indians, and, at length, in the year 1664, the Bible was printed, for the first time in the language of the new world, at Cambridge in Massachusetts.* This great achievement was not effected without the assistance of pecuniary contributions from the mother country. The colonists had zealously and gladly co-operated with their ministers, and assisted to defray the cost of their charitable undertakings; but the increasing expenses threatened at last to exceed what their means were able to supply. Happily, the tidings of this great work excited a kindred spirit in the parent State, and in the year 1649 was formed there, by act of parliament, a *Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England*, whose co-operation proved of essential service to the missionary cause. This society, having been dissolved at the Restoration, was afterwards re-erected by a charter from Charles the Second, obtained by the exertions of the pious Richard Baxter and the influence of the great Robert Boyle, who was thus the benefactor of New England as well as of Virginia. Supported by its ample endowments, and the no less liberal contributions of their own fellow-colonists, the American missionaries exerted themselves with such energy and success in the work of converting and civilizing the savages, that, before the close of the seventeenth century, there were in the province of Massachusetts more than thirty congregations of Indians, comprising upwards of three thousand persons reclaimed from a gross degrading barbarism, and advanced to the comfort and respectability of civilized life, and the dignity and happiness of worshippers of the true God, through the mediation of the only name by which men can know or approach him. There were nearly as many converts to religion and civility in the islands of Massachusetts Bay; there were several Indian congregations in the Plymouth territories; and among some of the tribes that still adhered to their roving barbarous mode of life, there was introduced a considerable improvement in their civil and moral habits. When we reflect on the toils that these missionaries encountered, on the vast and varied difficulties they were enabled to overcome, and survey the magnificent expanse of happiness and virtue that arose from their exertions; and,

* I have seen a copy of this edition of the Bible in the library of the late George Chalmers. It is a beautiful piece of typography.

Many earlier publications had already issued from the fertile press of New England. One of the first was a new metrical translation of the Psalms—very literal, and very unpoetical. To this last imputation the New Englanders answered, "that God's altars needs not our polishings." Oldmixon i. 109, 110.

when looking backwards, we trace the stream of events to its first spring in the pride and cruelty that was let loose to fortify the zeal of the puritans, and finally, to drive them from their native land to the scene appointed for this great and happy achievement;—we acknowledge the unseen but eternal control of that Being who projects the end from the beginning, who alone does the good that is done in the earth, and beneath whose irresistible will, the depravity that opposes, no less than the virtue that coincides with it, are but the instruments that blindly or knowingly effect its fulfilment.

Among the various difficulties that obstructed the changes which the missionaries attempted to introduce into the habits of the Indians, it was found that the human constitution had been deeply deteriorated by ages of savage life. Habits of alternate energy and sloth, indulged from generation to generation, seemed at length to have given a character or bias to the animal faculties almost as deeply ingrained as the depraved hue of the negro body, and to have seriously impaired the capacity of continuous exertion. In every employment that demanded steady labor, the Indians were found decidedly inferior to the Europeans. The first missionaries, and their immediate successors, sustained this discouragement without shrinking, and animated their converts to resist or endure it. But, at a later period, when it was found that the taint which the Indian constitution had received continued to be propagated among descendants educated in habits widely different from those of their forefathers, many persons began too hastily to apprehend that the imperfection was incurable; and missionary ardor was abated by the very circumstance that most strongly demanded its revival and enlargement. In concurrence with this cause of decline in the progress of the great work which we have contemplated, the energetic gratitude of the first converts from darkness to light had subsided; and the consequence unhappily was, that a considerable abatement ensued of the piety, morality, and industry, of the Indian communities that had been reclaimed from savage life. But the work has not been lost; its visible traces were never suffered to perish: amidst occasional decline and revival, it has always been manifest, and the people gathered to God from this barbarous and deeply-revolted kindred have never been permitted to disappear.

I have been induced to overstep very considerably the march of time, in order to exhibit a brief but unbroken view of this great scene of missionary labor. We now return to follow more leisurely the general stream of the affairs of the colony.

Shortly after the dissensions that had prevailed in the year 1646, the general court recommended the assembling of a general synod of the churches in order to frame an uniform scheme of church discipline for all the colonial congregations. The proposal was resisted by several of the churches, which expressed great apprehension of the arbitrary purposes and superstitious devices which might be promoted by the dangerous practice of convocating synods. [1648.] But, at length, the persuasion generally prevailing that an assembly of this description possessed no inherent authority, and that its functions were confined to the tendering of counsel, the second synod of New England was called together at Cambridge. The confession of faith that had recently been published by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was thoroughly examined and unanimously approved. Three of the most eminent ministers of the colony, Cotton, Partridge, and Mather, were then appointed to prepare a model of discipline for the instruction of the colonial churches. The *Platform of Church Discipline*, which they composed accordingly, and presented to the synod, after many long debates, received the general approbation and universal acquiescence.

1649.] A dispute had for some time subsisted between Massachusetts and Connecticut respecting a tax which the latter state had imposed, and which Massachusetts considered with good reason to operate unfairly on a portion of her people. Having complained to the confederacy, and not obtaining redress as speedily as they considered themselves entitled to expect, the legislative authorities of Massachusetts passed an act imposing a retaliatory duty not only on goods from Connecticut, but on importations from all the other states of the confederation. This unjust proceeding could be supported only by an appeal to the privilege of the strongest; a privilege which Massachusetts was well able to enforce, that the other confederates had nothing to oppose but the usual, though often ineffectual, expedient of the weak. Happily for them and for herself, their ally, though liable to be betrayed into error by resentment and partially, was not intoxicated

with conscious power. They presented a remonstrance to the general court of Massachusetts, desiring it "seriously to consider whether such proceedings agree with the law of love, and the tenor of the articles of confederation." On receiving this remonstrance, the government of Massachusetts, superior to the mean shame of acknowledging a wrong, consented to suspend the obnoxious ordinance.* [1650.]

But Massachusetts, in the following year, [1651.] was engaged in a dispute with a power still more formidable to her than she was to her confederates, and much less susceptible of sentiments of moderation and forbearance. The Long Parliament having now established its authority at home, was determined to exact an implicit recognition of it from all the dependencies of the state, and even to introduce such recognition into all the charters and official proceedings of subordinate communities. A requisition was accordingly transmitted to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, to send their charter to London, to take out a new patent from the keepers of the liberties of England, and to hold all courts, and issue all writs, in the name of this description of authority. This command excited the utmost alarm in the colony; nor could all the attachment of the people to the cause of the parliament† reconcile them to a surrender of the title under which their settlements and institutions had been formed, and which had never obstructed their subordination to the authorities that now proposed to revoke it. The parliament had no more right to supersede the original patent of the colony, than to require the city of London, or any of the other corporations of England, to submit their charters to similar dissolution and renovation. But the colonists were well aware that the authorities which had issued this arbitrary mandate had the power to enforce it; and, accordingly, declining a direct collision, they reverted to the policy, which they had once successfully employed to counteract the tyrannical intentions of the king, and succeeded in completely foiling this assembly, so renowned for its success, resolution, and capacity. The general court, instead of surrendering the patent, transmitted a petition to the parliament against the enforcement of this mandate, setting forth, that "these things not being done in the late king's time or since, it was not able to discern the need of such an injunction." It represented the condition and authority on which the settlers had originally come to New England, their steadfast adherence to the cause of the parliament throughout the civil wars, and their present explicit recognition of its supremacy; and prayed that the people might not now be worse dealt with than in the time of the king, and instead of a governor and magistrates annually chosen by themselves, be required to submit to others imposed on them against their wills. The general court at the same time addressed a letter to "the

Lord General Cromwell," for the purpose of interesting his powerful mediation in their behalf, as well as of dissuading him from the prosecution of certain measures which he himself had projected for their advantage. The peculiar character which the New England colonists had displayed, the institutions they had established, and their predilection for the independent model of church government which he himself so highly admired, had recommended them in the most powerful manner to the esteem of this extraordinary man: and his favorable regards were enhanced by the recollection of the plan he had formed, and so nearly realized, of uniting his destiny with theirs in America. Nor were they at all abated by the compassion and benevolence with which the colonists received a considerable body of unfortunate Scots whom Cromwell had caused to be transported to Massachusetts after the battle of Dunbar, and of which he was informed by a letter from Mr. Cotton.* He seemed to consider that he had been detained in England for their interests as well as his own, and never ceased to desire that they should be more nearly associated with his fortunes, and cheered with the rays of his grandeur. He had conceived an ardent desire to be the author of an enterprise so illustrious as the revocation of these men to the country from which they had been so unworthily expelled; and as an act of honorable justice to themselves, as well as for the advantage of Ireland, he had recently broached the proposal of transporting them from America, and establishing them in a district of this island, which was to be evacuated for their reception. In their letter to him, the general court, which had been apprised of this scheme, acknowledged, with grateful expressions, the kind consideration which it indicated; but declined to avail themselves of it, or abandon a land where they had experienced so much of the favor of God, and were blessed with such prospects of converting the heathen. They at the same time recommended their petition against the parliamentary measures to his friendly countenance, and beseeched "his Excellency to be pleased to show whatsoever God shall direct him unto, on the behalf of the colony, to the most honorable parliament." It may be presumed, that Cromwell's mediation was successfully employed, as the requisition that had been transmitted to the general court was not further prosecuted.†

The successes of the Long Parliament had begotten in its leading members a growing spirit of dominion, of which the colonies did not fail to experience the operation. In the history of Virginia we have beheld the laws by which the traffic of all the colonies with foreign nations was prohibited, and the ordinances and proceedings by which the subjugation of that refractory settlement was enacted and enforced. The state of Massachusetts, which was desirous, as far as possible, to act in concurrence with the parliament, and was perfectly sincere in recognizing its supremacy, co-operated with its ordinance against Virginia, by prohibiting all intercourse with that colony till it had been reduced by the parliamentary forces. But it was not over those settlements alone, which opposed its supremacy, that the parliament was disposed to indulge the spirit of dominion; and though Massachusetts was protected from its designs by the interference of Cromwell, Maryland, which had received its establishment from

Charles the First, was compelled to receive the alterations of its official style which Massachusetts had evaded; [1652]* and Rhode Island beheld the very form of government which it had received from the parliament itself in 1643, suspended by an order of the council of state. What might have ensued upon this order, and what similar or further proceedings might have been adopted by the parliament relative to the other colonies, were intercepted by its own dissolution, and the convergence of the whole power of the English commonwealth in the strong hands of Oliver Cromwell.

[1653.] The ascendancy of the protector proved highly beneficial to all the American colonies, except Virginia, which, on account of the political tenets of its inhabitants, he regarded even with greater displeasure than the catholic establishment of Maryland. Rhode Island, immediately after his elevation, resumed the form of government which the parliament had recently suspended; and, by the decisive vigor of his interference, the people of Connecticut and Newhaven were relieved from the apprehensions they had long entertained of the hostile designs of the Dutch colonists of New York. All the New England states were thenceforward exempted from the operation of the parliamentary ordinance against trade with foreign nations; and both their commerce and security derived a great increase from the conquest which the protector's arms achieved, of the province of Acadia from the French. But it was Massachusetts that occupied the highest place in his esteem; and to the inhabitants of this settlement he earnestly longed to impart a dignity of external condition proportioned to the elevation which he believed them to enjoy in the favor of the great Sovereign of all mankind. The reasons for which they had declined his offer of a settlement in Ireland, however likely to commend themselves to his approbation, were still more calculated to draw forth his regard for a people who felt the force of such generous considerations. When his arms had effected the conquest of Jamaica, he conceived the project of transplanting the colonists of Massachusetts to that beautiful island; [1655.] and, with this view, he strongly represented to them, that, by establishing themselves and their principles in the West Indies, they would carry the sword of the gospel into the very heart of the territories of popery, and that consequently they ought to deem themselves as strongly called to this ulterior removal, as they had been to their original migration. He endeavored to incite them to embrace this project by promises of his unflinching countenance and support, and of having the whole powers of government vested entirely in their own hands, and by expatiating on the rich productions of the torrid zone, with which their industry would be rewarded in this new settlement: and with these considerations he blended an appeal to their conscience, in pressing them to fulfil, in their own favor, the promise which, he said, the Almighty had given to *make his people the head, and not the tail*. He not only urged these views upon the agents and correspondents of the colonists in England, but despatched one of his own officers to solicit on the spot their compliance with his proposal. But the colonists were exceedingly averse to abandon a country where they found themselves happy and in possession of a sphere of increasing usefulness; and the proposal was the more unacceptable to them from the accounts they had received of the sickness of Jamaica. [1656] The general court accordingly returned an address, declining, in the name of their fellow-citizens, to embrace the protector's offer, and withal beseeching his Highness not to impute their refusal to indifference to his service, or to an ungrateful disregard of his concern for their welfare.† Thus, by the overruling influence of that Power by which their steps had been so signally directed, were the colonists prevented, on two occasions, from availing themselves of the injudicious promotion which Cromwell was so eager to bestow. Had they removed to Ireland, they would themselves shortly after have been subjected to slavery: had they pro-

* Hutchinson i. 156. Chalmers, 192, 3. Another dispute, which occurred about three years after between Massachusetts and the other confederated states, is related with great minuteness, and I think with no small injustice and partiality, by the respectable historian of Connecticut. In 1653, a discovery was supposed to have been made of a conspiracy between Stuyvesant, the governor of the Dutch colony, and the Indians, for the extermination of the English. The evidence of this sanguinary project (which Stuyvesant indignantly disclaimed) was held sufficient, and the resolution of a general war embraced, by all the commissioners of the union except those of Massachusetts. The general court of this province judged the proof inconclusive, and were fortified in this opinion by the judgment of their clergy, which they consented to abide by. To all the remonstrances of their allies, they answered, that no articles of confederation should induce them to undertake an offensive war which they considered unjust, and on which they could not ask or expect the blessing of God. The historian of Connecticut, not content with reproaching this breach of the articles of union, vehemently maintains that the scruples of Massachusetts were insincere. Trumbull, vol. i. cap. x. But, in truth, the evidence of the Dutch plot labored under very serious defects, which were much more coolly weighed by the people of Massachusetts, than by the inhabitants of Connecticut and Newhaven, exasperated by frequent disputes with the Dutch, and, by their proximity, exposed to the greatest danger from Dutch hostilities. In the beginning of the following century, the situation of the provinces was so far reversed, that Massachusetts was compelled to solicit Connecticut for aid in a general war with the Indians; and, on this occasion, Connecticut remote from the scene of action, at first refused her aid upon scruples, which she afterwards ascertained to be groundless, respecting the lawfulness of the war. Trumbull, vol. ii. cap. 5.

† Though attached to the cause of the parliament, the people of New England had so far forgotten their own wrongs, and escaped the contagion of the passions engendered in the civil war, that the tragical fate of the king appears to have excited general grief and concern. The public expression of such sentiments would have been equally inexpedient and unavailing; but that they were entertained is very manifest. See Hutchinson, i. 157. In this the puritans of America were not singular. No man in England made greater efforts to save Charles' life than William Prynne the puritan, than whom no man had suffered more severely from his tyranny.

* Cromwell was far from being incapable of appreciating the merit or tolerating the praise of a foe; and the finest tribute that was ever paid to the dignified courage with which Charles the First encountered his fate, is contained in an ode by the patriot and poet, Andrew Marvell, addressed to the protector.

† Hutchinson i. 176. and Append. 516, 520. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, 235. Chalmers, 184, 5. The commissioners for New England, who were sent thither by Charles the Second, asserted, in their narrative, that the colony solicited Cromwell to be declared a free state. Hutchinson's Collection of papers, p. 420. This is highly unlikely, and was suggested perhaps by misrepresentation or misapprehension of the circumstances related in the text. The publication of Governor Winthrop's Journal has now clearly proved that the leading men in Massachusetts entertained from the beginning a considerable jealousy of parliamentary jurisdiction. "In 1641," says Winthrop, "some of our friends in England wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hopes that we might obtain much; but, consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration: that if we should put ourselves under the protection of parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us; in which course, though they should intend our good, yet it might prove very prejudicial to us." Winthrop's Journal, p. 218. Hence it is obvious that the people of New England, in acknowledging the supremacy of parliament, had respect to it not as a legislative body, but as administering the functions of royalty. They never willingly admitted that the mother country possessed a legislative control over them; or that, in forsaking her shores, they had left behind them an authority capable of sending after them the evils from which they had fled.

* This year Massachusetts lost its eminent preacher, patriarch, and peace-maker, John Cotton. Finding himself dying, he sent for the magistrates and ministers of the colony, and, with solemnity and tenderness, bade them farewell for a while. Few men have ever occupied so large room as this man possessed in the hearts of his countrymen.

† Hutchinson, i. 180, 190—192. Chalmers, 292, 192, 188. Hazard, 633. A similar answer was returned by Newhaven to a similar application from the protector. Trumbull, i. 228. There were not wanting some wild spirits among the colonists, who relished the protector's proposals. The notorious Venner, who headed the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men in England after the Restoration, was for some time an inhabitant of Salem, and prevailed with a party of zealots there to unite in a scheme of emigration to the West Indies. But the design was discouraged by the clergy, and intercepted by the magistrates. Oldmixon, i. 47.

ceeded to Jamaica, they would have been exposed to a strong and dangerous temptation of inflicting that justice upon others. In the mind of Cromwell, a vehement ardor was singularly combined with the most profound and deliberate sagacity; and enthusiastic sentiments were not unfrequently blended with politic considerations, in proportions which it is little likely that he himself was aware of, or that any spectator of his actions can hope to adjust. It is obvious, on the one hand, that his propensities to the colonists, on both occasions, were connected with the securer establishment of his own dominion in Ireland, and the preservation of his conquest in the West Indies. But it is equally certain, on the other, that the colonists incurred neither displeasure, nor even abatement of his cordial friendship, by refusing to promote the schemes on which he was so strongly bent: nay, so powerfully had they captivated his rugged heart, that they were able to maintain his favor, even while their intolerance discredited the independent principles which he and they concurred in professing; and none of the complaints with which he was long harassed on their account by the anabaptists and quakers, whose proceedings and treatment in the colony we are now to consider, were ever able to deprive the people of the place they had gained in the protector's esteem.

The colonists had been of late years involved occasionally in hostilities with some of the Indian tribes, and in disputes with the Dutch, by whose machinations it was suspected that these savages were more than once instigated to conspire against them. But these events had been productive of greater alarm than injury; and by far the most serious troubles with which the colonists were infested were those which arose from religious dissensions. Of all the instances of persecution that occur in the history of New England, the most censurable in its principle, though happily also the least vehement in the severities which it produced, was the treatment inflicted on the anabaptists by the government of Massachusetts. The first appearance of these sectaries in this province was in the year 1651, when, to the great astonishment and concern of the community, seven or eight persons, of whom the leader was one Obadiah Holmes, all at once professed the baptist tenets, and separated from the congregation to which they had belonged, declaring that they could no longer take counsel, or partake divine ordinances, with unbaptized men, as they pronounced all the other inhabitants of the province to be. The erroneous doctrine which thus unexpectedly sprang up was at this time regarded with peculiar dread and jealousy, on account of the horrible enormities of sentiment and practice with which the first professors of it in Germany had associated its reputation; and no sooner did Holmes and his friends set up a baptist conventicle for themselves, than complaints of their proceedings, as an intolerable nuisance, came pouring into the general court from all quarters of the colony. From the tenor of these complaints, it appears, that the influence of that infamous association, by which the wretched Boccold and his frantic followers at Munster had stained and degraded the baptist tenets, still preserved its force in the minds of men, and that the profession of these tenets was calculated to awaken suspicions of the grossest immorality of conduct. Holmes was accused of having dishonored the Almighty, not only by scattering his people and denying his ordinance, but by the commission of profligate impurities, and the shameful indecency with which it was alleged that his distinctive rite was administered. It is admitted by the colonial historians, that the evidence that was adduced in support of these latter charges was insufficient to establish them. The court at first proceeded no farther than to adjudge Holmes and his friends to desist from their unchristian separation; and they were permitted to retire, having first, however, publicly declared that they would follow out the leadings of their consciences, and obey God rather than man. Some time after, they were apprehended on a Sunday, while attending the preaching of one Clark, a baptist, from Rhode Island, who had come to propagate his tenets in Massachusetts. The constables who took them into custody carried them to church, as a more proper place of christian worship; where Clark put on his hat the moment that the minister began to pray. Clark, Holmes, and another, were sentenced to pay small fines, or be flogged; and thirty lashes were actually inflicted on Holmes, who resolutely persisted in choosing a punishment that would enable him to shew with what constancy he could suffer for what he believed to be the truth. A law was at the same time passed, subjecting to banishment from the colony every person who should openly condemn or oppose the baptism of infants, who

should attempt to seduce others from the use or approbation thereof, or purposely depart from the congregation when that rite was administered, "or deny the ordinance of the magistracy, or their lawful right or authority to make war." From these last words it would appear, that the baptists either held, or were reported to hold, along with the proper tenets from whence they have derived their denomination, principles that might well be deemed adverse to the stability of government and the safety of society. In addition to this, we are assured by Cotton Mather, that it was the practice of the anabaptists, in order to strengthen their party and manifest their contempt for the clerical congregations, to receive at once into their body every person whom the established church had suspended from ecclesiastical privileges for licentiousness of conduct, and even to appoint these persons administrators of the sacrament among them. Yet, even with these and other extenuating considerations, it is impossible to acquit the government of Massachusetts of having violated in this instance the rights of conscience, and made men offenders for the fidelity with which they adhered to what they firmly, though erroneously, believed to be the will of God, in relation of a matter purely ecclesiastical.* The eagerness with which every collateral charge against the baptists was credited in the colony, and the vehement impatience with which their claim of toleration was rejected, forcibly indicate the illiberality and delusion by which their persecutors were governed; and may suggest to the christian philosopher a train of reflections no less instructive than interesting on the self-deceit by which men so commonly infer the honesty of their convictions, and the rectitude of their proceedings, from that resentful perturbation which far more truly indicates a secret consciousness of injustice and inconsistency. There is not a more common nor more pernicious error in the world than that one virtue may be practised at the expense of another. Where sincerity without charity is professed, there is always reason to suspect the professor of a dishonest disregard of the secret surmises of his own spirit.

It is mortifying to behold such tares growing up in the field that was already so richly productive of missionary exertion and other fruits of genuine and exalted piety. The severities that were employed proved in the end totally ineffectual to restrain the growth of the baptists' tenets; though for the present the professors of these doctrines appear to have either desisted from holding separate assemblies, or to have retired from Massachusetts. Some of them proceeded to England, and complained to Cromwell of the persecution they had undergone; but he rejected their complaint, and applauded the conduct of the colonial authorities.

The treatment which the quakers experienced in Massachusetts was much more severe, but, at the same time, undoubtedly much more justly provoked. It is difficult for us, in the calm and rational demeanor of the quakers of the present age, to recognise the successors of those wild enthusiasts who first appeared in the north of England, about the year 1614, and began a few years after to be distinguished by the name of quakers. In the mind of George Fox, the collector of this sectarian body and the founder of their system of doctrine, there existed a singular mixture of christian sentiment and gospel truth, with a deep shade of error and delusion. Profoundly pious and contemplative, but constitutionally visionary and hypochondriacal,† he appears at first to have suspected that the peculiarities of his mental impressions might have arisen from some malady which advice could remove; and an old clergyman, to whom he applied for counsel, advised him to seek a cure of what was spiritual in his disorder by

* The baptists who were exiled from Massachusetts were allowed to settle in the colony of Plymouth (Hutchinson, ii. 478), whence it may be strongly inferred, that they did not in reality profess (as they were supposed by the people of Massachusetts to do) principles adverse to the safety of society. The charge probably originated in the extravagance of a few of their own number, and the impatience and injustice of their adversaries.

† Several eminent christian teachers have been afflicted with hypochondriacal affections, and in a greater or less degree deluded by the strange impressions of which they render the mind susceptible. That great and good man, David Brainerd, in particular, labored under this disease all his life; and though it did not affect his views of divine life, it exercised a most unhappy influence on his sentiments, and produced much of what is gloomy and visionary in the account which he composed of his own experience. This is expressly avowed by his biographer, President Edwards, who was intimately acquainted with him. So delusive is this insidious malady, that perhaps none of its victims has ever been aware how far he was subject to its influence. Brainerd's partial consciousness of it, prevented it from extending its influence from his feelings to his understanding.

singing psalms, and of what was bodily by smoking tobacco. Fox rejected both parts of the prescription as unsuitable to his condition, because disagreeable to his taste; and being now convinced that others were incapable of understanding his ease, he took it entirely into his own hands, and resolved to cherish, study, and, if possible, cultivate into distinctness the unintelligible motions of his spirit; in short, to follow the leadings of his fancy as far as they would carry him. Unsuspicious of morbid influence, or of the deceitfulness of his own imagination, he yielded implicit credence to every suggestion of his mind, and was given up in an amazing degree to the delusions which, by prayer to the Almighty, he might have been enabled to overcome and dispel. Yet the powerful hold which the Scriptures had already taken of his mind, and the strong determination towards solid and genuine piety which his spirit had thence derived, prevented him from wandering into the same monstrous extravagance which the conduct of many of his associates and followers very speedily evinced. In his journal, which is one of the most remarkable and interesting productions of the human mind, he has faithfully related the influence which his tenets produced on the sentiments and conduct both of himself and his followers. It displays in many parts a wonderful insight into spiritual things, together with numberless instances of that delusion by which he mistook a strong perception of wrong and disorder in human nature and civil society, for a supernatural power to rectify what he saw amiss. He relates with perfect approbation many instances of contempt of decency and order in his own conduct, and of most insane and disgusting outrage in that of his followers; and though he reprobates the extravagances of some whom he denominates *Ranters*, it is not easy to discriminate between the extravagance which he sanctions and that which he condemns. Amidst much darkness, there glimmers a bright and beautiful ray of truth: many passages of Scripture are powerfully illustrated; and labors of zeal and piety, of courage and integrity, are recorded, that would do honor to the ministry of an inspired apostle. That his personal character was elevated and excellent in an unusual degree, appears from the impression it produced on the minds of all who approached him. Penn and Barclay in particular, who to the most eminent virtue added talents of the first order, regarded Fox with the utmost fondness and veneration.

It was this man who first embraced and promulgated those tenets which have ever since remained the distinctive principles of quaker doctrine—that the Holy Spirit, instead of operating (as the generality of christians believe it in all ordinary cases to do) by insensible control of the ordinary motions of the mind, acts by direct and sensible impulse on the spirit of man; that its influence, instead of being obtained by prayer to Him who has promised to bestow it on those who ask it, is procured by an introversion of the intellectual eye upon the mind where it already resides, and in the stillness and watchful attention of which, the hidden spark will blaze into a clear inward light and sensible flame; and that the Spirit, instead of simply opening the minds of men to understand the Scriptures and receive their testimony, can and does convey instruction independently of the written word, and communicate knowledge which is not to be found in the Scriptures. These dangerous errors have never been renounced by the quakers, though their practical influence has long since abated, and indeed had considerably declined before the end of that century, about the middle of which they arose. In proportion as they have been cultivated and realized, has been the progress of the sect into heresy of opinion or wild delusion of fancy and irregularity of conduct: in proportion as they have subsided, has been the ascendancy which real piety or rational and philosophical principle has obtained over the minds of the quakers. Even in the present day, we behold the evil influence of these erroneous doctrines, in the frequently silent meetings of the quakers, in the licence which they give to women to assume the office of teachers in the church, and in the abolition of the sacraments so distinctly instituted and enjoined in Scripture. But when these doctrines were first published, the effects which they produced on many of their votaries, far exceeded the influence to which modern history restricts them, or which the experience of this cool and rational age finds it easy to conceive. In England, at that time, the minds of men were in an agitated unsettled state, inflamed with the rage of speculation, strongly endued with religious sentiment, and yet strongly averse to restraint. The bands that had so long restrained liberty of speech being suddenly broken, many crude thoughts were eagerly broached,

and many peculiar notions that had long been fermenting in the unwholesome silence of locked up bosoms, were brought forth: and all these were presented to minds roused and whetted by civil war, kindled by great alarms or by vast and indeterminate designs, and so accustomed for a length of time to effect or contemplate the most surprising changes, that the distinction between speculation and certainty was greatly effaced. The presbyterians alone, or nearly alone, appear to have been generally willing to submit to, as well as to impose, restraint on the lawless licence of speculation; and to them the quakers, from the beginning, were objects of unmixed disapprobation and even abhorrence. But to many other persons, this new scheme, opening a wide field of enthusiastic speculation, and presenting itself without the restrictive accompaniment of a creed, exhibited irresistible attractions, and rapidly absorbed a great variety of human character and feeling. Before many years had elapsed, the ranks of the quakers were recruited, and their doctrines, without being substantially altered, were moulded into a more systematic shape, by such an accession of philosophical votaries, as, in the early ages of the church, christianity itself derived from the pretended adoption and real adulteration of its doctrines, by the disciples of the Platonic philosophy. But it was the wildest and most enthusiastic dreamers in the country, that the quaker tenets counted among their earliest votaries, and to whom they afforded a sanction and stimulus to the boldest excursions of lawless and uncertain thought, and a principle that was thought to consecrate the most irregular and disorderly conduct. And accordingly these sectarians, who have always professed and inculcated the maxims of inviolable peace, who not many years after were accounted a class of philosophical deists seeking to pave the way to a scheme of natural religion, by allegorizing the distinguishing articles of the christian faith, and who are now in general remarkable for a calm benevolence and a peculiar remoteness from every active effort to make proselytes to their distinctive tenets, were, in the infancy of their body, the most impetuous zealots and inveterate disputers; and in their eagerness to proselytize the world, and to bear witness from the fountain of oracular testimony, which they supposed to reside within them, against a regular ministry which they called a priesthood of Baal, and against the sacraments which they termed carnal and idolatrous observances, many of them committed the most revolting blasphemy, indecency, and disorderly outrage.* The unfavorable impression that these actions created, long survived the extinction of the frenzy and folly that produced them.

While in pursuance of their intentions to make proselytes of the whole world, some of the quakers proceeded to Rome, in order to convert the pope, and others to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Grand Turk; a party of them proceeded to America and established themselves in Rhode Island, where persons of every religious denomination were permitted to settle in peace, and none gave heed to the sentiments or practices of his neighbors. From hence they soon made their way into the Plymouth territory, where they succeeded in persuading some of the people to embrace the mystical dispensation of an inward light as comprising the whole of religion, and to oppose all order, both civil and ecclesiastical, as a vain and judaizing substitution of the kingdom of the flesh for the kingdom of the spirit. On their first appearance in Massachusetts, where two male and six female quakers arrived from Rhode Island and Barbadoes, they found that the reproach which their sect had incurred by the insane extravagance of some of its members in England, had preceded their arrival, and that they were objects of the utmost terror and dislike to the great body of the people. They were instantly apprehended by the government, and diligently examined for what were considered bodily marks of witchcraft. None such having been found, they were sent back to

* The frenzy that possessed many of the quakers had reached its height in the year 1656, the very year in which the quakers first presented themselves in Massachusetts. See the proceedings in the House of Commons against James Nayler, a quaker, for blasphemy. *Howells State Trials*, vol. v. p. 801. This unhappy person represented himself as the redeemer of the human race. Some particulars of his frenzy are related in Note IX. He lived to recant his errors, and even wrote sensibly in defence of the quaker body, who were by this time increasing in respectability, and were yet so magnanimous as to acknowledge as a friend the man who had done such disservice to their cause. It is a remarkable and significant fact, that at the very time when the separate teaching of the spirit was most strongly insisted on by the quakers, and the office and work of the Saviour of mankind of consequence least alluded to, several of their own members (more or less insane, no doubt) believed this office to be vested in themselves.

the place whence they came, by the same vessels that had brought them, and prohibited with threats of the severest penal inflictions from ever again returning to the colony. A law was passed at the same time subjecting every ship-master importing quakers or quaker writings to a heavy fine; adjudging all quakers who should intrude into the colony to stripes and labor in the house of correction, and all defenders of their tenets to fine, imprisonment or exile. The four associated states concurred in this law, and urged the authorities of Rhode Island to co-operate with them in stemming the progress of quaker opinions; but the assembly of that island returned for answer, that they could not punish any man for declaring his mind with regard to religion; that they were much disturbed by the quakers, and by the tendency of their doctrines to dissolve all the relations of society; but that they found that the quakers delighted to encounter persecution, quickly sickened of a patient audience, and had already begun to loathe Rhode Island as a place where their talent of patient suffering was completely buried.* It is much to be lamented that the advice contained in this good-humored letter was not adopted. The penal enactments resorted to by the other settlements, served only to inflame the impatience of the quaker zealots to carry their teaching into places that seemed to them so much in need of it; and the persons who had been disappointed in their first attempt returned almost immediately, and, dispersing themselves through the colony, began to announce their mysterious impressions, and succeeded in communicating them to some of the inhabitants of Salem. They were soon joined by Mary Clarke, the wife of a tailor in London, who announced that she had left her husband and six children, in order to carry a message from heaven, which she was commissioned to deliver to New England. Instead of joining with the colonial missionaries in attempts to reclaim the savages from their barbarous superstition and profligate immoralities, or themselves prosecuting separate missions of the same description, these people raised their voices against every thing that was most highly approved and revered in the doctrine and practice of the colonial churches. Having been seized and flogged, they were again dismissed with severer threats from the colony, and again they returned by the first vessels they could procure. The government and the great body of the colonists were incensed at their pertinacity, and shocked at the impression they had already produced on some minds, and which threatened to corrupt and subvert a system of piety whose establishment and perpetuation supplied their fondest recollections, their noblest enjoyment, and most energetic desires. [1657.] New punishments were introduced into the legislative enactments against the intrusion of quakers and the profession of quakerism; and in particular the abscission of an ear was added to the former ineffectual severities. [1658.] Three male quaker preachers endured the rigor of this cruel law.

But all the exertions of the colonial authorities proved utterly unavailing, and seemed rather to stimulate the zeal of the obnoxious sectaries to encounter the danger and court the glory of persecution. Clouds of quakers descended upon the colony; and, violent and impetuous in provoking persecution, calm, resolute, and inflexible in sustaining it, they opposed their powers of endurance to their adversaries' power of infliction, and not only multiplied their converts, but excited a considerable degree of favor and pity in the minds of men whose own experience had taught them to respect and sympathize with the virtue of suffering well †

* Gordon and other writers have represented the letter from Rhode Island to Massachusetts as conveying a disguised rebuke of intolerance, and have quoted a passage to this effect, which they have found somewhere else than in the letter itself.

Roger Williams, who contributed to found the state of Rhode Island, endeavored, some years after this period, to extirpate the quaker heresy, by challenging some of the leaders of the sect, who had come out on a mission to their brethren from England, to hold a public disputation with him on their tenets. They accepted his challenge, and their historians assure us that the disputation, which lasted for several days, ended "in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man." Gough and Sewel, li. 131. It is more probable that, like other public disputations, it ended as it began.

† Except one of the women, Mary Fisher, who travelled to Adrianople, and had an interview with the Grand Vizier, by whom she was received with courteous respect. Bishop, the quaker, in his "New England Judged," observes that she fared better among heathens than her associates did among professing Christians. He was perhaps not aware that the Turks regard insane persons as inspired. But whether insane or not, she was not altogether divested of a prudent concern for her own safety; for "when they asked her what she thought of their prophet Mahomet, she made a cautious reply, that she knew him not."

† A story is told by Whitelocke, p. 399, strongly illustrative

When the quakers were committed to the house of correction, they refused to work; when they were subjected to fines, they refused to pay them. In the hope of enforcing compliance, the court adjudged two of these contumacious persons to be sold as slaves in the West Indies; but as even this appalling prospect could not move their stubborn resolution, the court, instead of executing its inhuman threat, resorted to the unavailing device of banishing them beyond its jurisdiction. It was by no slight provocations, that the quakers attracted these and additional severities upon themselves. Men trembled for the faith and morals of their families and their friends, when they heard the blasphemous denunciations that were uttered against "a carnal Christ;" and when they beheld the frantic and indecent outrages that were prompted by the mystical impressions which the quakers inculcated and professed to be guided by. In public assemblies, and in crowded streets, it was the practice of some of the quakers to denounce the most tremendous manifestations of divine wrath on the people, unless they forsook their carnal system. Others interrupted divine service of the churches, by calling aloud that these were not the sacrifices that God would accept; and one of them enforced this assurance by breaking two bottles in the face of the congregation, exclaiming, "Thus will the Lord break you in pieces." They declared that the Scriptures were replete with allegory, that the inward light was the only infallible guide to religious truth, and that all were blind beasts and liars who denied it. The female preachers far exceeded their male associates in folly, frenzy, and indecency. One of them presented herself to a congregation with her face begrimed with coal dust, announcing it as an emblem of the black pot, which heaven had commissioned her to threaten as an approaching judgment on all carnal worshippers. Some of them in rueful attire perambulated the streets, declaring the immediate coming of an angel with a drawn sword to plead with the people. One woman entered stark naked into a church in the middle of divine service, and desired the people to take heed to her as a sign of the times; and her associates highly extolled her submission to the inward light, that had revealed to her the duty of exposing the nakedness of others by the indecent exhibition of her own person. Another was arrested as she was making a similar display in the streets of Salem. The horror that these insane enormities were fitted to inspire, was inflamed into the most vehement indignation, by the deliberate manner in which they were defended, and the disgusting profanity with which Scripture was linked in impure association with every thing that was odious, ridiculous, and contemptible. Among their other singularities, the quakers exemplified and inculcated the forbearance of every mark of respect to courts and magistrates: they declared that governors, judges, lawyers, and constables were trees that must be cut down that the true light might have leave to shine and space to rule alone; and, forgetting to what diabolical ends quotation of Scripture has been made subservient they freely indulged every contumacious whimsey, which they could connect, however absurdly, with the language of the Bible. One woman who was summoned before the court to answer for some extravagance, being desired to tell where she lived, refused to give any other answer than that she lived in God, "for in him we live, and move, and have our being." Letters replete with coarse and virulent railing were addressed by others to the magistrates of Boston and Plymouth. Such was the inauspicious outset of the quakers in America; a country where, a few years after, under the guidance of better judgment and feeling, they were destined to extend the empire of piety and benevolence, and to found establishments that have been largely productive of happiness and virtue.

It has been asserted by some of the modern apologetes of the quakers, that these frantic irregularities, which excited so much indignation, and produced such tragical consequences, were committed, not by genuine quakers, but by the *ranters* or wild separatists from the

of the singularity with which the quakers of these times combined all that was frantic in action with all that was dignified and affecting in suffering. Some quakers at Haddington in Northumberland, having interrupted a minister employed in divine service, were severely beaten by the people. Instead of resisting, they went out of the church, and falling on their knees, besought God to pardon their persecutors, who knew not what they did; and afterwards addressing the people, who convinced them of the cruelty of their violence, that their auditors fell a quarrelling among themselves, and beat one another more than they had formerly beaten the quakers. These sectarians would seem, indeed, to have imitated the prophets of the Old Testament in provoking their fate, and the christian apostles and martyrs in enduring it.

quaker body. Of these ranters, indeed, a very large proportion appear to have betaken themselves to America; attracted chiefly by the glory of persecution, but in some instances, perhaps by the hope of attaining among their brethren in that country a distinction from which they were excluded in England by the established pre-eminence of George Fox.* It is certain, however, that these persons assumed the name of quakers, and traced all their frenzy to the peculiar quaker principle of seeking within themselves for sensible admonitions of the spirit, independent of the written word. And many scandalous outrages were committed by persons whose profession of quaker principles was recognized by the quaker body, and whose sufferings are related, and their frenzy applauded, by the pens of quaker writers.

Exasperated by the repetition and increase of these enormities, and the extent to which the contagion of the principle whence they seemed to arise was propagating itself in the colony, the magistrates of Massachusetts at length, in the close of this year, introduced a law, denouncing the punishment of death upon all quakers returning from banishment. This law met with much opposition; and many persons, who would have hazarded their own lives to extirpate the opinions of the quakers, solemnly protested against the cruelty of shedding their blood. It was at first rejected by the deputies, and finally carried by the narrow majority of a single voice. In the course of the two following years, [1650, 1660.] this law was carried into execution on three separate occasions, when four quakers, three men and a woman, were put to death at Boston. It does not appear that any of these unfortunate persons had been guilty of the outrages which the conduct of many of their brethren had associated with the profession of quakerism. Oppressed by the prejudice which had been created by the frantic conduct of others, they were adjudged to die for returning from banishment and continuing to preach the quaker doctrines. In vain the court entreated them to accept a pardon on condition of abandoning for ever the colony from which they had been repeatedly banished. They answered by reciting the heavenly call to continue there, which on various occasions, they said, had sounded in their ears, in the fields, and in their dwellings distinctly, syllabling their names, and whispering their prophetic office and the scene of its exercise.† When they were conducted to the scaffold, their demeanour evinced the most inflexible zeal and courage, and their dying declarations breathed in general the most sublime and affecting piety. These executions excited a great clamor against the government, many persons were offended by the representation of severities against which the establishment of the colony itself seemed intended to bear a perpetual testimony; and many were touched with an indignant compassion for the sufferings of the quakers, that effaced all recollection of the indignant disgust that their principles had heretofore inspired. The people began to flock in crowds to the prisons, and load the unfortunate quakers with demonstration of kindness and pity. The magistrates published a very strong vindication of their proceedings, for the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens and of their friends in other countries, who united in blaming them; but at length the rising sentiments of humanity and

justice attained such general and forcible prevalence as to overpower all opposition. On the trial of Leddra, the last of the sufferers, another quaker named Wenlock Christison, who had been banished upon pain of death, came boldly into court with his hat on, and reproached the magistrates for shedding innocent blood. He was taken into custody, and soon after put upon his trial. Being called to plead to his indictment, he desired to know by what law they tried him. When the last enactment against the quakers was cited to him, he asked, Who empowered them to make that law, and whether it were not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England? The governor very inappositively answered, that there was a law in England that appointed Jesuits to be hanged. But Christison replied, that they did not even accuse him of being a Jesuit, but acknowledged him to be a quaker, and that there was no law in England that made quakerism a capital offence. The court, however, overruled his plea, and the jury found him guilty. When sentence of death was pronounced upon him, he desired his judges to consider what they had gained by their cruel proceedings against the quakers. "For the last man that was put to death," said he, "here are five come in his room; and if you have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment." The talent and energy displayed by this man, who seems to have been greatly superior in mind to the bulk of his sectarian associates, produced an impression which could not be withstood. The law now plainly appeared to be unsupported by public consent, and the magistrates hastened to interpose between the sentence and its execution. Christison, and all the other quakers who were in custody, were forthwith released and sent beyond the precincts of the colony; and as it was impossible to prevent them from returning, only the minor punishments of flogging and reiterated exile were employed. Even these were gradually relaxed as the quakers became gradually a more orderly people; and in the first year after the restoration of Charles the Second, even this degree of persecution was suspended by a letter from the king to Mr. Endicott,* and the other governors of the New England settlements, requiring that no quakers should thenceforward undergo any corporal punishment in America, but if charged with offences that might seem to deserve such infliction, they should be remitted for trial to England. Happily the moderation of the colonial governments was more permanent than the policy of the king, who retracted his interposition in behalf of the quakers in the course of the following year.

The persecution which was thus put an end to was not equally severe in all the New England states: the quakers suffered most in Massachusetts and Plymouth, and comparatively little in Connecticut and Newhaven. It was only in Massachusetts that the law inflicting capital punishment upon them was enacted. At a late period, the laws relating to *vagabond quakers* were so far revived, that quakers disturbing public assemblies, or violating public decency, were subjected to corporal chastisement. But little occasion ever again occurred of enforcing these severities; the wild excursions of the quaker spirit having generally ceased, and the quakers gradually subsiding into a decent and orderly submission to all the laws except such as related to the militia and the support of the ministry; in their scruples as to which, the legislature, with corresponding moderation, consented to indulge them.†

During the long period that had elapsed since the commencement of the English civil wars, the states of New England had continued steadily and rapidly to advance in the increase of their numbers, and the enlargement of their territories. They were surrounded with abundance of cheap and fertile land, and secured in the possession of their religious privileges, and of civil and political freedom. The people were exempted from the payment of all taxes except for the support of their internal government, which was administered with great economy; and they enjoyed the extraordinary privilege of importing commodities into England free

from that custom which all others were constrained to pay. By the favor of Cromwell, too, the commercial ordinances of the Long Parliament, of which the other plantations had reason to complain, were not enforced against them, and they continued to trade wherever they pleased. These particular causes, which had combined to promote the prosperity which New England had attained at the Restoration, contributed proportionally to overcast the prospects which that event awakened. There was the strongest reason to expect an abridgement of commercial advantages, and to tremble for the security of religious and political privileges. Various other circumstances contributed to retard the recognition of the royal authority. On the death of Cromwell, the colonists had been urged to recognise, first his son Richard as protector, afterwards the Long Parliament, which for a short time resumed its authority, and subsequently the Committee of Safety, as the sovereign authority of England. But, doubtful of the stability of any of these forms of administration, they had prudently declined to commit themselves by any declaration. In the month of July, the arrival of a vessel, on board of which were Generals Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, announced the restoration of Charles the Second: but no authoritative or official communication of this event was received, and England was represented as being in a very unsettled and distracted condition. The colony had no inducement to imitate Virginia in a premature declaration for the king; and while farther intelligence was anxiously expected, Whaley and Goffe were freely permitted to travel through the states, and to accept the friendly attentions which many persons tendered to them, and with which Charles afterwards bitterly reproached the colony.

At length decisive intelligence was received that the royal authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented by various royalists, quakers, and other adversaries of its institutions or administration, to the privy council and the houses of parliament. A general court was immediately convened, and an address voted to the king, in which, with considerable ability, and with that conformity which they studied to the language of Scripture, they justified their whole conduct, professed a dutiful attachment to their sovereign, and entreated his protection and favor, which they declared themselves the more willing to hope from one who, having been himself a wanderer, was no stranger to the lot and the feelings of exiles. Having defended their proceedings against the quakers, by a summary of the heretical doctrines and seditious and indecent excesses which these sectaries had introduced into the colony, they desired permission to be heard in their own vindication against every other charge that might be preferred against them. "Let not the king hear men's words," they said; "your servants are true men, fearers of God and the king, and not given to change, zealous of government and order, orthodox and peaceable in Israel. We are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismatics as to matters of religion. We distinguish between churches and their impurities; between a living man, though not without sickness and infirmity, and no man. Irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire may be amended. We could not live without the worship of God: we were not permitted the use of public worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformity as we could not consent unto without sin. That we might, therefore, enjoy divine worship without human mixtures, without offence either to God or man, or our consciences, we, with leave, but not without tears, departed from our country, kindred, and fathers' houses, into this Patmos." They assimilated their secession from England to that of "the good old nonconformist Jacob," from Syria; but declared that "the providential exception of us thereby from the late wars and temptation of either party, we account as a favor from God." They solicited the king to protect their ecclesiastical and civil institutions, declaring that they considered the chief value of the latter to consist in their subservience to the enjoyment of religious liberty. A similar address was made to parliament; and letters were written to Lord Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and other persons of distinction, who were known to be friends of the colony, soliciting their interposition in its behalf. Leverett, the agent for the colony, was instructed, at the same time, to use every effort to procure a continuance of the exemption from customs which it had hitherto enjoyed. But before he had time to make any such vain attempt, the parliament had already established the duties of tonnage and poundage

* One of the most noted of these separatists was John Perrot, who, in order to convert the Pope, had made a journey to Italy, where he was confined for some time as a lunatic. This persecution greatly endeared him to the quakers, and exalted him so much in his own esteem that he began to consider himself more enlightened than George Fox. He prevailed with a considerable party in the sect to wear long beards, and to reject the practice of uncovering their heads in time of prayer as a vain formality. Fox having succeeded, by dint of great exertions, in stemming these innovations, Perrot betook himself to America, where he appears to have multiplied his absurdities, and yet propagated them among the quakers to an amazing extent. Various missions were undertaken by George Fox and other English quakers to reclaim their brethren in America from the errors of Perrot, who finally abandoned every pretence to quakerism, and became a strenuous assessor of the observations against which he had formerly borne testimony. Gough and Sewell's Hist. of the Quakers, (edit. 1799,) i. 165-165; ii. 121, 122, &c.

† The first quakers, instead of following the apostolic injunction to Christians, that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another, seem to have found strong attractions in the prospect of persecution. One of those who were put to death declared, that as he was huling the plough in York shire, he was directed by a heavenly voice to leave his wife and children, and proceed to Barbadoes: but hearing of the banishment of the quakers from New England, and of the severe punishments inflicted on persons returning there after banishment, he began to ponder on the probability of his receiving a spiritual direction to proceed thither, and very soon after received it accordingly. Tomkins' and Kendal's Lives, Services, and dying Sayings of the Quakers, vol. i.

The woman who was executed was Mary Dyer, who twenty years before had been a follower of Mrs. Hutchinson, and a disturber of New England.

* Endicott was in an especial degree the object of dislike to Charles the Second. Hutchinson relates that he had seen a letter from the Secretary of State sometime after this period, containing an intimation, that "the king would take it well if the people would leave out Mr. Endicott from the place of governor." Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 17.

† Mather, B. vii. Cap. iv. Neal, i. 291-297, 302-339. Hutchinson, i. 169-205, and Append. p. 526. Chalmers, 192. Hazard, ii. 552, 558, 560. An explosion of the ancient frenzy occurred among some professing quakers in Connecticut in the beginning of the eighteenth century: but it was partial and short lived.

over every dominion of the crown. To make amends for this disappointment, a gracious answer to the colonial address was returned by the king, [1661.] accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Whaley and Goffe. This prompt display of favor excited general satisfaction, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favor of Heaven in moving the heart of the king to receive and incline to the desires of the people.* With regard to Whaley and Goffe, the colonial authorities were greatly perplexed between the performance of a duty which it was impossible to decline, and reluctance to betray to a horrible fate two men who had lately been members of a government recognised in all the British dominions, who had fled to New England as an inviolable sanctuary from royal vengeance, and had been recommended to their kindness by letters from the most eminent of the English independent ministers. It is generally supposed, and is highly probable, that intimation was conveyed to these individuals of the orders that had been received; and, although warrants for their apprehension were issued, and by the industry of the royalists a diligent search for their persons was instituted, they were enabled, by the assistance of their friends, by dexterous evasion from state to state, and by strict seclusion, to end their days in New England.*

But the apprehensions which the colonists had originally entertained of danger to their institutions in church and state were speedily revived by intelligence that reached them from England of the representations that were daily made to their prejudice, of the countenance that these representations visibly received from the king, and of the formidable designs that were believed to be entertained against them. It was strongly rumored that their commercial intercourse with Virginia and the West India Islands was to be cut off; that three frigates were preparing to sail from England, in order to enforce arbitrary authority; and that the armament was to be accompanied by a governor-general, whose jurisdiction was to extend over all the North American plantations. Apprehensions of these and other changes at length prevailed so strongly in Massachusetts, as to produce a public measure of a very remarkable character. The general court, having declared the necessity of promoting unity among the inhabitants in the assertion of their just privileges, and the observance of due fidelity to the authority of England, appointed a committee of eight of the most eminent persons in the state to prepare a report, ascertaining the extent of their rights and the nature of their obedience; and, shortly after, the court, in conformity with the report of their committee, framed and published a series of resolutions expressive of their solemn and deliberate opinion on these important subjects. It was resolved that the patent (under God) is the first and main foundation of the civil policy of the colony; that the governor and company are, by the patent, a body politic invested with power to make freemen, and that these freemen have authority to elect annually their governor, assistants, representatives, and all other officers; that the government thus constituted hath full power, both legislative and executive, for the government of all the people, whether inhabitants or strangers, without appeal, save only in the case of laws repugnant to those of England; that the government is privileged by all means, even by force of arms, to defend itself both by land and sea against all who should attempt injury to the plantation or its inhabitants; and that any imposition, prejudicial to the country, and contrary to its just laws, would be an infringement of the fundamental rights of the people of New England. These strong and characteristic resolutions were accompanied with a recognition of the duties to which the people were engaged by their allegiance, and which were declared to consist in upholding the colony as belonging of right to his majesty, and preventing its subjection to any foreign prince; in preserving, to the utmost of

their power, the king's person and dominions; and in maintaining the peace and prosperity of the king and nation, by punishing crimes, and by propagating the gospel.

These proceedings indicate very plainly the alarming apprehensions that the colonists entertained of the designs of their new sovereign, and the resolution with which they clung to the dear-bought rights of which they suspected his intention to bereave them. How far they are to be considered as indicating a settled design to resist tyrannical oppression by force, is a matter of uncertain speculation. It is not improbable, that the framers of them hoped, by strongly expressing their rights, and indicating the extremities which an attempt to violate them would legally warrant, and might eventually provoke, to caution the king from awakening, in the commencement of his reign, the recollection of a contest which had proved fatal to his father; and which, if once rekindled, even to an extent so little formidable as a controversy with an infant colony must appear, might soon become less unequal, by presenting an occasion of revival and exercise to passions hardly yet extinguished in England. If such were the views of the colonial leaders, the soundness of them would seem to have been approved by the event. But, in the meantime, the colonial authorities, in order to manifest their willingness to render a just obedience, issued the strictest injunctions to cause search to be made for Goffe and Whaley, and intimated, by public resolutions, that no persons obnoxious to the laws of England, and flying from her tribunals, would receive shelter in a colony that recognised her sovereign authority. Having now declared the terms on which they recognised the dominion of the English crown, the general court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord. They issued, at the same time, an order of court, prohibiting all disorderly behavior on the occasion, and in particular commanding that none should presume to drink his majesty's health, "which," it was added, "he hath, in an especial manner, forbidden"—an injunction very remote from the thoughts and habits of the king, and imputed to him on no better grounds, than that drinking of healths was prohibited by the ordinances of Massachusetts. This meaningless practice, on account of its heathen original, had been offensive to the more scrupulous of the puritan settlers, who were desirous in all things to study conformity to the will of God, and accounting nothing unimportant that afforded occasion to exercise such conformity, had at length prevailed to have the practice of drinking healths interdicted by law; and all were now desirous that the revival of royal authority should not be signalled by a triumph over any, even what some might esteem the least important, of the colonial institutions. Intelligence having arrived soon after of the progress of the complaints that were continually exhibited to the privy council against the colony, and an order at the same time being received from the king, that deputies should be sent forthwith to England to make answer to these complaints, the court committed this important duty to Simon Bradstreet, one of the magistrates, and John Norton, one of the ministers, of Boston. These agents were instructed to maintain the loyalty and defend the conduct of the colony; to discover, if possible, what were the designs which the king meditated, or the apprehensions that he entertained; and neither to do nor agree to anything prejudicial to the charter. They undertook their thankless office with great reluctance, and obtained before their departure a public assurance, that whatever danger they might sustain by detention of their persons or otherwise, in England, should be made good by the general court.

Whether from the vigor and resolution that the recent proceedings of the colony had displayed, or from the moderation of the wise counsellors by whom the king was then surrounded, enforced by the influence which Lord Say and some other eminent persons employed in behalf of the colony, the agents were received with unexpected favor, and were soon enabled to return to Boston with a letter from the king, [1662] confirming the colonial charter, and promising to renew it under the great seal whenever this formality should be desired. The royal letter likewise announced an amnesty for whatever treasons might have been committed during the late troubles, to all persons but those who were attainted by act of parliament, and might have fled to New England. But it contained other matters by no means acceptable to the colony; it required that the general court should hold all the ordinances it had enacted during the abeyance of royalty as invalid, and forthwith proceed to renew them, and

to repeal every one that might seem repugnant to the royal authority that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person; that justice should be distributed in the king's name; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and to perform their devotions according to the ceremonial of the church of England; that, in the choice of the governor and assistants of the colony, the only qualifications to be regarded should be wisdom, virtue and integrity, without any reference to the peculiarities of religious faith and profession; and that all freeholders of competent estates, and not vicious in their lives, should be admitted to vote in the election of officers, civil and military, whatever might be their opinion with respect to church-government. "We cannot be understood," it was added, "hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be granted to quakers, whose principles, being inconsistent with any kind of government, we have found it necessary with the advice of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you do the like there." However reasonable some of these requisitions may now appear, the greater number of them were highly disagreeable to the colonists. They considered themselves entitled to maintain the form of policy in church and state, which they had fled to a desert in order to cultivate, without the intrusion and mixture of different principles; and they regarded with the utmost jealousy the precedent of an interference with their fundamental constitutions by a prince who, they were firmly persuaded, desired nothing so much as to enfeeble the system which he only waited a more convenient season to destroy. To comply with the royal injunctions would be to introduce among their children the spectacles and corruptions which they had incurred such sacrifices in order to withdraw from their eyes, and to throw open every office in the state to papists, Socinians, and every unbeliever who might think power worth the purchase of a general declaration, that he was (according to his own unexamined interpretation of the term) a believer in Christianity. The king, never observing, was never able to obtain credit with his subjects for good faith or moderation; he was from the beginning suspected of a predilection for popery; and the various efforts which he made to procure a relaxation of the penal laws against the dissenters in England, were viewed with jealousy and disapprobation by all these dissenters themselves, except the quakers, who regarded the other protestants and the papists as very much on a level with each other, and were made completely the dupes of the artifices by which Charles and his successor endeavored to introduce all the intolerance of popery under the specious disguise of universal toleration.

Of all the requisitions in the royal message, the only one that was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be carried on in the king's name. The letter had commanded that its contents should be published in the colony, which was accordingly done, with an intimation, however, that the requisitions relative to church and state were reserved for the deliberation which would be necessary to adjust them to the existing constitutions. The treatment which the colonial agents experienced from their countrymen, it is painful but necessary to relate. The ill humor which some of the requisitions engendered was unjustly extended to these men; and their merits, though at first eagerly acknowledged, were quickly forgotten. Strongly impressed with the danger from which the colony had obtained a present deliverance, but which still impended over it from the designs of a prince who visibly abetted every complaint of its enemies, the agents increased their unpopularity by strongly urging, that all the requisitions should be instantly complied with. Mr. Norton, who, on the first unofficial intelligence that had been received of the king's restoration, had ineffectually urged his fellow-citizens to proclaim the royal authority, in now again pressing upon them a proceeding to which they were still more averse, went the length of declaring to the general court, that if they complied not with the king's letter, they must blame themselves for the bloodshed that would ensue. Such declarations were ill calculated to soothe the popular disquiet, or recommend an ungracious cause; and the deputies, who had been actuated by the most disinterested zeal to serve rather than flatter their fellow-citizens, now found themselves opprobriously identified with the grievances of the colony, and the evils, which it was not in their power to prevent, ascribed to their neglect or unnecessary concessions. Bradstreet, who was endowed with a disposition somewhat stoical, was the less sensibly touched with this ingratitude: but

* Mather, B. iii. Cap. ii. § 20. Neal, ii. 332. Hutchinson, i. 211, 212. Chalmers, 251, 264, &c. Small as was the number of royalists in Massachusetts, it was too great to enable the people to shelter Goffe and Whaley, as they could have wished to do. But in Newhaven there were no royalists at all; and even those who disapproved of the great action of the regicides regarded it (with more of admiration than hatred) as the error of noble and generous minds. Leet, the governor of Newhaven, and his council, when summoned by the pursuers of Goffe and Whaley to assist in the apprehension of them, first consumed abundance of time in deliberating on the extent of their powers, and then answered, that, in a matter of such importance, they could not act without the orders of an assembly. The royalist pursuers, incensed at this answer, desired the governor to say at once whether he owned and honored the king; to which he replied, "We do honor his majesty; but we have tender consciences, and wish first to know whether he will own us." Trumbull, i. 213—215.

Norton, who to great meekness and piety united keen sensibility, could not behold the eyes of his countrymen turned upon him with disapprobation, without the most painful emotion. When he heard many say of him, that "he had laid the foundation for the ruin of our liberties," he expressed no resentment, but sunk into a profound melancholy; and while struggling with his grief, and endeavoring to do his duty to the last, he died soon after of a broken heart. Deep and vehement were then the regrets of the people; and the universal mourning that overspread the province expressed a late but lasting remembrance of his virtue, and bewailed an ungrateful error which only repentance was now permitted to repair.

The colony of Rhode Island had received the tidings of the restoration with much real or apparent satisfaction. It was hoped that the suspension of its charter by the Long Parliament would more than compensate the demerit of having accepted a charter from such authority; and that its exclusion from the confederacy, of which Massachusetts was the head, would operate as a recommendation to royal favor. The king was early proclaimed; and one Clarke was soon after sent as deputy from the colony to England, in order to carry the dutiful respects of the inhabitants to the foot of the throne, and to solicit a new charter in their favor. Clarke conducted his negotiation with a baseness that rendered the success of it dearly bought. He not only vaunted the loyalty of the inhabitants of Rhode Island, while the only proof he could give of it was, that they had bestowed the name of *King's Province* on a territory which they had acquired from the Indians; but meeting this year the deputies of Massachusetts at the court, he publicly challenged them to mention any one act of duty or loyalty shown by their constituents to the present king or his father, from their first establishment in New England. Yet the inhabitants of Rhode Island had taken a patent from the Long Parliament in the commencement of its struggle with Charles the First; while Massachusetts had declined to do so when the parliament was at the height of its power and success.* Clarke succeeded in obtaining this year† a charter which assured the inhabitants of Rhode Island and Providence of the amplest enjoyment of religious liberty, and most extensive privileges with regard to jurisdiction. The patentees and such as should be admitted free of the society were incorporated by the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The supreme or legislative power was invested in an assembly consisting of the governor, assistants, and representatives, elected from among the freemen. This assembly was empowered to make ordinances and forms of government and magistracy, with as much conformity to the laws of England as the nature of the place and condition of the people would allow: to erect courts of justice; to regulate the manner of election to all places of trust; to inflict all lawful punishments; and to exercise the prerogative of pardon. A governor, deputy governor, and ten assistants were appointed to be annually chosen by the assembly; and the first board of these officers, nominated by the charter, on the suggestion of their agent, were authorised to carry its provisions into execution. The governor and company were empowered to transport such merchandise and persons as were not prohibited by any statute of the kingdom, paying such customs as are, or ought to be, paid for the same; to exercise martial law when necessary; and upon just causes to invade and destroy the native Indians or other enemies. The territory granted to the governor and company, and their successors, was described as that part of the dominions of the crown in New England, containing the islands in Narraganset Bay, and the countries and parts adjacent, which were declared to be holden of the manor of East Greenwich in common socage. The inhabitants and their children were declared to be entitled to the same immunities as if they had resided or been born within the realm. This, I believe, is the first instance of the creation, by a British patent, of an authority of that peculiar description which was then established in Rhode Island. Corporations had been formerly created within the realm, for the government of colonial plantations. But now a body politic was created with specific powers for administering all the affairs of the colony

* The Rhode Islanders had also presented an address to the Rulers of England in 1659, beseeching favor to themselves, as "a poor colony, an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation in the bishops' days, and since from the New English over-zealous colonies." Douglas's Seminary, ii. 110.

† Although the charter was framed in 1662, yet, in consequence of a dispute between Connecticut and Rhode Island, it was not finally passed till July, 1663.

within the colonial territory. The charter was received with great satisfaction by the colonists, who entered immediately into possession of the democratical constitution which it appointed for them, and continued to pursue the same system of civil and ecclesiastical policy that they had heretofore observed.

Though the inhabitants of Connecticut neither felt nor affected the same rejoicing that Rhode Island had expressed at the restoration of the king, they did not fail to send a deputy to England to express their recognition of the royal authority, and to solicit a new charter.* They were happy in the choice of the man to whom they committed this important duty, John Winthrop, the son of the eminent person of the same name who had presided with so much honor and virtue over the province of Massachusetts. This gentleman deriving a hereditary claim on the kindness of the king, from a friendship that had subsisted between his grandfather and Charles the First, employed it so successfully as to obtain for his constituents a charter in almost every respect the same with that which had been granted to Rhode Island. The most considerable differences were, that by the Connecticut charter the governor was required to administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to the inhabitants; a formality which was not required by the charter of Rhode Island, where many of the people scrupled to take an oath; and that, by the last-mentioned charter, liberty of conscience was expressly conceded in its fullest extent, while the other made no express mention of the concerns of religion, and no other allusion to them, than what might seem to be implied in the requisition of the oath of supremacy. By this charter, Newhaven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which for some time did not obtain the unanimous approbation of the people of Newhaven, although they afterwards heartily concurred in it; and the description of the provincial territory was indefinite and incorrect. But on the whole it gave so much satisfaction, that Winthrop, on his return, was received with the grateful approbation of his fellow citizens, and annually chosen governor of the united colony as long as he lived.

There was thus established by royal charters, both in Connecticut and Rhode Island, a perfect model of democratic government; and the singular spectacle of subordinate political corporations almost wholly disconnected by any efficient tie with the organ of sovereign authority. Every power, as well deliberative as active, was invested in the freemen of the corporation or their delegates; and the supreme executive magistracy of the empire was excluded from every constitutional means of interposition or control. A conformity to the laws of England, no doubt, was enjoined on the colonial legislatures; and this conformity was conditioned as the tenure by which their privileges were enjoyed; but no method of ascertaining or enforcing its observance was established. At a later period, the crown lawyers of England were sensible of the oversight which their predecessors had committed, and proposed that an act of parliament should be obtained for obliging these colonies to transmit their laws for the inspection and approbation of the king. But this suggestion was never carried into effect.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration of ejected Ministers to New England—Royal Commissioners sent to the Province—Address of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King—rejected—Policy pursued by the Commissioners—Their Disputes with the Government of Massachusetts—and Return to England—Policy of the Colonists to conciliate the King—Effects of it—Cession of Acadia to the French—Prosperous State of New England—Conspiracy of the Indians—Philip's War—The King resumes his designs against Massachusetts—Controversy respecting the Right to Maine and New Hampshire—Progress of the Dispute between the King and the Colony—State of Parties in Massachusetts—State of Religion and Morals—Surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts demanded by the King—refused by the Colonists—Writ of Quo Warranto issued against the Colony—Firmness of the People—Their Charter adjudged to be forfeited.

SETTLED originally by people of the same nation and whom the same motives had conducted to Ame-

* At Newhaven the republican spirit was so strong, that several of the principal inhabitants declined to act as magistrates under the king. Trumbull, i. 241. It was here that Goffe and Whaley found the securest asylum, and ended their days. When a party of royal officers were coming in pursuit of them to Newhaven, Davenport, the minister of the peace, preached publicly in favor of the regicides, from the text (Isaiah xvi. 3, 4) "Take counsel, execute judgment: make thy shadow as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee, Moab: be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler." Holmes's American Annals, i. 342.

† Cotton Mather relates, that when Winthrop presented the king with a ring which Charles the First had given to his grandfather, "the king not only accepted his present, but also

rica, [1663.] and assimilated by their religious tenets, their government, laws, and manners, a similar policy naturally pervaded all the colonies of New England. The commercial system which the English parliament thought fit to pursue tended still further to confirm this identity of interest and purpose in the colonies. The navigation acts which it framed, and which we have considered at much length in the history of Virginia, created for a time more discontent than inconvenience, and served rather to announce than to enforce the restrictions with which it was intended to fetter the colonial trade. These restrictions were a copious source of displeasure and controversy between the two countries. The colonies had been accustomed in their infancy to a free trade, and its surrender was exacted with the more injustice and yielded with the greater reluctance, because England was not then a mart in which all the produce of the colonies could be vended, or from which all the wants of their inhabitants could be supplied. Even in the southern colonies, where snail restraints had been enforced by Cromwell, the act of navigation was executed very imperfectly; and in New England, where the governors were elected by the people, it appears, for a considerable time, to have been entirely disregarded.

If the commercial policy of the English parliament thus strongly tended to unite the colonies by community of interest and opposition to the parent state, the ecclesiastical policy which now prevailed in England was calculated in no slight degree to promote the remembrance of the original causes of secession from her territory, and at once to revive their influence, and enforce the virtue of toleration by sympathy with the victims of an opposite policy. In consequence of the rigid enforcement of the act of uniformity in the close of the preceding year, about two thousand of the English clergy, the most eminent of the order for piety, virtue, and knowledge, were ejected from the church; and, to the astonishment of the prevailing party, sacrificed their interests to their conscience. They were afterwards banished to the distance of five miles from every corporation in England, and many of them died in prison for privately exercising their ministry contrary to law. While the majority of them remained in England to preserve by their teaching and their sufferings the decaying piety of their native land, a considerable number were conducted to New England, there to invigorate the national virtue by a fresh example of conscientious sacrifice, and to form a living and touching memorial of the cruelty and injustice of intolerance.* The merits and the sufferings of these men made a strong impression on the people of New England; and this year an invitation was despatched to the celebrated Dr. John Owen, one of the greatest scholars and divines that the world has ever produced, to accept an ecclesiastical appointment in Massachusetts, and the designs which he had reason to believe would be soon undertaken for the subjugation of its civil and religious liberties. Other countries besides America contended for the honor of sheltering this illustrious man from the persecutions of the church of England, and the happiness and advantage that might be expected from his sojourn. But he preferred suffering in a country where his language was understood, to enjoyment and honor among a people with whom his communication must necessarily have been more restricted. At a later period, when the presidency of Harvard college was offered to him, he consented to embrace this sphere of useful and important duty; and having shipped his effects for New England, was preparing to accompany them, when his steps were arrested by an order from Charles, expressly commanding him not to depart from the kingdom.

The apprehension which the inhabitants of Massachusetts had entertained all along of the hostile designs of the English government, and which had been confirmed by the reasons assigned by Dr. Owen for refusing the first invitation which they had tendered to him, were strengthened by all the intelligence they received from England. A great number of the ejected non-conformist ministers who had taken measures for proceeding to Massachusetts, now declined to embark for a country on which the extremity of royal vengeance was daily expected to descend: and at length the most

declared that he accounted it one of his richest jewels, which indeed was the opinion that New England had of the hand that carried it." B. ii. Cap. xi. § 5. See Note XI.

* When the proceedings against the congregationalists in England were complained of, these dissenters were told by an eminent English prelate (Stillingfleet) that the severities which they so much resented were justified by the proceedings of their own brethren in New England against dissenters from the established worship there. Stillingfleet's Mischiefs of Separation.

positive information was received that the king had declared that, although he was willing to preserve the colonial charter, he was determined to send out commissioners to inquire and report how far the provisions of the charter were legally complied with. Tidings no less indubitable arrived soon after of the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, of the determination of the king to despatch an expedition for the reduction of the Dutch settlement of New York, and to send along with it a body of commissioners who were empowered to hear and determine (according to their own discretion) all complaints in causes civil or military that might exist within New England, and to take every step that they might judge necessary for settling the peace and security of the country on a solid foundation. This information was correct; and a commission for these purposes, as well as for the reduction of New York, had been issued by the king to Sir Robert Carr, Colonel Nichols, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick. These tidings, in concurrence with the reports that had long prevailed of the designs entertained by the court of England against the liberties of the colonists, were calculated to strike them, with dismay. They knew that plausible pretenses were not wanting to justify an inquiry into their proceedings; but they were also aware that the dislike and suspicion with which they were regarded by the king could never be satisfied by any measure short of the utter subversion of their institutions. Various controversies had arisen between the different settlements concerning the boundaries of their respective territories; and loud complaints were preferred by the representatives of Mason, and by Gorges, and other members of the old council of Plymouth, of the occupations of districts and sovereignties to which they claimed a preferable right. The claim of Mason to New Hampshire, derived from the assignment of the Plymouth council, had never been expressly surrendered; and Gorges' title to Maine had been confirmed and enlarged by a grant from the late king in the year 1639. As Gorges had adhered to the royal cause in the civil wars, the death of the king proved the temporary death of his patent; and he as well as Mason's heirs had long abandoned their projects in despair of ever prosecuting them to a successful issue. But now the revival of royalty in England presented them with an opportunity of vindicating their claims; and the establishment of inhabitants in the territories promised advantage from such vindication. They had as yet got no return for the money they had expended on their acquisitions; but they now embraced the prospect and claimed the right of entering upon the labors of others, who in ignorance of their pretensions had occupied and colonized a vacant soil, and held it by the title of fair purchase from its native proprietors. In addition to this formidable controversy, many complaints had been preferred by the royalists, quakers, and episcopallians, of abuses in the civil and ecclesiastical administration of Massachusetts. The adjustment of these controversies and investigation of these complaints were the principal reasons assigned for the commission.* But, doubtless, the main object of concern to the English court was the suppression or essential modification of institutions founded and administered on principles that had so long waged war with monarchy, and so lately prevailed over it. The colonists very readily believed the accounts they received from their friends in England of this hostile disposition of their sovereign; and the public orders by which they had cautioned the enemies of his government not to expect shelter in Massachusetts, had been intended to remove or appease it. When intelligence was received of the visitation that must soon be expected from England, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a day of fasting and prayer to be observed throughout its jurisdiction, in order to implore the mercy of God under their many distractions and troubles; and apprehending it to be of the greatest concernment that the patent or charter should be kept "safe and secret," they ordered their secretary to bring it into court, and to deliver it to four of the members of court, who were directed to dispose of it in such manner as they should judge most consistent with the safety of the country. Aware of the usual licentiousness of sailors and sol-

diers, and recollecting the peculiar strictness of the colonial laws, the court adopted at the same time the most prudent precautions for preventing the necessity of either a hazardous enforcement, or a dishonest and pusillanimous relaxation of its municipal ordinances.

The royal expedition having arrived at Boston in the following year, the commissioners presented their credentials to the governor and council, and demanded in the first instance, that a body of troops should be raised to accompany the English forces in the invasion of New York. [1664] The governor not being empowered by the forms of the constitution to raise forces without the consent of the general court, proceeded to convoke that body; but the commissioners not having leisure to wait its deliberations, proceeded with the fleet against New York, desiring the colonial auxiliaries to follow as quickly as possible, and signifying to the governor and council that they had many important communications to make to them on their return from New York, and that in the mean time the general court would do well to give a fuller consideration than they seemed yet to have done to the letter which the king had addressed to them two years before. The vague mysterious terms of this communication were powerfully calculated, and would seem to have been deliberately intended, to increase the disquiet and apprehensions of the colonists. That they produced this impression in a very strong degree is manifest from the proceedings that were adopted by the general court. On the assembling of that body it was declared by an immediate and unanimous vote that they were "resolved to bear true allegiance to his majesty, and to adhere to a patent so dearly obtained and so long enjoyed by undoubted right." They proceeded to render a prompt obedience to the requisition of the commissioners, and had raised a regiment of two hundred men, who were preparing to proceed for New York, when intelligence was received from the commissioners that the place had already surrendered, and that the junction of the English and colonial forces was no longer necessary. The assembly next resumed the consideration of the king's letter, which had been so emphatically commended to their deliberation, and passed a law extending the elective franchise to all the inhabitants of English or colonial birth, paying public rates to a certain amount, and certified by a minister as orthodox in their principles and not immoral in their lives, whether within or without the pale of the established church. They next proceeded to frame and transmit to the king an address strongly expressive of their present apprehensions and their habitual sentiments. They set forth at considerable length the dangers and difficulties they had encountered in founding and rearing their settlement; the explicit confirmation which their privileges had received both from the present king and his predecessor; and their own subjection to the royal authority, and willingness to testify their duty in any righteous way. They expressed their concern at the appointment of four commissioners, one of whom, Maverick, was their known and professed enemy, who were invested with an indefinite authority, in the exercise of which they were to proceed, not in conformity with any established law, but according to their own discretion; and they declared, that although as yet they had but tasted the words and actions of these persons, they had enough to satisfy them that the powers derived from the commission would be improved to the complete subversion of the provincial government. If any profit was expected to be gained by the imposition of new rules and the bereavement of their liberties, the design, they protested, would produce only disappointment; for the country was so poor that it produced little more than a bare subsistence to its inhabitants, and the people were so much attached to their institutions that, if deprived of them in America, they would seek them in new and more distant habitations; and, if they were driven out of the country, it would not be easy to find another race of inhabitants who would be willing to sojourn in it.* They appealed to God, that they came not into this wilderness to seek great things for themselves, but for the sake of a quiet life, and concluded in the following strains of earnest anxiety: "Let our government live, our patent live, our magistrates live, our laws and liberties live, our re-

ligious enjoyments live: so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, Let the king live for ever." Letters suing for favor and friendly mediation were transmitted at the same time to several of the English nobility, and particularly to the chancellor, Lord Clarendon. But these applications were no longer attended with success. Lord Clarendon was no friend to puritan establishments; he had instigated the persecution that was then carrying on against the sectaries of every denomination in England; and he was at present too painfully sensible of his declining credit with the king, to risk the farther provocation of his displeasure by opposing a favorite scheme of royal policy. In a letter to the governor, he defended the commission as a constitutional exercise of royal power and wisdom, and strongly indicative of his majesty's grace and goodness; and recommended to the colonists, by a prompt submission, to deprecate the indignation which their ungrateful clamor must already have excited in the breast of the king. The answer of Charles, which was transmitted by Secretary Morrice, to the address of the general court, excited less surprise. It reproached that assembly with making unreasonable and groundless complaints; justified the commission as the only proper method of rectifying the colonial disorders; and affected to consider the address as "the contrivance of a few persons who infuse jealousies into their fellow subjects as if their charter were in danger."

Having effected the conquest of New York, the commissioners proceeded to the exercise of their civil functions in New England. [1665] One of the first official acts that they were called on to perform, was the adjustment of a dispute respecting boundaries, that arose out of the occupation of the New York territory. A patent had been granted to the Duke of York of all the territory occupied by the Dutch, including large districts that had been already comprehended in the charter of Connecticut. A controversy concerning limits had thus been created by the deliberate act of the crown, between the state of Connecticut and the new province erected by the patent to the Duke of York. Their boundaries were now adjusted by the commissioners in a manner which appears to have been highly satisfactory to the people of Connecticut, but which entailed a great deal of subsequent dispute. Another controversy, in which Connecticut was involved, arose out of a claim to part of its territory preferred by the Duke of Hamilton and others, in virtue of the rights that had accrued to themselves or their ancestors as members of the grand council of Plymouth. The commissioners desirous of giving satisfaction to both parties, adjudged the property of the disputed soil to these individual claimants, but declared the right of government to pertain to Connecticut. It appears manifestly to have been their policy to detach the other New England states from the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, and to procure their co-operation by the example of implicit submission on their own part, and the accumulation of complaints against that province, in the design of abridging her liberties and altering her institutions. In the prosecution of this policy they were but partially successful. The people of Connecticut received the commissioners with the utmost coldness, and plainly showed that they regarded their proceedings with aversion, and considered the cause of Massachusetts as their own. So strongly impressed were the inhabitants of this state with the danger to their liberties from the interposition of such arbitrary authority, that some disagreements, which had subsisted between Connecticut and Newhaven, and which had hitherto prevented their union under the late charter by which they had been associated, were entirely composed by the very tidings of the visitation of the commissioners. At Plymouth the commissioners met with little opposition, the inhabitants being deterred from the expression of their sentiments by a consciousness of their weakness, and being exempted from the apprehensions that prevailed in the more powerful states by a sense of their insignificance. In Rhode Island alone was their insidious policy attended with success. There, the people received them with every mark of deference and attention; their inquiries were answered, and their mandates

* In addition to these reasons, the commission sets forth that complaints have been made to his majesty of acts of violence and injustice by the colonial authorities against the natives of America, "whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of christian religion is brought into reproach and prejudice with the gentiles and inhabitants of these countries who know not God; the reduction of whom to the true knowledge of God is the end of these plantations," &c.—a statement of matchless falsehood and effrontery.

* It is curious to observe the expression of a similar sentiment by the inhabitants of the province of Arragon in the days of their freedom. It is declared in the preamble to one of the laws of Arragon, that such was the barrenness of the country and the poverty of the inhabitants, that if it were not for the sake of the liberties by which they were distinguished from other nations, the people would abandon it and go in quest of a settlement to some more fruitful region. Robertson's View of the State of Europe, sect. 3. History of Charles the Fifth.

* Even Chalmers, though the panegyrist of Charles and his policy, and animated with the strongest dislike and contempt of the colonists, expresses his surprise that Clarendon should defend the commission as a constitutional act; observing, that "an act of parliament was assuredly necessary in order to cut up effectually those principles of independence that had rooted with the settlement of New England," p. 288. One of the articles of impeachment against Lord Clarendon was, "That he introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's plantations." But this charge seems to have related to some proceedings in Barbadoes. Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 331, &c.

obeyed or assented to without any demur to the authority from which they proceeded; and during their stay in this settlement they were enabled to amplify their reports with numberless complaints against the injustice and misgovernment alleged to have been committed in Massachusetts. This people, as we have seen, had gained their late charter by a display of subservience and devotion to the crown; and the liberal institutions which it introduced had not yet had time to form a spirit that disdained to hold the enjoyment of liberty by so ignoble a tenure. The freedom thus apocryphally begotten was tainted in its birth by principles that long rendered its existence precarious; and we shall find the inhabitants of Rhode Island, a few years after, abjectly offering to strip themselves of the privileges which they had gained so ill, and of which they now showed themselves unworthy by their willingness to strengthen the hands that were preparing to oppress the liberties of Massachusetts. We must not, however discard from our recollection that Rhode Island was yet but a feeble community, and that the unfavorable sentiments with which many of its inhabitants regarded Massachusetts, arose from the persecution which their religious tenets had experienced in that province. Their conduct to the commissioners received the warmest approbation from Charles, who assured them that he would never be unmindful of the claims they had acquired on his goodness by a demeanor so replete with duty and humility. In justice to the king, whose word was proverbially the object of very little reliance, we may observe that he does not appear ever after to have withdrawn his favor from Rhode Island; and in justice to a moral lesson that would be otherwise incomplete, we may here so far anticipate the order of time as to remark, that when Charles's successor proceeded to extend to Rhode Island the destruction in which the liberties of the other New England provinces had been involved, and when the people endeavored to avert the blow by a repetition of the abjectness that had formerly availed them, their prostration was disregarded, and their complete subjection pursued and effected with an insolence that feelingly taught them to detest oppression and despise servility.

It was in Massachusetts that the main object of the commission was to be pursued; and from the difference between the purposes as well as the opinions entertained by the English government and the colonial authorities, it was undoubtedly foreseen that the proceedings of the commissioners would beget the most resolute opposition. Among other communications which the commissioners were charged by the king to impress on the colonists, was, that he considered them to stand in precisely the same relation to him as the inhabitants of Kent or Yorkshire in England. Very different was the opinion that prevailed among the colonists. They considered that, having been forced by persecution to depart from the realm of England, and having established themselves by their own unassisted efforts in territories which they had purchased from the original proprietors, they retained no other political connexion with their sovereign than what was created by their charter, which they regarded as the sole existing compact between the parent state and themselves, and as specifying all the particulars and limits of their obedience. They acknowledged difference of sentiment in religion and politics between themselves and their ancient rulers in which their settlement had originated, and the habits of self-government that they had long been enabled to indulge, confirmed their prepossessions, and had tended generally and deeply to impress the conviction that their original allegiance as natives of England and subjects of the crown was entirely dissolved, and superseded by the stipulations which they had voluntarily contracted by accepting their charter. These opinions, however strongly cherished, it was not prudent distinctly to profess; but their prevalence is alleged by a respectable colonial historian, on the authority of certain manuscript compositions of the leading persons in Massachusetts at this period, which he had an opportunity of examining. The colonists were not the less attached to these opinions, from the apprehension that they would find as little favor in the eyes of the English government as those which had led to the persecution and emigration of their ancestors; they were indeed totally repugnant to the principles of the English law, which holds the allegiance of subjects to their sovereign, not as a local or provisional, but as a perpetual and indissoluble tie, which distance of place does not sunder, nor lapse of time relax. Forcibly aware of these differences of opinion, of the dangerous collisions which they might beget, and of the disadvantages with which they must conduct a discussion with

persons who sought nothing so much as to find or make them offenders, the colonists awaited, with much anxiety, the proceedings of the commissioners.

The temper and disposition of these commissioners increased the probability of an unfriendly issue to their discussions with the colonial authorities. If conciliation was, as the king professed, the object which he had in view in issuing the commission, he was singularly unfortunate in the selection of the instruments to whom the discharge of its important duties was confided. Nicholas was a man of sense and moderation; but it was for the reduction and subsequent settlement of the affairs of New York, that he had been mainly appointed; he remained at that place after its capitulation; and when he afterwards rejoined his colleagues, he found himself unable to control their proceedings, or repair the breach they had already created. The other commissioners appear to have been remarkable for no other qualities than insolence, presumption, and incapacity,* to which Maverick farther added an inveterate hostility to the colony which had induced him for years to solicit the commission which he now eagerly hastened to execute. On their return to Boston, the very first requisition which they made to the governor demonstrated how little they were disposed to recognise the colonial authorities; for they required that all the inhabitants of the province should be assembled to receive and reply to their communication; and when the governor desired to know the reason for such a proceeding, they answered, "that the motion was so reasonable, that he who would not attend to it was a traitor." They afterwards thought proper to make trial of a more conciliating tone, and informed the general court that they had properly represented to the king the promptness with which his commands had been obeyed in the raising of a colonial regiment; but it afterwards appeared that they had actually made a representation of a perfectly opposite import to the secretary of state. The suspicions which the commissioners and the general court reciprocally entertained of each other, effectually prevented any cordial co-operation between them. The communications of the commissioners display the most lofty ideas of their own authority as representatives of the crown, with a preconceived opinion that there was an indisposition on the part of the general court to pay due respect to that authority, as well as to the source from which it was derived. The answers of the general court manifest an anxious desire to avoid a contest with the crown, and to gratify his Majesty by professions of loyalty and submission, and by every change that seemed likely to meet his wishes, without compromising the fundamental principles of their institutions. They expressed, at the same time, a deliberate conviction of having done nothing that merited displeasure or required apology, and a steady determination to abide by the charter. Under such circumstances, the correspondence soon degenerated into an altercation. The commissioners at length demanded from the court an explicit answer to the question, if they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's commission? but the court desired to be excused from giving any other answer, than that they acknowledged the authority of his Majesty's charter, with which they were a great deal better acquainted. Finding that their object was not to be attained by threats or expositions, the commissioners attempted a practical assertion of their powers: they granted letters of protection to parties under prosecution before the colonial court; and in a civil suit, which had been already determined by the colonial judges, they promoted an appeal to themselves from the unsuccessful party, and summoned him and his adversary to plead their cause before them. The general court perceived that they must now or never make a stand in defence of their authority; and, with a decision which showed the high value they entertained for their privileges, and the vigor with which they were prepared to protect them, they proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, their disapprobation of this measure, and declared that, in discharge of their

* The senselessness of their proceedings appears very manifestly from a case related at considerable length by the colonial historians. They had been drinking one Saturday night in a tavern after the hours when, by the colonial laws, all taverns were ordered to be shut. A constable, who warned them not to infringe the law, was beaten by them. Hearing that Mason, another constable, had declared that he would not have been deterred by their violence from doing his duty, they sent for him, and extorted from him an admission that he would have arrested the king himself if he had found him drinking in a public-house after lawful hours. They insisted that he should be tried for high treason, and actually prevailed to have this injustice committed. The jury returned a special verdict; and the court, considering the words offensive and insolent, but not treasonable, inflicted only a slight punishment. Hutchinson, i. 254, 255.

duty to God and the king, and of the trust reposed in them by the king's good subjects in the colony, they could not consent to such proceedings, nor countenance those who would conduct or abet them. They accompanied this vigorous step with an offer to compromise the matter by hearing the cause themselves in presence of the commissioners; but this proposition was scornfully rejected, and every effort to reunite these conflicting authorities proved utterly unavailing.

Suspending for a time their proceedings at Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire and Maine, and instantly giving judgment in favor of the claims of Mason and Gorges against the government of Massachusetts, they suppressed the existing authorities, and erected a royal government in each of these provinces. On their return to Boston, the general court declared that these proceedings tended to the disturbance of the public peace, and demanded a conference with the commissioners, which was refused with a bitterness of expression that put an end to all further communication. Sir Robert Carr even went the length of assuring the general court that the king's pardon for their manifold treasons during the late rebellion had been entirely conditional, and was forfeited by their evil behavior; and that the contrivers of their late measures would speedily experience the punishment which their associates in rebellion had lately met with in England.

The king having been apprised of these proceedings, and assured by the commissioners that it was fruitless for them to continue a treaty with persons who were determined to misconstrue all their words and actions, issued letters, recalling the commissioners to England, [1666,] expressing his satisfaction with all the colonies except Massachusetts, and commanding the general court of this province to send deputies to plead their cause before himself. But the inhabitants of Massachusetts were well aware that in such a controversy they could not have the most remote chance of success, and that it was not by the cogeny of argument they could hope to pacify the displeasure of their sovereign. Instead of complying with this injunction, the general court addressed a letter to the secretary of state, in which they hinted real or pretended doubts of the authority of the royal letter, and declared that the case had already been so fully pleaded that the ablest among them would be utterly unable to render it any clearer. At the same time they endeavored to appease his majesty by humble addresses expressive of their loyalty; and in order to demonstrate the sense they attached to their professions, they purchased a ship-load of masts, which they presented to the king; and hearing that his fleet in the West Indies was in want of provisions, they promoted a contribution among themselves, and victualled it at their own expense. The king accepted their presents very graciously; and a letter under the sign manual having been transmitted to the general court, declaring that their zeal for the royal service was "taken well by his majesty," the cloud that had gathered over the colony in this quarter seemed for the present to be dispersed. Nevertheless, the design that had been prosecuted to such a length, of remodelling the institutions of New England, was by no means abandoned. The report of the commissioners had furnished Charles with the very pretexts that were wanting to the accomplishment of his plans: and the proceedings which at a later period he adopted, evinced that it was not the dutiful professions or liberalities of the colonists that would deter him from availing himself of pretexts which he had made such efforts to obtain. But the great plague which broke out with such violence as in one year to destroy ninety thousand of the inhabitants of London, and to banish for a time the seat of government to Oxford—the great fire of London,* the wars and intrigues on the continent, and the rising discontents of the people of England, occupied so entirely the attention of the king, as to suspend the execution of his designs against the government of Massachusetts.

After the departure of the royal commissioners, the provinces of New England enjoyed for some years a quiet and prosperous condition. The only disturbance which their internal tranquillity sustained, arose from the persecutions which in all the states, except Rhode Island, continued to be waged against the anabaptists, as these sectaries from time to time attempted to propagate their tenets and establish their ordinances. Let-

* A liberal contribution was made by the people of Massachusetts, and transmitted to London for relief of the sufferers by the fire. Hutchinson, i. 257. The people of New England have always been honorably distinguished by their charitable participation of the misfortunes of other communities. In the year 1703, they contributed 2000*l*. for the relief of the inhabitants of Leveis and St. Christopher, which had been ravaged by the French. Holmes, ii. 69.

ters were written in their behalf to the colonial magistrates by the most eminent dissenting ministers in England: but though it was strongly urged by the writers of these letters, that the severe persecution which the anabaptists were then enduring in England should recommend them to the sympathy of the colonists,* and that their conversion was more likely to be effected by holding forth to them the peaceable fruits of righteousness than by pursuing their errors and infirmities with penal inflictions, which could have no other effect than to enslave or oppress their consciences, the interposition of these persons, though respectfully received, was utterly disregarded. The colonial authorities persisted in believing that they were doing God service by employing the civil power with which they were invested, to guard their territories from the intrusion of heresy, and to maintain the purity of those religious principles for the preservation of which their settlements had been originally formed. A considerable number of anabaptists were fined, imprisoned, and banished: and persecution produced its usual effect of confirming and propagating the tenets which it attempted to extirpate, by causing the professors of them to connect them in their own minds, and to exhibit them to others in connexion with suffering for conscience sake. These proceedings, however, contributed more to stain the character of the colonies than to disturb their tranquillity. Much greater disquiet was created by the intelligence of the cession of Acadia, or as it had come to be termed *Nova Scotia*, to the French at the treaty of Breda. [1667.] Nothing had contributed more to promote the commerce and security of New England than the conquest of that province by Cromwell; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts, apprised of the extreme solicitude of the French to regain it, and justly regarding such an issue as pregnant with danger to themselves, sent agents to England to remonstrate against it. But the influence of the French proved too powerful for the interest of the people; and the conduct of Charles on this occasion evinced as little concern for the external security of the colonies, as his previous proceedings had shown respect for their internal liberties. The French regained possession of their ancient establishment: and both New England and the mother country had afterwards abundant cause to regret the admission of a restless and litigious neighbor, who for years exerted her peculiar arts of intrigue to interrupt the pursuits and disturb the repose of the English colonists.

The government of Massachusetts was highly acceptable to the great body of the people; and even those acts of its administration that imposed restraints on civil liberty were respected on account of their manifest design, and their supposed efficiency to promote an object which the people held dearer than liberty itself. A printing press had been established at Cambridge for upwards of twenty years; and the general court had recently appointed two persons to be licensers of the press, and prohibited the publication of any books or papers that had not undergone their supervision. The licensers having given their sanction to the publication of Thomas à Kempis' admirable treatise [1668.] *De Imitatione Christi*, the court interposed, and, declaring that "the book was written by a popish minister, and contained some things less safe to be infused among the people," they recommended a more diligent revision to the licensers, and in the meantime suspended the publication. In a constitution less popular, such an act would have been esteemed an iniquitous abridgement of the liberty of the subject. But the government of Massachusetts expressed, and was supported by, the sentiments and opinions of the people; and so acceptable was its administration, that the inhabitants of New Hampshire and Maine rejecting the constitution they had received from the royal commissioners, again solicited and were received into the rank of dependencies on its jurisdiction. All traces of the visitation of these commissioners having been thus effaced, and the apprehensions that their measures had excited forgotten, the affairs of the colonies continued for several years to glide on in a course of silent but cheerful prosperity.† The navigation act not being

enforced by the establishment of a custom-house, and depending for its execution upon officers annually elected by their fellow citizens, was entirely disregarded. [1668—1672.] The people enjoyed a commerce as extensive as they could desire; a consequent increase of wealth was visible among the merchants and planters; and a spirit of industry and economy prevailing no less generally, the plantations were diligently improved, and the settlements considerably extended. From a document preserved in the archives of the colonial office of England, and published by Chalmers, it appears, that in the year 1673 New England was estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand souls, of whom about sixteen thousand were able to bear arms; and of the merchants and planters there were no fewer than five thousand persons, each of whom was worth 3000*l*.* Three-fourths of the wealth and population of the country centred in the territory of Massachusetts and its dependencies. The town of Boston alone contained fifteen hundred families. Theft was rare, and beggary unknown in New England. Josselyn, who returned about two years before this period from his second visit to America, commends highly the beauty and agreeableness of the towns and villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and the substantial structure and comfort of all the private dwellings.† During this interval of tranquil prosperity, many of the most aged inhabitants of New England closed the career of a long and interesting life, and the original race of settlers was now almost entirely extinguished. The annals of this period are filled with accounts of their deaths, of the virtues by which they had contributed to the foundation of the new commonwealth, and of the fondness with which their closing eyes lingered upon its prosperity. To our view, enlarged by the acquaintance which history supplies of the approaching calamities from which these persons were thus happily removed, not the least enviable circumstance of their lot appears to have been that they died in scenes so fraught with serene enjoyment and agreeable promise, and bequeathed to their descendants not only the example of their virtue, but the fruits of it, in a prosperity as eminent as any people was ever blessed with. Yet, so short-sighted and imperfect are the views of men, so strongly are they led by an instinctive and unquenchable propensity to figure and desire something better than they behold, and so apt to restrict to the present fleeting and disordered scene the suggestions of this secret longing after original and immortal perfection, that many of the fathers of the colony could not refrain from lamenting that they had been born too soon to see more than the first faint dawn of New England's glory. Others, with greater enlargement of wisdom and piety, considered that *the eye is not satisfied with seeing*, nor the conceptions of an immortal spirit capable of being adequately filled by any thing short of the vision of its Divine Author, for whose contemplation it was created; and were contented to drop like leaves into the bosom of their adopted country, in the confidence of being gathered into nobler and more lasting habitations.

1674.] The state of prosperous repose which New England had enjoyed for several years was interrupted by a formidable combination of the Indian tribes, that produced a war so general and bloody as to threaten for some time the utter destruction of the plantations. This hostile combination was promoted by a young chief whose character and history reminds us of the enterprises of Opechancanough in Virginia. He was the second son of Massasoit, a prince who had ruled a powerful tribe inhabiting territories adjacent to the settlement of Plymouth at the time when the English first settled in the country. The father had entered into an alliance with the colonists, and, after his death, his two sons demonstrated an earnest desire to retain and cultivate their friendship. They even repaired to the court of Plymouth, and requested, as a mark of

might serve to introduce a body of divinity, commences in this manner:—"To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of Connecticut, the general court of that colony with grace and peace in our Lord Jesus." It was ordered that every householdier should have a copy of the code, and that the capital laws should be read weekly in every family. Trumbull, i. 290, 322.

In Connecticut, by a law of 1667 (still existing,) three years voluntary separation of married persons is held to dissolve their matrimonial engagement.

* John Dunton, who visited New England about twelve years after this period, mentions a merchant in Salem worth 30,000*l*. Dunton's Life and Errors, p. 171.

† Josselyn's Second Voyage. Even at this early period Josselyn has remarked the prevalence of that inveterate but unexplained peculiarity of the premature decay of the teeth of white persons, and especially women, in North America, p. 185.

identification with their allies, that English names might be given them; and, in compliance with their desire, the elder had received the name of Alexander, and the younger of Philip. But it very soon appeared that these demonstrations of good will were but the artifice that entered into their schemes of hostility; and they were both shortly after detected in an ineffectual attempt to involve the Narragansets in hostilities with the colonists. The disappointment of that attempt overwhelmed the proud spirit of the elder brother with such intolerable rage and mortification, that, in spite of, and perhaps still more deeply wounded by, the conciliating demeanour of the colonists, he was unable long to survive the detection of his villany and discomfiture of his designs. Philip, after the death of his brother, renewed the alliance between his tribe and the English, but intended nothing less than the observance of his engagements. Daring, cruel, and perfidious, he meditated a universal conspiracy of the Indians for the extirpation of the colonists, and for several years carried on his designs as secretly and effectually as the numerous difficulties that surrounded him would permit. Next to the growing power of the colonial settlements, nothing seemed to excite his indignation more strongly than the progress of their missionary labors; and, in reality, it was to these labors, and some of the consequences they had produced, that the colonists were indebted for their preservation from the ruin that would have attended the success of Philip's machinations. Some of the tribes to whom he applied revealed his propositions to the missionaries; and some who had entered into his designs were persuaded by their converted brethren to renounce them. From time to time the court of Plymouth had remonstrated with him on the designs of which they obtained intelligence; and by renewed and more solemn engagements than before, he had endeavored to disarm their vigilance and remove their suspicions. For two or three years before this period he had pursued his treacherous hostility with so much success that his proceedings appear to have been wholly unsuspected; and he had succeeded in uniting some of the fiercest and most warlike tribes in a confederacy to make war on the colonists to the point of extermination.

A converted Indian, who was laboring as a missionary among the tribes of his countrymen, having at length discovered the plot, revealed it to the governor of Plymouth, and was soon after found dead in a field, with appearances that strongly indicated assassination. Suspicions having fallen on some neighboring Indians, they were apprehended, and solemnly tried before a jury consisting half of English and half of Indians, who returned a verdict of guilty. At their execution one of them confessed the murder, and declared that they had been instigated by Philip to commit it. This crafty chief, incensed at the execution of his friends, and apprehending the vengeance of the colonists, now threw off the mask, and summoned his confederates to his aid. The states of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut proceeded to arm for their common defence, having first employed every means to induce Philip to accommodate the quarrel by a friendly treaty. But a friendly issue was not what Philip desired; [1675] and being now fully assured that the season of secret conspiracy was over, he rejected all negotiation, and commenced a general war, which was carried on with great vigor and various success. Though Philip's own tribe supplied no more than five hundred warriors, he had so increased his force by alliances that he was able to bring three thousand men into the field. This formidable body, conducted by a chief who believed that the war must terminate in the total ruin of one or other of the conflicting parties, made exertions of which the Indians had been hitherto supposed incapable. Several battles were fought, and all the fury, havoc, and cruelty which distinguish Indian warfare were experienced in their fullest extent. Wherever the enemy marched their route was marked with murder, fire, and desolation. Massachusetts and Plymouth were the states that suffered principally from the contest. There, especially, the Indians were so interspersed among the European colonists that there was scarcely a part of the country in perfect security, or a family which had not to bewail the loss of a relative or friend. It is a truth that has not been sufficiently adverted to, that in all the Indian wars of this period the savages, from the condition of the country, their own superior acquaintance with it, and their peculiar habits of life, enjoyed advantages which might seem well nigh to counterbalance the superiority of European skill. Changing their own settlements with facility, and advancing upon those of the colonists with the dexterous secrecy of beasts of prey;

* The colonists might have pondered, with advantage, an observation of their ancient friend, that eminent and greatly misrepresented man Hugh Peters, while he was awaiting his execution in Newgate. Some in the prison speaking of the differences in religion, Mr. Peters said, "Pray talk not of controversies now; we have but a little time to live, and cannot spend it in such discourses." Trials and Deaths of the Regicides.

† In the year 1672, the laws of Connecticut (till then preserved in manuscript, and promulgated by public proclamation in the respective towns) were collected into a code, printed, and published. The preface, written with a solemnity that

with them there was almost always the spirit and audacity of attack, and with their adversaries the disadvantages of defence and the consternation produced by surprise; nor could the colonists obtain the means of attacking in their turn without following the savages into forests and swamps, where the benefit of their superior discipline was nearly lost, and the peculiarities of European warfare almost impracticable. The savages had long been acquainted with fire-arms, and were remarkably expert in the use of them.

For some time the incursions of the enemy could not be restrained, and every successful enterprise or skirmish that they maintained increased the number of their allies. The savage artifice, however, which Philip adopted in one instance for the purpose of recruiting his forces, recoiled with injury on himself. Having repaired with some of his adherents to the territory of the Mohawks, he caused some of their people to be surprised and assassinated; and then proceeding to the head quarters of the tribe, he declared that he had seen the murder committed by a party of the Plymouth soldiers. The tribe in a flame of passion declared war on the colonists: but their rage soon took another direction: for one of the wounded men having recovered his senses, made a shift to crawl to the habitations of his countrymen, and, though mortally injured, was able to disclose the real author of the murder before he died. The Mohawks instantly declared war on Philip, and themselves the allies of his enemies. Hostilities were protracted till near the close of the following year, when, at length, the steady efforts and invincible bravery of the colonists prevailed; and after a series of defeats, and the loss of all his family and chief counsellors, Philip himself was killed by one of his own tribe whom he had offended. Deprived of its chief abettor, the war was soon terminated by the submission of the enemy. From some of the tribes, however, the colonists refused to accept any submissions, and warned them before their surrender that their treachery had been so gross and unprovoked, and their outrages so atrocious and unpardonable, that they must abide the issue of criminal justice. In pursuance of these declarations, some of the chiefs were tried and executed for murder; and a number of their followers were transported to the West Indies, and sold for slaves. Never had the people of New England been engaged in so fierce, so bloody, or so desolating a conflict as this. Many houses and flourishing villages were reduced to ashes; and in the course of the war six hundred persons, composing the flower and strength of several of the districts, were either killed in battle or murdered by the savages. The military efforts of the colonists in these campaigns were thought, and justly perhaps, to evince less of tactical skill than had been displayed in the Pequot war. They were indeed no longer commanded by the experienced officers who had accompanied their ancestors from Europe; and they were opposed to an enemy much more formidable than the Pequods. But the heroic courage and calm contempt of danger that they displayed, was worthy of men whose characters were formed under institutions no less favorable to freedom than virtue, and who fought in defence of every thing that was dear and valuable to mankind. In the commencement of the war, the surprising treachery that the Indians displayed, excited strong apprehensions of the defection of the Indian congregations which the missionaries had collected and partly civilized. But not one of these people proved unfaithful to their benefactors.

The Indian warfare in which New England had been thus involved, was not bounded by the hostilities with Philip and his confederates. An attack was made at the same time on New Hampshire and Maine, by the tribes that were situated in the vicinity of these settlements. The Indians complained that they had been defrauded and insulted by some of the English traders in that quarter;* but suspicions were strongly entertained that their hostilities were promoted by the French

* One of these complaints was occasioned by the brutal act of some English sailors in overturning an Indian canoe in which they observed an infant child, in order to ascertain the truth of a story they had heard that swimming was as natural to a young Indian as to a young duck. The child died in consequence of the immersion it sustained; and its father, who was highly respected as a necromancer by the Indians, became the inveterate enemy of the English. Belknap, i. 132. An action that excited still greater resentment was committed by Major Waldron of New Hampshire during the war. He had made a treaty of friendship with a body of 400 Indians; but on discovering that some of them had served in Philip's army, he laid hold of these, by a stratagem and sent them as prisoners to Boston. Their associates never forgave this treacherous act; and thirteen years after, a party of them having surprised the major in his house by a stratagem still more artful than his own, put him to death by the most horrible inflictions of cruelty. Ibid. 142. 145-148.

government, now re-established in Acadia. The invasion of these territories was distinguished by the usual ferocity and cruelty of the savages. Many of the inhabitants were massacred, and others carried into captivity. Prompt assistance was rendered by Massachusetts; and after a variety of severe engagements the Indians sustained a considerable defeat. They were still however both able and willing to continue the war; and both their numbers and their animosity were increased by a measure which the colonial government adopted against them. It was proposed to the general court of Massachusetts to invite the Mohawk tribe, who, from time immemorial, had been the enemies of the eastern Indians, to make a descent on their territories at this juncture. The lawfulness of using such auxiliaries was questioned by some; but it was thought a satisfactory answer, that Abraham had confederated with the Amorites for the recovery of his kinsman Lot from the hands of a common enemy; and messengers were accordingly despatched to the Mohawks. Little persuasion was necessary to induce them to comply with the proposal, and a body of Mohawk warriors quickly marched against their hereditary foes. The expedition, however, so far from producing the slightest benefit, was attended with serious disadvantage to the cause of the colonists. The Indians who were their proper enemies, suffered very little from the Mohawk invasion; and some powerful tribes who had been hitherto at peace with them, exasperated by injuries or affronts which they received from these invaders, now declared war both against them and their English allies. At length, the intelligence of the defeat of Philip, and the probability of stronger forces being thus enabled to march against them, inclined the eastern Indians to hearken to proposals of peace. The war in this quarter was terminated by a treaty highly favorable to the Indians, to whom the settlers became bound to pay a certain quantity of corn yearly as a kind of quit-rent for their lands.*

Although the province of New York was now a British settlement, no assistance was obtained from it by the New England states in this long and obstinate contest with the Indians. On the contrary, a hostile demonstration from this quarter had been added to the dangers of the Indian war. Andros, who was then governor of this newly acquired British province, having claimed for the Duke of York a considerable part of the Connecticut territory, proceeded to enforce this pretension by advancing with an armament against the town and fort of Saybrook, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants, though at first alarmed to behold the English flag unfurled against them, quickly recovered from their surprise; and hoisting the same flag on their walls, prepared to defend themselves against the assailants. Andros, unprepared for such resolute opposition, hesitated to fire upon the English flag; and learning that Captain Bull, an officer of distinguished bravery and determination, had marched with a party of the Connecticut militia for the defence of the place, judged it expedient to abandon the enterprise and return to New York.

The cessation of the Indian hostilities was not attended with a restoration of the happiness and tranquillity which had preceded them. The king had now matured the scheme of arbitrary government which he steadily pursued during the remainder of his inglorious reign; and the colonists, while yet smarting with the sense of their recent calamities, were summoned to abide a repetition of their ancient contest with the crown, which they had vainly hoped was forgotten or abandoned by the English government. Instead of approbation for the bravery and vigorous reliance on their own resources with which they had conducted their military operations, without involving the mother country in expenses, and repelled hostilities which were partly owing to the disregard which the mother country had shown for their interests in restoring Acadia to the French, they found themselves overwhelmed with reproaches for a seditious obstinacy in refusing to solicit assistance from the king, and a sordid parsimony in the equipment of their levies, which (they were told) had caused the war to be so greatly protracted, and rendered them utterly unfit to be longer intrusted with the government of a country in which their sovereign possessed so deep a stake. Indications of this revival of

* Neal, ii. 400-406. Hutchinson, i. 307, 308. Belknap, i. cap. 5. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and Belknap's History of New Hampshire, are the best of the modern historical productions of North America. Trumbull's History of Connecticut would have been esteemed superior to them both, if the author (a clergyman) had not bestowed a most disproportioned attention on the biography of the clergy and the proceedings of ecclesiastical synods.

royal dislike and of the resumption of the king's former designs had appeared before the conclusion of the war with Philip. While hostilities were still raging in the province, the government of Massachusetts found it necessary to direct a part of its attention to the claims of Mason and Gorges with respect to New Hampshire and Maine. In the summer of 1676 Randolph a messenger despatched by the king, announced to the general court that a judgment would be pronounced by his majesty in council against the pretensions of the province, unless deputies were sent to plead its cause within six months; and as letters were received at the same time from the friends of the colony in England, giving assurance that this resolution would be adhered to, and that any instance of contumacy on the part of the general court would but accelerate the execution of the more formidable designs that were undoubtedly in agitation at the English court, the royal message received immediate attention, and Stoughton and Bulkeley were despatched as deputies to represent and support the colonial interests.

The respective titles and claims of the parties having been submitted to the consideration of the two chief justices of England, [1677] the legal merits of the question were at length extracted by their experienced eyes from the confused mass of inconsistent grants in which they were involved. It was adjudged that the jurisdiction of New Hampshire was incapable of being validly conveyed by the council of Plymouth, and had therefore reverted to the crown on the dissolution of the council, with reservation, however, of Mason's claims upon the property of the soil—a reservation which for more than a century rendered all the property in New Hampshire insecure, and involved the inhabitants in continual uneasiness, dispute, and litigation. As Gorges, in addition to his original grant from the Plymouth council, had procured a royal patent for the province of Maine, the full right both of seigniorial and territorial of this province was adjudged to be vested in him. In consequence of this decision, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over New Hampshire ceased; but it was preserved in the province of Maine by an arrangement with the successful claimant. The king had been for some time in treaty for the purchase of Maine, which he designed to unite with New Hampshire, and to bestow on his favorite son the Duke of Monmouth; but straitened for money, and expecting no competitor in the purchase, he had deferred the completion of the contract. This was not unknown to Massachusetts; and that colony being strongly urged by the inhabitants of Maine to prevent their territories from being dismembered from its jurisdiction, directed its agent to purchase the title of Gorges, which he very willingly sold to them for twelve hundred pounds. This transaction gave great offence to the king, who peremptorily insisted that the authorities of Massachusetts should waive their right and relinquish their contract to him; but they, blending as a sufficient apology for what they had done, that it had been in compliance with the wishes of the people, retained the purchase and governed the country as a subordinate province. The people of New Hampshire were no less reluctant to be separated from Massachusetts; but they were compelled to submit, and to receive a royal governor.* One of the first acts of their legislature was to vote an affectionate address to Massachusetts, acknowledging the former kindness of that colony, and declaring it to have been their general wish to retain their former connexion, had such been the pleasure of their common sovereign. The government that had been forced upon them proved utterly incapable of preserving tranquillity or commanding respect. The attempts that were made to enforce Mason's title to the property of the soil, and to render the inhabitants tributary to him for the possessions which they had purchased from others and improved into value by their own labor, excited the most violent ferment, and resulted in a train of vexatious but indecisive legal warfare.† Cranfield, the governor, after involving himself in contentions and altercations with the settlers and their legislative body, in which he

* In the first commission that was issued for the government of this province, the king engaged to continue to the people their ancient privilege of an assembly "unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." Belknap, i. 172.

† The people were sometimes provoked to oppose club law to parchment law. An irregular judgment having been pronounced in favor of Mason against some persons who refused to submit to it, Cranfield sent a party of sheriff's officers to serve a writ on them while they were in church. The congregation was incensed at such a proceeding; a young woman knocked down a sheriff's officer with her bible; and the attack becoming general, the whole legal army was routed. It was found necessary to abandon the judgment. Belknap.

found it totally impossible to prevail, transmitted an assurance to the British government, "that while the clergy were allowed to preach, no true allegiance could be found in those parts." He wreaked his vengeance upon some nonconformist ministers, to whose preaching he imputed the resolute spirit of the people, and whose general denunciations against vice he construed into personal reflections on himself and his favorites, by arbitrarily commanding them to administer the sacrament to him according to the liturgy of the church of England, and committing them to prison on receiving the refusal which he expected. His misgovernment at length provoked a few rash individuals hastily, and without concert, to revolt from his authority. They were instantly suppressed; and having been arraigned of high treason, were convicted and condemned. But Cranfield, aware of the unpopularity of his government, had employed artifices in the composition of the jury, which excited universal indignation; and afraid to carry his sentence into effect within the colony, he adopted the strange and unwarrantable proceeding of sending the prisoners to be executed in England. The English government actually sanctioned this irregularity, and were preparing to execute the sentence of a colonial governor, and to exhibit to the English people the tragical issue of a case, with the merits of which they were totally unacquainted, when a pardon was obtained for the unfortunate persons, by the solicitation of Cranfield himself, who, finding it impossible to maintain order in the province, or to withstand the numerous complaints of his injustice and oppression, had solicited his own recall. Shortly after his departure, New Hampshire was again united to the government of Massachusetts, and shared her fortunes till the period of the British revolution.*

1678.] Although the troubles of the Popish Plot began now to engage the attention and anxiety of the king, he was no longer to be diverted from the resolution he had adopted of effecting the subjugation of Massachusetts; and though the concern of the Duke of Monmouth with that celebrated imposture and the connexions he had formed with the profligate Shaftesbury and its other promoters, might diminish the king's regret for the privation of the appanage he had meant to invest him with, the presumptuous interference of Massachusetts to defeat this transaction had inflamed his displeasure and fortified his resolution. That additional pretexts might not be wanting to justify his measures, every complaint that could be collected against the colony was promoted and encouraged. The quakers who had refused, during the Indian war, either to perform military service or to pay the fines imposed by law on defaulters, complained bitterly of the persecution they had undergone by the enforcement of these fines, as well as of the law which obliged them to contribute to the maintenance of the colonial ministers. When the dangers of the Indian war were at their height, some of the colonists apprehending that these calamities were a judgment of Heaven upon the land for tolerating such heretics as the quakers within its bosom, procured the re-enactment of an old law, prohibiting assemblies for quaker worship; and though it does not appear that this law was enforced, its enactment was justly regarded as persecution, and alienated the regards of many who had hitherto been friends of the colony. The agents who had been deputed to manage the interests of Massachusetts in the disputes respecting New Hampshire and Maine, were detained to answer these complaints which were gravely preferred by the quakers to a government which was itself enforcing with far greater rigor upon them the very policy which it now encouraged them to impute to one of its own provincial dependencies as the most scandalous persecution. Other and more serious complaints contributed to detain the agents and increase their perplexity. Randolph, whom the people of New England described as "going up and down seeking whom he might devour," had faithfully complied with his instructions to collect as much matter of complaint as he could obtain within the colony, and loaded with the hatred of the people, which he cordially reciprocated, he now returned to England and opened his budget of arraignment and vituperation. The most just and most formidable of his charges was that the navigation act was utterly disregarded, and a free trade maintained by the colonists with all parts of the world. This was a charge which the agents could neither deny

nor extenuate, and they anxiously pressed their constituents to put end to the occasion of it. Any proceedings which the king might adopt, either for the enforcement of the navigation acts, or the punishment of the neglect they had hitherto experienced, were the more likely to coincide with the sentiments of the English people, from the interest of a considerable portion of the mercantile class of society in the monopoly which it was the object of these laws to secure. A petition had been presented to the king and privy council by a number of merchants and manufacturers, complaining of the disregard of the navigation acts in New England, and praying that they might hereafter be vigorously enforced, for the sake of promoting the trade of England, as well as of preserving her dominion over the colonies. That a stronger impression might be made on the public mind, the petitioners were solemnly heard in presence of the council, and suffered to plead at great length in support of their commercial complaints and political reasonings. The general court of Massachusetts, alarmed by these movements, at length intimated, by a letter to their agents, that "they apprehended the navigation acts to be an invasion of the rights, liberties, and properties of the subjects of his majesty in the colony, they not being represented in parliament; and, according to the usual sayings of the learned in the law, the laws of England being bounded within the four seas, and not reaching to America." They added, however, that, "as his majesty had signified his pleasure that those acts should be observed in Massachusetts, they had made provision, by a law of the colony, that they should be strictly attended to from time to time, although it greatly discouraged trade, and was a great damage to his majesty's plantation." These expressions, and the recent colonial law to which they refer, demonstrate the peculiar notions which were entertained by the people of Massachusetts of the connexion that subsisted between themselves and the parent state. [1679.] Their pretensions were the same with those which a few years after were advanced by the people of Ireland;—that, although dependent on the crown, and obliged by their patent to conform their jurisprudence, as far as possible, to the law of England, the statutes of the British parliament did not operate in the colony, till re-enacted, or otherwise recognized, by its own native legislature. So strongly did this notion possess the minds of the people of New England, and so obstinately did their interests resist the enforcement of the commercial regulations, that even the submissive province of Rhode Island, although, about this time, in imitation of Massachusetts, it took some steps towards a conformity with these regulations, never expressly recognized them till the year 1709, when its legislature empowered the governor "to put the acts of navigation in execution."*

The colonial agents, aware of the strong interests that prevailed among their countrymen still to overstep the boundaries of their regulated trade, furnished them with correct information of the threatening aspect of their affairs in England, and assured them that only a thorough compliance with the navigation acts could shelter them from the designs that were entertained by the crown. These honest representations produced the too frequent effect of unwelcome truths: they diminished the popularity of the agents, and excited suspicions in Boston that they had not advocated the interests of the colony with sufficient zeal. The people were always too apt to suspect that their deputies in England were overawed by the state, and infected with the subservience that prevailed at the royal court; and they neglected to make due allowance for the different aspect which a dispute with England presented to men who beheld face to face her vast establishments and superior power, and to those who speculated on the probability of such dispute at the opposite extremity of the Atlantic ocean. The agents at length obtained leave to return; and though some impatience and ill humor had been excited by their fidelity in the discharge of an unwelcome office, the deliberate sentiments of their countrymen were so little perverted, that when the king again intimated his desire of the re-appointment of agents in England, they twice again elected the same persons to resume their former duty, which unfortunately, however, these persons could never again be persuaded to undertake. They carried

with them a letter containing the requisitions of the king, of which the most considerable were, that the oath of allegiance should be rendered more explicit, and should be administered to every person holding an office of trust; that all civil and military commissions should be issued in the king's name; and all laws repugnant to the English commercial statutes abolished. The general court, eagerly indulging the hope that, by a compliance with these moderate demands, they could appease their sovereign and avert his displeasure, proceeded instantly to enact laws in conformity with his requisitions. They trusted that he had now abandoned the designs which they had been taught to apprehend; and which, in reality, were merely suspended by the influence of the proceedings connected with the popish plot, and the famous bill for the exclusion of the Duke of York. Although the requisitions which the king had transmitted by the hands of Stronghton and Bulkeley were obeyed, he continued to intimate, from time to time, his desire that new agents might be appointed to represent the colony in London; but partly from the apprehensive jealousy with which the colonists regarded such a measure, and partly from the reluctance that prevailed among their leading men to undertake so arduous and perplexing an employment, the king's desires on this point were not complied with. The short interval of independence which the colonists were yet permitted to enjoy was very remote from a state of tranquillity. Randolph, who had commended himself to the king and his ministers by the diligence and activity with which he had co-operated with their views, was appointed collector of the customs at Boston, and a custom-house establishment, which some years before had been erected without opposition in Virginia, and Maryland, was now extended to New England.* But it was in Massachusetts that this measure was intended to produce the effects which it was easily foreseen would result from its own nature, as well as from the temper and the unpopularity of the person who was appointed to conduct it. The navigation acts were evaded in Rhode Island, and openly contemned and disregarded in Connecticut; yet these states were permitted to practice such irregularity without molestation. It seems to have been less the enforcement of the acts themselves that the king desired, than the advantage which would accrue from the attempt to enforce them after such long neglect in the obnoxious province of Massachusetts. To this province he confined his attention; and justly considered that the issue of his contest with it, would necessarily involve the fate of all the other settlements of New England. Randolph proceeded to exercise his office with the most offensive rigor, and very soon complained that the stubbornness of the people defeated all his activity, and presented insuperable obstacles to the execution of the laws. Almost every suit that he instituted for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures was decided against him. He proceeded to England in order to lay his complaints before his employers, and returned invested with more extensive powers, in the exercise of which he was not more successful. [1680.] He reproached the colonial authorities with injustice and partiality; and they denied the charge, and accused him of unnecessary and vexatious litigation. The requisitions and remonstrances which the king continued to make, from time to time, were answered by professions of loyalty, and by partial compliances with what was thus suggested; but the main subject of contest still continued to subsist, and the colony, though repeatedly desired, still delayed, to send deputies to England. The general court was at this time divided between two parties, who cordially agreed in their estimate of the value of their chartered privileges, but differed in opinion as to the extent to which it was advisable to contend for them. Bradstreet, the governor, at the head of the moderate party, promoted every compliance with the will of the parent state short of a total surrender of their civil and ecclesiastical constitution. Danforth, the deputy-governor, at the head of another party, impeded the appointment of deputies, and opposed all submission to the acts of trade; maintaining that the colony should adhere to the strict construction of its charter, resist every abridgment of it as a dangerous precedent, no less than an injurious aggression, and standing on their right, com-

* Hutchinson, i. 319—318. Chalmers, 396, 7. 492. 493—493 Belknap, i. cap. vi. vii. & viii. These events, and the particular history of New Hampshire at this period, are related in considerable detail, with every appearance of accuracy, and with much spirit, good sense, and liberality, by Dr. Belknap.

* Neal, ii. 365, 6. Hutchinson, i. 319, 320, 322, 3. Chalmers, 277, 400. From Warden's population tables, it appears that Connecticut at this period (1679) contained twelve thousand five hundred inhabitants, having sustained a diminution of two thousand five hundred since the year 1670 (Warden, ii. 9.)—a fact unexplained by the history of this state, which had suffered comparatively little by the late Indian war.

* As a measure, partly of terror, and partly of punishment, it was determined by the English court, about this time, "that no Mediterranean passes shall be granted to New England to protect its vessels against the Turks, till it is seen what dependence it will acknowledge on his majesty, or whether his custom-house officers are received as in other colonies." Chalmers, 402.

mit the event to Providence. These parties conducted their debates with warmth, but without acrimony; and as the sentiments of one or other respectively prevailed, a greater or lesser degree of compliance with the demands of the king was infused into the undecided policy of the general court.*

The various misfortunes in which the colony had for a series of years been involved, did not fail to produce a deep and solemn impression on the minds of men habituated to regard all the events of life in a religious aspect; and contributed to revive the piety for which New England had been at first so highly distinguished, among the posterity of the original settlers. A short time before the commencement of their troubles, a natural phenomenon that excited much awe and attention at the time, and was long recollected with solemn remembrance, was visible for several nights successively in the heavens. It was a bright meteor in the form of a spear, of which the point was directed towards the setting sun, and which, with slow majestic motion, descended through the upper regions of the air, and gradually disappeared beneath the horizon. The inhabitants were deeply struck with this splendid personification of agency that seemed to unite the visible and invisible world in its range; and the colonial magistrates, without expressly alluding to it, yielded to its influence on their own minds, and endeavored to improve its effects on the minds of others, by promoting a general reformation of manners. Circular letters were transmitted to all the clergy, urging them to greater diligence in exemplifying and inculcating the precepts of religion, especially on the young, and instructing their parishioners from house to house. The dupes of science falsely so called may deride these impressions, and trace to ignorant wonder the piety which they produced; but enlightened philosophy will confess the worth and dignity of that principle which recognizes in every display of the great phenomena of nature, additional calls to serve and glorify its Almighty Creator, and which elevates and refines human faculties by placing every object that forcibly strikes them in a noble and graceful light derived from connexion with the interests of morality and the honor of God. The events of the Indian war, the losses sustained from a train of unfavorable weather that ensued, and, latterly, the disquiet occasioned by the contentions with the English government, served, in like manner, to humble the people beneath the Almighty Power which controls the passions of men as well as the elements of nature, and were equally productive of increased diligence in the observance of piety and the reformation of manners. Deeply lamenting the imperfections and deficiencies of themselves and others, many of the ministers, magistrates, and leading men of the province earnestly besought their countrymen to consider, if the interruption of Divine favor did not betoken neglect of the Divine will, by and precept and example labored to eradicate every evil habit or licentious practice that a state of war and an influx of commercial wealth were supposed to have produced. Men were strongly exhorted to carry a continual respect to the Divine will into the minutest ramifications of their affairs, and to enoble whatever they did by doing it to the Lord. The general court published a catalogue of the epidemical vices of the times, in which we find enumerated, neglect of the education of children, pride displayed in the manner of cutting and curling hair, excess of finery and immodesty of apparel, negligent carriage at church, failure in due respect to parents, a sordid eagerness of shopkeepers to obtain high prices, profane swearing, idleness, and frequenting of taverns. Grand juries were directed to make presentment of offenders in these respects: but either the happier influence of example and remonstrance was sufficient to control the obnoxious practices, or they never attained such height and prevalence as to justify the infliction of legal severities. In many instances the scrupulous piety of the colonial authorities has reprobated existing vices, and the extent to which they prevailed, in language which, when compared with the common tone of the world, is apt to beget misapprehension; and, hence, a writer no less eminent than Chalmers has fallen into the gross mistake of deriving a charge of unusual immorality against the inhabitants of Massachusetts from the very circumstances that prove the

strength of their piety, the purity of their moral habits, and the still superior purity of their moral aspirations. The strong sense that religion inspires of the vicious propensities inherent in human nature, causes the expression of the moral sentiments of religious men to appear to the world as the ravings of hypocritical cant or fanatical delusion.*

The king had never abandoned his design of effecting a complete alteration of the constitution of Massachusetts; but his moderation had been enforced by the more personal and pressing concern of resisting the attempts of Shaftesbury to re-enact the deep and daring policy of the Duke of Guise, and control his sovereign by the formation and supremacy of a protestant league in England. While Shaftesbury and his party were able to retain their influence on the public mind by the artifice of the popish plot, and to attack the monarchy by the device of the exclusion bill, it might well be deemed unsafe to signalize the royal administration by any public act of extraordinary tyranny in a province so eminent for zeal in the protestant cause as Massachusetts. [1681.] But Charles had now obtained a complete victory over his domestic adversaries; and, among other excesses of retaliatory violence and arbitrary power by which he proceeded to improve his success, he instituted writs of *quo warranto* against the principal corporations in England, and easily obtained judgments from the courts of law that declared all their liberties and franchises forfeited to the crown. About two years before this period, he had deliberated on the possibility of superseding entirely the government of Massachusetts without the observance of any legal solemnity, but, on consulting Jones and Wilmington, the attorney and solicitor general, he had learned that his object could not be securely or effectually attained except by the instrumentality of a writ of *quo warranto*, which at that time it was not deemed expedient to employ. But now every impediment was removed; and the colonists received the most positive intelligence from their friends in England that the abrogation of their charter was finally resolved on, and was to be instantly accomplished. Randolph, who spent much of his time in making voyages between England and America, and had lately affixed a protest on the exchange of Boston against the acts of its government, now brought from London a letter from the king, dated the 26th of October, 1681, recapitulating all the complaints against the colony, and commanding that deputies should instantly be sent to him, not only to answer these complaints, but "with powers to submit to such regulations of government as his majesty should think fit;" which if they should fail to do, it was intimated that a writ of *quo warranto* would be directed against them. A new matter of charge, suggested by the inquisitive hostility of Randolph, was at the same time preferred against them,—that they coined money within the province in contempt of the king's prerogative. The general court, in answer to this sudden arraignment of a practice which had been permitted so long to prevail without question, explained how and when it had originated, and appealed to these circumstances as decisively proving that no contempt had been designed; but, withal, declared that if it were regarded as a trespass on his majesty's authority, they humbly entreated pardon for the ignorance under which it had been committed. Among the other complaints that were urged by the king, were the presumptuous purchase of the province of Maine, which the colonists were again commanded to surrender, and the disallowance of any other worship than that of the established churches within the colony. To the first of these they answered by repeating their former apology, and still declining what was required of them; and to the second, that liberty of worship was now granted to all denominations of Christians in Massachusetts. The royal letter contained many other charges; but they were all answered by solemn protestations that either the commands they imported had been already fulfilled, or the disobedience they alleged had not been committed.

An assembly of the general court having been held [1682] for the purpose of electing deputies to pro-

ceed to England, and Stoughton again declining to accept this office, it was conferred on Dudley and Richards, two of the wealthiest and most respectable citizens of the province. But as the powers which the royal letter required that they should be invested with, of submitting to whatever regulations of government the king should think fit, were nothing else than powers to surrender all the rights of the colony, the court was careful to grant no such authority, and, on the contrary, plainly expressed in their instructions that the deputies were not to do or consent to any thing that should infringe the liberties granted by the charter, or alter the existing form of government. The deputies set sail for England, whither they were soon followed by Randolph, to confront, oppose, and counteract them. A public fast was appointed to be observed throughout the colony, to pray for the preservation of their charter and the success of the deputation. Means less pure, though I think by no means unjustifiable, were adopted, or at least sanctioned, by the assent of the court of assistants, for the promotion of the colonial interests in England. Cranfield, who was still the royal governor of New Hampshire, being on a visit at Boston, suggested to these authorities that their agents should be directed to wait on Lord Hyde, and tender the sum of two thousand guineas for the private service of the king, which he assured them, from the notorious poverty and venality of the court,* would infallibly procure a stay of all hostile proceedings. They fell headlong into the snare; and having written letters to this effect to the deputies, Cranfield despatched letters at the same time to the king, which he assured them contained the strongest recommendations of their interests to royal favor. But though these men were willing, in a cause where no interests but their own were involved, to sacrifice their money for their liberty, and to buy their country out of the hands of a sordid and dissolute tyrant, it was not the will of Providence that the liberties of Massachusetts should be bought with gold, or that the prayers which had been associated with such means should prevail. Letters soon arrived from the deputies, informing that Cranfield had written a ludicrous account of the whole proceeding to the king, and vaunted his dexterity in outwitting the people of Boston, whom he described as a crew of rascals and rebels, and that the publication of the story had exposed them to the derision of the whole court.†

The deputies found the king intoxicated with prosperous tyranny, and incensed to the highest degree against a province that had so long presumed to withstand his will. Their credentials, which they were desired to exhibit to Sir Lionel Jenkins, the secretary of state, were at once declared to be insufficient; and they were informed, that unless others, satisfactory in every respect, were immediately obtained, it was his majesty's pleasure that a *quo warranto* against their charter should issue without delay. The deputies communicated this peremptory injunction to their constituents; assuring them, at the same time, that the case of the colony was desperate, and leaving them to determine whether it was most advisable to submit themselves unreservedly to his majesty's pleasure, or to abide the issue of a process which would certainly be fatal. This important question, the determination of which was to be the last exercise of their beloved liberty, was solemnly discussed both in the general court and, as was meet, by the inhabitants of the province at large; [1683.] and the general sentiment was declared to be, "that it was better to die by other hands than their own." An earnest address to the king was framed by the general court; a corresponding one was signed by the inhabitants; and the agents were directed to present them or not, as they should think proper.

They were authorized to deliver up the titles of the province of Maine, if by so doing they could preserve the

* Every thing was venal that Charles the Second could obtain a price for. He sold his alliance to the king of France, and the officers of government to his own ministers. From the Memoirs of Sir William Temple, it appears that this eminent person was obliged, in 1674, to decline the office of secretary of state from inability to advance 8000*l.* which was the price of it. Temple's Works (Dean Swift's edition, folio.) i. 379.

† Hutchinson, i. 333 335 337. Chalmers, 409. 430. 443. 450. Notwithstanding the unpromising aspect of affairs in New England at this period, her population received frequent additions from the emigration of English nonconformists. Among a considerable body of those who about the year 1682 sought an asylum in Massachusetts was Josias Franklin, the father of that distinguished philosopher and politician who in the following century contributed so signally to effect the independence of the American states. See Franklin's Memoirs of his own Life.

* Hutchinson, i. 310. 321. 336. 327. 330 331. 331. Chalmers, 297. 400. From a report presented this year (1680) to the lords of trade, it appears that Connecticut, then in the forty-fourth year of its settlement, contained twenty-one churches, each of which had its minister; a militia of 2500 men; a very few indentured servants, and thirty slaves. Holmes, i. 377.

CHAPTER V.

charter; but otherwise not; and they were finally informed of the irrevocable determination of their constituents to adhere to the charter, and never to show themselves unworthy of liberty by voluntarily disowning it.

The communication of this magnanimous answer put an end to the functions of the deputies; and a writ of *quo warranto* having been issued forthwith against the colony, they desired leave to retire from the spectacle of such proceedings, and were permitted to return to Boston. They were instantly followed by Randolph, who had presented to the committee of plantations articles of high crimes and misdemeanors against the colony, and was now selected to carry the fatal writ across the Atlantic. The message was perfectly suitable to the hand that conveyed it; and Randolph performed his office with a triumphant eagerness that added insult to injury, and increased the detestation with which he was universally regarded. The king at the same time made a last attempt to induce the colonists to spare him the tedious formalities of legal process. He transmitted a declaration, that if before judgment they would make a full submission and entire resignation to his pleasure, he would consider their interest as well as his own service in composing the new charter, and make no farther departure from the original constitution than should be necessary for the support of his government. In order to enforce this suggestion, the colonists were apprised, that all the corporations in England except the city of London, had surrendered their privileges to the king; and copies of the proceedings against the charter of London were dispersed through the province, that all might know that a contest with his authority was utterly hopeless. But the people of Massachusetts were not to be moved from their purpose by the threats of despotic power or the example of general servility. They had acted well, and had now to suffer well; and disdainfully refused to diminish the infamy of their oppressor by sharing it with him. The majority of the court of assistants, overwhelmed by their calamities, voted an address of submission to the king; but the house of delegates, animated with the general feeling of the people, and supported by the approbation of the clergy, rejected the address, and adhered to their former resolutions. The process of *quo warranto* was in consequence urged forward with all the vigor that the formalities of law would admit. A requisition to the colony to make appearance was promptly complied with; but it was found that the legal period of appearance had elapsed before the requisition was transmitted. At length, in Trinity term of the following year, [1684.] judgment was pronounced against the governor and company of Massachusetts, "That their letters patent and the enrolment thereof be cancelled;" and in the year after, [1685.] an official copy of this judgment was received by the secretary of the general court.

Thus the liberties of Massachusetts were overthrown by the descendant of the princes whose oppressions had contributed to lay their foundations; after being defended by the children of the original settlers with the same resolute unbending virtue that their fathers had exerted in establishing them. The venerable Bradstreet, who had accompanied the first emigrants to Massachusetts in 1630, was still alive, and was governor of the colony at the period of the subversion of those institutions which he had contributed originally to plant in the desert, and had so long continued to adorn and enjoy. Perhaps he now discerned the vanity of those sentiments that had prompted so many of the coevals whom he had survived, to lament their deaths as premature. But the aged eyes that beheld this eclipse of New England's prosperity, were not yet to close till they had seen the return of better days.

That the proceedings of the king were in the highest degree unjust and tyrannical, appears manifest beyond all decent denial; and that the legal adjudication by which he masked his tyranny was never annulled by the English parliament, is a circumstance very little creditable to English justice. The House of Commons, indeed, shortly after the Revolution, inflamed with indignation at the first recital of the proceedings we have seen, passed a resolution declaring "that those *quo warrantos* against the charters of New England were illegal and void;" but they were afterwards prevailed with to depart from this resolution by the arguments of Treby, Somers, and Holt, whose eminent faculties and constitutional principles could not exempt them from the influence of a superstitious prejudice, generated by their professional habits, in favor of the sacredness of legal formalities.

Designs—and Death of Charles the Second—Government of Massachusetts under a temporary Commission from James the Second—Andros appointed Governor of New England—Submission of Rhode Island—Resolute Effort to preserve the Charter of Connecticut—Oppressive Government of Andros—Colonial Policy of the King—Sir William Phips—Indian Hostilities renewed by the fatigues of the French—Insurrection at Boston—Andros deposed—and the ancient Government restored—Connecticut and Rhode Island resume their Charters—William and Mary proclaimed—War with the French and Indians—Sir William Phips conquers Acadia—Ineffectual Expedition against Quebec—Impairment of Andros by the Colony, discouraged by the English Ministers—and dismissed—The King refuses to restore the ancient Constitution of Massachusetts—Tenor of the New Charter—Sir William Phips Governor—The New England Witchcraft—Death of Phips—War with the French and Indians—Loss of Acadia—Peace of Ryswick—Moral and political State of New England.

[1685.] So eager was Charles to complete the execution of his long cherished designs on Massachusetts, that in November, 1684, immediately after the judgment was pronounced, he began to make arrangements for the new government of the colony. Though not even a complaint had been urged against New Plymouth, he scrupled not to involve that settlement in the same fate: and as if he intended to consummate his tyranny by a measure that should teach the inhabitants of New England how dreadful the vengeance of a king could be, he selected for the execution of his designs an individual, than whom it would not be easy in the whole records of human cruelty and wickedness to point out a man who has excited to a greater degree the abhorrence and indignation of his fellow-creatures. The notorious Colonel Kirke, whose brutal and sanguinary excesses have secured him an immortality of infamy in the history of England, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth: and it was determined that no assembly should be permitted to exist, but that the legislative and executive powers should be combined in a governor and council appointed during the royal pleasure. This arbitrary policy was approved by all the ministers of Charles, except the Marquis of Halifax, who espoused the cause of the colonists with a generous zeal, and warmly but vainly urged that they were entitled to enjoy the same laws and institutions that were established in England.* Though Kirke had not yet committed the enormities by which he was destined to illustrate his name in the west of England, he had already given such indications of his disposition in the government of Tangier, that the tidings of his appointment filled the inhabitants of the colony with horror and dismay. But before Kirke's commission and instructions could be finally settled, the career of Charles himself was interrupted by death: and Kirke was reserved to contribute by his atrocities in England to bring hatred and exile on Charles's successor. This successor, James the Second, from whose stern inflexible temper, and high toned opinions respecting government, the most gloomy presages of tyranny had been drawn, was proclaimed in Boston with melancholy pomp.

These presages were verified by the administration of the new monarch. Soon after his accession to the throne, a commission was issued for the temporary government of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth, by a president and council selected from among the inhabitants of Massachusetts, whose powers were entirely executive and judicial, and were to endure till the arrival of a permanent governor. They were directed to allow liberty of conscience to all, but to bestow peculiar encouragement on the church of England; to determine all suits originating within the colony, but to admit appeals from their sentences to the king in council; and to defray the expenses of their government by levying the taxes formerly imposed. This commission was laid before the general court at Boston, not as being any longer considered a body invested with political authority, but as being composed of individuals of the highest respectability and influence in the province. In answer to the communication they had thus received, [1686.] this assembly agreed unanimously to an address, in which they declared that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were deprived of the rights of freemen by the

new system, and that it deeply concerned both those who introduced and those who were subjected to a system of this nature, to consider how far it was safe to pursue it. They added, that if the newly appointed officers meant to assume the government of the people, though they would never give assent to such proceedings, they would nevertheless denounce themselves as loyal subjects, and humbly make their addresses to God, and in due time to their prince for relief. The president named in the commission was Mr. Dudley, who had lately been one of the deputies of the province to England, and whose conduct had justified in some degree the jealousy with which the colonists ever regarded the men whom they were compelled to intrust with the performance of that arduous duty. His patriotic virtue, without being utterly dissolved, was relaxed by the beams of royal influence. Despairing of being able to serve his country, he applied himself with more success to cultivate his own interest at the English court: and in pursuing this crooked policy, he would seem to have been animated by the hope that the interest of his fellow-citizens might be more effectually promoted by his own advancement to office among them, than by the exclusion which he would incur, in common with them, by a stricter adherence to the line of integrity. Though he accepted the commission, and persuaded those who were associated with him to imitate his example, he continued to show himself friendly to the rights of the people, and to those institutions which they so highly regarded. Not only was any immediate alteration in the internal arrangements of the colony avoided, but the commissioners, in deference to the public feeling, transmitted a memorial to the English ministers stating that a well regulated assembly of the representatives of the people was extremely necessary, and ought in their opinion to be established without delay. This moderate conduct, however, gave little satisfaction to any of the parties whom they desired to please. The people were indignant to behold a system which was erected on the ruins of their liberty, promoted by their own fellow-citizens, and above all by the man whom they had lately appointed to resist its introduction among them; and nothing but the apprehensions of seeing him replaced by Kirke, whose massacres in England excited the direst presage of the fate of America, prevented the strongest expressions of their displeasure. The conduct of the commissioners was no less unsatisfactory both to the abettors of arbitrary government in England, and to the creatures of Randolph within the province, who were anxious to pay court to the king by prostrating beneath his power every obstacle to the execution of his will. Complaints were soon transmitted by these persons to the English ministers, charging the commissioners with conniving at former practices in opposition to the laws of trade, and countenancing ancient principles in religion and government.

In addition to these causes of dissatisfaction with the conduct of the commissioners, the king was now compelled to resume the prosecution of his plans by the imperfection of the temporary arrangement he had made. It was found that the acts of taxation were about to expire, and the commissioners being totally devoid of legislative authority, had no power to renew them. They had employed this consideration to enforce their suggestion of a representative assembly; but it determined the king to enlarge the arbitrary authority of his colonial officers, and at the same time to establish a permanent administration for New England. He had consulted the crown lawyers respecting the extent of his powers; and they had given as their official opinion, "that notwithstanding the forfeiture of the charter of Massachusetts, its inhabitants continued English subjects, invested with English liberties;" a truth which, though it required little legal acuteness to discover, seems to imply more honesty than we might be prepared to expect from the persons selected by this monarch from a bar which, in that age, could supply such instruments as Jeffries and Scroggs. We must recollect, however, that lawyers, though professionally partial to the authority that actuates the system they administer, cherish also in their strong predilection for those forms and precedents that constitute their own influence and the peculiar glory of their science, a principle that frequently protects liberty and befriends substantial justice.* But James was too much enamored

* The French court and the Duke of York reprobated with Charles on the impolicy of retaining in office a man who had professed such sentiments. Bailleyn's Correspondence, in the Appendix to Fox's History of James the Second. "Even at this early period," says Mr. Fox, "a question relative to North American liberty, and even to North American taxation, was considered as the test of principles friendly or adverse to arbitrary power at home."

* Many remarkable instances illustrative of this remark will occur to all who are acquainted with the history of English jurisprudence; and it is this which gives to the English state trials, even in the worst of times, an interest which the state prosecutions of no other country possess. Not the least signal instance of this principle was displayed by Chief Justice

of arbitrary power, to be deterred from the indulgence of it by any obstacle inferior to invincible necessity; and accordingly, without paying the slightest regard to an opinion supported only by the pens of lawyers, he determined to establish a complete tyranny in New England, by combining the whole legislative and executive authority of government in the persons of a governor and council to be named by himself. Kirke had been found too useful as an instrument of terror in England, to be spared to America. But Sir Edmund Andros, who had signalized his devotion to arbitrary power in the government of New York, was now appointed captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, and certain dependent territories, during the pleasure of the king. He was empowered, with consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make ordinances for the colonies, not inconsistent with the laws of England, and which were to be submitted to the king for his approbation or dissent, and to impose taxes for the support of government. He was directed to govern the people, according to the tenor of his commission, of a separate letter of instructions with which he was at the same time furnished, and of the laws which were then in force or might be afterwards enacted. The governor and council were also constituted a court of record; and from their decisions an appeal lay to the king in council. The greater part of the instructions that were given to Andros are of a nature that would do honor to the patriotism of the king, if the praise of that virtue were due to a barren desire to promote the welfare of the people, accompanied with the most effectual exertions to strip them of every security by which their welfare might be guarded. Andros was instructed to promote no persons to offices of trust but those of the best estates and characters, and to displace none without sufficient cause; to continue the former laws of the country, so far as they were not inconsistent with his commission or instructions; to dispose of the crown lands at moderate quit-rents; "to take away or to harn no man's life, member, freehold, or goods, but by established laws of the country, not repugnant to those of the realm;" to discipline and arm the inhabitants for the defence of the country, but not to impede their necessary affairs; to encourage freedom of commerce by restraining ingrossers; to hinder the excessive severity of masters to their servants, and to punish with death the slayers of Indians or negroes; to allow no printing press to exist; and to give universal toleration in religion, but special encouragement to the church of England. Except the restraint of printing, there is none of these instructions that breathes a spirit of despotism: and yet the whole system was silently pervaded by that spirit; for as there were no securities provided for the enforcement of the king's benevolent directions, so there were no checks established to restrain the abuse of the powers with which the governor was intrusted. The king was willing that his subjects should be happy, but not that they should be free or happy independently of himself; and this association of a desire to promote human welfare, with an enmity to the means most likely to secure it, suggests the explanation, perhaps the apology, of an error to which king's are inveterately liable. Trained in habits of indulgence of their will, and in sentiments of respect for its force and efficacy, they come to consider it as what not only ought to be, but must be irresistible; and feel no less secure of ability to make men happy without their own concurrence, than of a right to balk the natural desire of mankind to commit their happiness to the keeping of their own courage and wisdom. The possession of absolute power renders self-denial the highest effort of virtue; and the absolute monarch who should demonstrate a just regard to the rights of his fellow creatures, would deserve to be honored as one of the most magnanimous of human beings. Furnished with the instructions which we have seen for the mitigation of his arbitrary power, and attended with a few companies of soldiers for its enforcement, Andros arrived at Boston; and presenting himself as the substitute for the dreaded and detested Kirke, and commencing his administration with many gracious expressions of good will, he was at first received more favorably than might have been expected. But his popularity was short lived. Instead of conforming to the instructions, he copied and even exceeded the arbitrary rule of his master in England,

and committed the most tyrannical violence and oppressive exactions.*

It was the purpose of James to consolidate the strength of all the colonies in one united government; and Rhode Island and Connecticut were now to experience that their destiny was involved in the fate of Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Rhode Island, on learning the accession of the king, immediately transmitted an address congratulatory of that event, acknowledging themselves his loyal subjects, and begging his protection of their chartered rights. Yet the humility of their supplications could not protect them from the effects of the plans he had resolved to adopt in the government of New England. Articles of high misdemeanor were exhibited against them before the lords of the committee of colonies, charging them with breaches of their charter, and with opposition to the acts of navigation; and before the close of the year 1685, they received notice of the commencement of a process of *quo warranto* against their patent. Without hesitation they resolved that they would not stand suit with the king, and passed an act, in full assembly, formally surrendering the charter and all the powers it contained. By a fresh address they "humbly prostrated themselves, their privileges, their all, at the gracious feet of his majesty, with an entire resolution to serve him with faithful hearts." These servile expressions dishonored, but did not avail them; and the king, judging all forms of law superfluous, proceeded without ceremony, to impose the subjugation which the people sought to evade by deservings it. His eagerness, however, to accomplish his object with rapidity, though it probably inflicted a salutary disappointment on the people at the time, proved ultimately highly beneficial to their political interests, by preserving their charter from a legal dissolution: and we shall find that this benefit, which, with equal improvidence, was extended to the people of Connecticut, was sensibly experienced at the era of the British revolution. In consequence of the last address that had been transmitted by Rhode Island, Andros had been charged to extend his government to this province also: and in the same month that witnessed his arrival at Boston, he proceeded to Rhode Island, where he dissolved the government, broke its seal, and, admitting five of the inhabitants into his legislative council, assumed the administration of all the functions of government.

Connecticut had also transmitted an address to the king on his accession, and vainly solicited the preservation of her privileges. At the same time when the articles of misdemeanor were exhibited against Rhode Island, a similar proceeding was adopted against the governor and company of Connecticut, who were charged with making laws contrary to those of England; of extorting unreasonable fines; of enforcing an oath of fidelity to their own corporation, in opposition to the oath of allegiance; of intolerance in religion; and of denial of justice. These charges, which were supposed to infer a forfeiture of the charter, were remitted to Sawyer, the attorney-general, with directions to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the colony. The writ was issued, and Randolph, the general enemy and accuser of the free, offered his services to carry it across the Atlantic. The governor and the assembly of Connecticut had for some time beheld the storm approaching, and knowing that courage alone was vain, and resistance impracticable, they endeavored, with considerable address, to elude what they were unable to repel. After delaying as long as possible to make any signification of their intentions, the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros at Boston, and his proceedings in Rhode Island, seem to have convinced them that the measures of the king were to be vigorously pursued, and that they could not hope to be allowed to deliberate any longer. [1687.] They wrote, accordingly, to the secretary of state, expressing their strong desire to be permitted to retain their present constitution; but requesting, if it were the royal purpose to dispose otherwise of them, that they might be annexed to Massachusetts, and share the fortunes of a people who were their former correspondents and confederates, and whose principles and manners they understood and approved. This was construed by the British government into a surrender of the colonial privileges, and Andros was commanded to annex this province also to his jurisdiction. Randolph, who seems to have been qualified not less by genius than inclination to promote

the execution of tyrannical designs, advised the English minister to prosecute the *quo warranto* to a judicial issue; assuring them that the government of Connecticut would never consent to do, nor acknowledge that they had done what was equivalent to an express surrender of the rights of the people. It was matter of regret to the ministers and crown lawyers of a later age, that this politic suggestion was not adopted. But the king was too eager to snatch the boon that seemed within his reach, to wait the tedious formalities of the law; and no further proceedings ensued on the *quo warranto*. In conformity with his orders, Andros marched at the head of a body of troops to Hartford, the seat of the provincial government, where he demanded that the charter should be delivered into his hands. The people had been extremely desirous to preserve at least the document of rights, which the return of better times might enable them to assert with effect. The charter was laid on the table of the assembly, and the leading persons of the colony addressed Andros at considerable length, relating the exertions that had been made, and the hardships that had been incurred, in order to found the institutions which he was come to destroy: entreating him yet to spare them, or at least to leave the people in possession of the patent, as a testimonial of the favor and happiness they had formerly enjoyed. The debate was earnest, but orderly, and protracted to a late hour in the evening. As the day declined, lights were introduced into the hall, and it was gradually surrounded by a considerable body of the bravest and most determined men in the province, prepared to defend their representatives against the violence of Andros and his armed followers. At length, finding that their arguments were ineffectual, a measure that seems to have been previously concerted by the inhabitants, was coolly, resolutely, and successfully adopted. The lights were extinguished as if by accident; and Captain Wadsworth laying hold of the charter, disappeared with it before they could be rekindled. He conveyed it securely through the crowd, who opened to let him pass, and closed their ranks as he proceeded, and deposited it in the hollow of a venerable elm tree, which retained the precious deposit till the era of the English revolution, and was long regarded with veneration by the people, as the contemporary and associate of a transaction so interesting to their liberties. Andros finding all his efforts ineffectual to recover the charter, or ascertain the person by whom it had been secreted, contented himself with declaring the ancient government dissolved; and assuming the administration into his own hands, he created two of the principal inhabitants members of his general legislative council.

Having thus united the whole of New England under one administration, Andros proceeded, with the assistance of his grand legislative council selected from the inhabitants of the several provinces, to enact laws and regulations calculated to fortify his government, and to effectuate the changes which he deemed necessary to its security. An act reviving the former taxation was obtained from the council; and yet, even this necessary proceeding was obstructed by the reluctance with which these persons, though selected by himself, consented to become the instruments of riveting the shackles of their country. The only farther opposition which he experienced, proceeded from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, who, insisting that they were freemen, refused to appropriate the assessments of a taxation which they considered unlawfully imposed. But their opposition was easily suppressed, and many of them severely punished. Andros very quickly found that the revenues of the ancient government would be insufficient to support the expenses of his more costly administration; and while he notified this defalcation to the king, he intimated, at the same time, with a degree of humanity that at least deserves to be noticed, that the country was so much impoverished by the effects of the Indian war and recent losses at sea and scanty harvests, that an increase of taxation could with difficulty be borne. But the king had exhausted his humanity in the letter of instructions, and returned peremptory orders to raise the taxes to a level with the charges of administration; and Andros from this moment, either stifling his humanity, or discarding his superfluous respect to the moderation of the king, proceeded to exercise his power with a rigor and injustice that rendered his government universally odious. The weight of taxation was oppressively augmented, and all the fees of office screwed up to an enormous height. The ceremonial of marriage was altered, and the celebration of that rite, which had been hitherto exercised by the magistrates, was confined to the ministers c

Jeffries himself, who, after he had trampled on the plainest principles of justice and equity in order to procure the conviction of a dissenting minister, suffered himself to be deterred from passing sentence in conformity with the verdict, by a technical objection which is almost unintelligible. Case of Rosewell. Howell's State Trials, vol. x. p. 147.

* Hutchinson, i. 353-355. Chalmers, 419-421. During the administration of Andros, a new great seal was appointed for New England, with the motto *Nuquam libertas prator extat*. Chalmers, 463.

the church of England, of whom there was only one in the province of Massachusetts. The fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the congregational churches were arbitrarily suppressed by the governor, who gave notice that the regulation of such matters belonged entirely to the civil power. He declared repeatedly in council that the people would find themselves mistaken if they supposed that the privileges of Englishmen would follow them to the end of the world, and that the only difference between their condition and that of slaves, was that they were neither bought nor sold. It was declared unlawful for the colonists to assemble in public meetings, or for any one to quit the province without a passport from the governor; and Randolph, now at the summit of his wishes, was not ashamed to boast in his letters that the rulers of New England "were as arbitrary as the great Turk." While Andros mocked the people with the semblance of trial by jury, he easily contrived, by the well-known practice of *packing juries*, to convict and wreak his vengeance on every person who offended him, as well as to screen the enormities of his own dependents from the punishment they deserved. And, as if to complete the discontent that such proceedings excited, he took occasion to question the validity of individual titles to land, declaring that the rights acquired under the sanction of the ancient government were tainted with its vices and must share its fate.* New grants or patents from the governor were declared to be requisite to mend the defective titles to land; and writs of intrusion were issued against those who refused to apply for such patents and to pay the enormous fees that were charged for them. The king, indeed, had now encouraged Andros to consider the people whom he governed as a society of felons or rebels; for he transmitted to him express directions to grant his majesty's most gracious pardon to as many of the people as should apply for it. But none had the meanness to ask for a grace that suited only the guilty. The only act of the king that was favorably regarded by the inhabitants of the colony, was his *declaration of indulgence*, which excited so much dissatisfaction in Britain, even among the protestant dissenters who shared its benefit. Notwithstanding the intolerance that has been imputed to New England, this declaration produced general satisfaction there, though there were not wanting some who had discernment enough to perceive that the sole object of the king was the gradual re-introduction of popery.

After many ineffectual remonstrances against his oppressive proceedings had been made by the colonists to Andros himself, two deputies, one of whom was Increase Mather, the most eminent divine and most popular minister in Massachusetts, were sent over to England, [1688,] to submit the grievances of the colony to the humane consideration of the king. Randolph, who was revelling in the profits of the office of post-master-general of New England, with which his servility had been rewarded, labored to defeat the success of the deputation by writing to the English ministry that Mather was a seditious and profligate incendiary, and that his object was to pave the way to the overthrow of regal government. Yet the requests of the colonists were extremely moderate. Whatever they might desire, all that they demanded was that their freeholds might be respected, and that a colonial assembly might be established for the purpose, at least, of adjusting their taxation. The first of these points was conceded by the king; but as to the other, he was inexorable. When Sir William Phipps, who had gained his esteem by his spirit and gallantry, pressed him to grant the colonists an assembly, he replied, "Any thing but that, Sir William;" and even the opinion of Powis, the attorney-general, to whom the application of the deputies had been submitted, and who reported in favor of it, produced no change in his determination. James had now matured and extended his system of colonial policy. He had determined to reduce all the American governments, as well those which were denominated *proprietary* as others, to an immediate dependence on the crown, for the double purpose of effacing the examples that might diminish the resignation of the people of New England, and of combining the force of all the colonies from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of Nova Scotia, into a compact body that might be capable of presenting a barrier to the formidable encroachments of France. A general aversion to liberal institutions, no doubt, concurred with these purposes; and the panegyrics that resounded from his

oppressed subjects in Britain on the happiness that was reported to be enjoyed in America, contributed, at this period, in no slight degree to whet his dislike to American institutions.* With a view to the accomplishment of this design, he had in the preceding year commanded writs of *quo warranto* to be issued for the purpose of cancelling all the patents that still remained in force; and, shortly before the arrival of the deputation from Massachusetts, a new commission had been directed to Andros, annexing New York and New Jersey to his government, and appointing Francis Nicholson his lieutenant. Andros effected this annexation with his usual promptitude; and, having appointed Nicholson deputy-governor at New York, he administered the whole of his vast dominion with a vigor that rendered him formidable to the French, but, unhappily, still more formidable and odious to the people whom he governed.

Sir William Phipps, who had employed his influence with the king in behalf of the deputation from Massachusetts, was himself a native of the province, and, notwithstanding a mean education and the depression of the humblest circumstances, had raised himself by the mere vigor of his mind to a conspicuous rank, and gained a high reputation for spirit, skill, and success. He kept sheep in his native province till he was eighteen years of age, and was afterwards apprenticed to a ship carpenter. When he was freed from his indentures, he pursued a seafaring life, and attained the station of captain of a merchant vessel. Having met with an account of the wreck of a Spanish ship, loaded with great treasures, near the Bahama islands, about fifty years before, he conceived a plan of extricating the buried treasure from the bowels of the deep; and, transporting himself to England, he stated his scheme so plausibly that the king was struck with it, and in 1683 sent him out with a vessel to make the attempt. It proved unsuccessful; and all his urgency could not induce the king to engage in a repetition of it. But the Duke of Albemarle, resuming the design, equipped a vessel for the purpose, and gave the command of it to Phipps, who now realizing the expectations he had formed, succeeded in raising specie to the value of at least 300,000*l.* from the bottom of the ocean. Of this treasure, he obtained a portion sufficient to make his fortune, with a still larger meed of general consideration and applause. The king was exhorted by some of his courtiers to confiscate the whole of the specie thus recovered, on pretence that a fair representation of the project had not been made to him; but he declared that the representation had been perfectly fair, and that nothing but his own misgivings, and the evil advice and mean suspicions of these courtiers themselves, had deprived him of the treasure that this honest man had labored to procure him. He conceived a high regard for Phipps, and conferred the rank of knighthood upon him. Sir William employed his influence at court for the benefit of his country; and his patriotism seems not to have harmed him in the opinion of the king. Finding that he could not prevail to obtain the restoration of the charter privileges, he solicited and received the appointment of high sheriff of New England; in the hope that by remedying the abuses that were committed in the impannelling of juries, he might create a barrier against the tyranny of Andros. But the governor and his creatures, incensed at this interference, made an attempt to have him assassinated, and soon compelled him to quit the province and take shelter in England. James, shortly before his own abdication, among the other attempts he made to conciliate his subjects, offered Phipps the government of New England; but, happily for his pretensions to an office he so well deserved, he refused to accept it from a falling tyrant, and under a system which, instead of seeking any longer to mitigate, he hoped speedily to see dissolved.

The dissatisfactions of the people of New England continued meanwhile to increase to such a height, that every act of the government was viewed through the medium of a strong dislike: In order to discredit the ancient administration, Andros and Randolph had

* Dryden, whose servile muse faithfully re-echoed the sentiments of the court, thus expresses himself in a theatrical prologue written in the year 1686—

"Since faction ebbs, and regues grow out of fashion,
Their penny scribes take care to inform the nation
How well men thrive in this or that plantation:

How Pennsylvania's air agrees with quakers,
And Carolina's with associators;
Both often too good for madmen and for traitors.

Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more."

labored to propagate the opinion that the Indians had hitherto been treated with a cruelty and injustice, to which all the hostilities with these savages ought reasonably to be imputed; and had vaunted their own ability to rule them by gentleness and equity.* But this year their theory and their policy were alike disgraced by the furious hostilities of the Indians on the eastern frontiers of New England. The movements of these savages were excited on this, as on former occasions, by the insidious artifices of the French, whose unprincipled suppleness of character and demeanor has always been much more acceptable to the Indians in their native condition, than the grave unbending spirit of the English, and has found it easier to cultivate and employ than to check or eradicate the treachery and ferocity of their Indian neighbors. The English settlers offered to the Indians terms of accommodation, which at first they seemed willing to accept; but the encouragements of their French allies soon prevailed with them to reject all friendly overtures, and their native ferocity prompted them to signalize this declaration by a series of unprovoked and unexpected massacres. Andros published a proclamation requiring that the murderers should be delivered up to him; but the Indians treated him and his proclamation with contempt. In the depth of winter he found himself obliged to march against them; and though he succeeded in occupying and fortifying positions which enabled him to curb their insolence, he made little or no impression on their numerical strength, and lost a great many of his own men in vain attempts to follow them into their fastnesses, in the most rigorous season of the year. So strong and so undiscriminating was the dislike he had excited among the people of New England, that this expedition was unjustly ascribed to a wish to destroy the troops, whom he conducted, by cold and famine.

At length the smothered rage of the people burst forth. In the following spring [1689,] some vague intelligence was received, by way of Virginia, of the proceedings of the prince of Orange in England. The old magistrates and leading men of the colony ardently wished and secretly prayed that success might attend him; but they determined in so great a cause to commit nothing unnecessarily to hazard, and quietly to await an event which they supposed that no movement of theirs could either accelerate or retard. But New England was destined to effect, by her own efforts, her own liberation; and the inhabitants of Massachusetts were now to exercise the brave privilege which nearly a century after, and in a conflict still more arduous, their children again were ready to assert, of being the first to resist oppression, and showing their countrymen the way to independence. The cautious policy and prudential dissuasions from violence that were employed by the older inhabitants of the province, were utterly disregarded by the great body of the people. Stung with the recollection of past injuries, their impatience, on the first prospect of relief, could not be restrained. All at once, and apparently without any preconcerted plan, an insurrection broke forth in the town of Boston; the drums beat to arms, the people flocked together; and in a few hours the revolt became so universal, and the energy of the people so overpowering, that all thoughts of resisting their purpose were abandoned by the government. The scruples of the more wealthy and cautious inhabitants were completely overcome by the obvious necessity of interfering to calm and regulate the fervor of the populace. Andros and about fifty of the most obnoxious characters were seized and imprisoned. On the first intelligence of the tumult, Andros had sent a party of soldiers to apprehend Mr. Bradstreet; a measure that served only to suggest to the people who their leader ought to be, and to anticipate the unanimous choice by which this venerable man was reinstated in the office he had held when his country was deprived of her liberties. Though now bending under the weight of ninety years, his intellectual powers seemed to have undergone but little abatement: he retained (says Cotton Mather) a vigor and wisdom that would have recommended a younger man to the government of a greater colony. As the tidings of the revolt spread through the province, the people eagerly flew to arms, and hurried to Boston to co-operate with their countrymen in the cause which they found already crowned with complete success. To the assembled crowds a declaration was read from the balcony of the Court House, enumerating the

* The titles of many of the proprietors of estates in New England depended upon conveyances executed by the Indians; but Andros declared that Indian deeds were no better than "the scratch of a bear's paw." Belknap, i. 233.

* It appears that Randolph cultivated the good opinion of William Penn, by writing to him in this strain, as well as by condemning the former persecution of the quakers in Massachusetts. Hutchinson, 364. Chalmers, 423, 424.

grievances of the colony, and tracing the whole to the tyrannical abrogation of the charter. A committee of safety was appointed by general consent; and an assembly of representatives being convened soon after, this body, by an unanimous vote, and with the hearty concurrence of the whole province, declared their ancient charter and its constitutions to be resumed; re-appointed Bradstreet and all the other magistrates who had been in office in the year 1686; and directed these persons in all things to conform to the provisions of the charter, "that this method of government may be found among us when order shall come from the higher powers in England." They declared that Andros and the counsellors who had been imprisoned along with him were detained in custody to abide the directions that might be received concerning them from his highness the Prince of Orange and the English parliament. What would be the extent of the revolution that was in progress in the parent state, and to what settlement of affairs it would finally conduct, was yet wholly unknown in the colonies.

The example of Massachusetts was immediately followed by the other provinces of New England. When the tidings of the revolution at Boston reached Connecticut, the inhabitants determined no longer to acknowledge a governor who from the command of one half of the colonies was now reduced to the situation of a delinquent in jail. Their charter reappeared from its concealment; and the chartered government, which had never been either expressly surrendered or legally dissolved, was instantly resumed with universal satisfaction. The people of Rhode Island had never been required to give up the charter whose privileges they had so solemnly and formally surrendered; and they now scrupled not to declare that it was still in force, and to remove as well as they could the only obstruction to this plea, by repealing the act of surrender. New Plymouth, in like manner, resumed instantaneously its ancient form of government. In New Hampshire, a general convention of the inhabitants was called, and the resolution adopted, of re-annexing the province to Massachusetts. In conformity with this resolution, deputies were elected to represent them in the general court at Boston; but King William refused to comply with the wishes of the people, and some time after appointed a separate governor for New Hampshire.

Although the people of Massachusetts had at first intimated very plainly their purpose to revive by their own act their ancient charter, the cool consideration that succeeded the ferment during which this purpose had been entertained, convinced them that it was necessary to forego it, and that the restoration of a charter so formally vacated by the existing authorities of the parent state could proceed only from the crown or legislature of England. Hearing of the convention of estates that had been convoked by the Prince of Orange in England, the provincial government of Massachusetts called together a similar convention of the counties and towns of the province; and it was the opinion of the majority of this assembly that the charter could not be resumed. Intelligence having arrived of the settlement of England and the investiture of William and Mary with the crown, they were proclaimed in the colony with extraordinary solemnity and universal satisfaction. A letter was soon after addressed by the new sovereigns, To the Colony of Massachusetts, expressing the royal allowance and approbation of the late proceedings of the people, and authorising the present magistrates to continue the administration of the public affairs, till their majesties, with the advice of the privy council, should settle them on a basis that would be satisfactory to all their subjects in the colony. An order was transmitted, at the same time, to send Andros and the other prisoners to England, that they might answer the charges preferred against them. Additional deputies were chosen by the colony to join Mr. Mather, who still continued in England, and, in concurrence with him, to substantiate the charges against Andros, and, above all, to endeavor to procure the restoration of the charter.

But before the colonists were able to ascertain if this favorite object was to be promoted by the English revolution, they felt the evil effects of that great event, in the consequences of the war that had already broken out between England and France. The war between the two parent states quickly extended itself, to their possessions in America and the colonies of New England and New York were now involved in bloody and desolating hostilities with the forces of the French in Canada, and their Indian auxiliaries and allies. The hostilities that were directed against New York be-

long to another portion of this history. In concert with them, various attacks were made by considerable bodies of the Indians in the conclusion of this year on the settlements and forts in New Hampshire and Maine; and in several instances being crowned with success, they were productive of the most horrid extremities of savage cruelty. Fully aware that these depredations originated in Canada and Acadia, the general court of Massachusetts prepared during the winter an expedition against both Port Royal and Quebec. The command of it was intrusted to Sir William Phipps, who, on the dissolution of the late arbitrary government, had come to New England in the hope of being able to render some service to his countrymen. Eight small vessels, with seven or eight hundred men, sailed under his command in the following spring, and, almost without opposition, took possession of Port Royal and of the whole province of Acadia; and, within a month after its departure, the fleet returned loaded with plunder enough to defray the whole expense of the expedition. But the Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, retorted by severe and bloody attacks on the more remote of the colonial settlements; and, animating the hostilities of his Indian allies, kept the frontiers in a state of incessant alarm by their continued incursions. Letters had been written by the general court to King William, urging the importance of the conquest of Canada, and soliciting his aid towards that attempt; but he was too much occupied in Europe to extend his exertions to America, and the general court determined to prosecute the expedition without his assistance. New York and Connecticut engaged to furnish a body of men who should march by the way of Lake Champlain to the attack of Montreal, while the troops of Massachusetts should proceed by sea to Quebec. The fleet destined for this expedition consisted of nearly forty vessels, the largest of which carried forty-four guns, and the number of troops on board amounted to two thousand. The command of this considerable armament was confided to Sir William Phipps, who, in the conduct of it, demonstrated his usual courage, and every qualification except that military experience, without which, in warfare waged on so large a scale with a civilized enemy, all the others will prove unavailing. The troops of Connecticut and New York, retarded by defective arrangements, and disappointed of the assistance of the friendly Indians who had engaged to furnish them with canoes for crossing the rivers they had to pass, were compelled to retire without attacking Montreal, and the whole force of Canada was thus concentrated to resist the attack of Phipps. His armament arrived before Quebec so late in the season, that only a *coup de main* could have enabled him to carry the place; but by unskilful delay, the time for such an attempt was suffered to pass unimproved. The English were worsted in various severe encounters, and compelled at length to make a precipitate retreat; and the fleet, after sustaining considerable loss in the voyage homeward, returned to Boston. Such was the unfortunate conclusion of an expedition which had involved the colony in an enormous expense, and cost the lives of at least a thousand men. The French had so strongly apprehended that it would be successful, that they scrupled not to ascribe its failure to the immediate interposition of Heaven, in confounding the devices of the enemy, and depriving them of common sense; and, under this impression the people of Quebec established an annual procession in commemoration of their deliverance. It is, however, a strong proof of the good conduct of Phipps, that a result so disastrous exposed him to no blame, and deprived him in no degree of the favor of his countrymen. And yet the disappointment, and the effects that resulted from it, were remarkably severe. The general court of Massachusetts had not even anticipated the possibility of miscarriage, and had expected to derive, from the success of the expedition, the same reimbursement of its expenses, of which their former enterprise had been productive. The returning army, finding the government totally unprepared to satisfy their claims, were on the point of mutinying for their pay; and it was found necessary to issue bills of credit, which the soldiers consented to accept in place of money. The colony was now in a very depressed and suffering state. Endeavoring to improve the calamities which they were unable to avoid, the government earnestly endeavored to promote the increase of piety and the reformation of manners; and urged upon the ministers and the people the duty of strongly resisting that worldliness of mind, which the necessity of contending violently for the things of this world is apt to beget. The attacks of the Indians on the eastern frontiers were

attended with a degree of success and barbarity that diffused general terror; and the colonists were expecting in this quarter to be driven from their settlements, when, all at once, these savages, of their own accord, proposed a peace of six months, which was accepted by the government with great willingness and devout gratitude. As it was perfectly ascertained that these hostile proceedings of these savages were continually fostered by the intrigues, and rendered the more formidable by the assistance and instructions of the French authorities in Canada, the conquest of this province began to be considered by the people of New England indispensable to their safety and tranquillity. In the hope of prevailing with the king to sanction and embrace this enterprise, as well as for the purpose of aiding the other deputies in the no less interesting application for the restoration of the colonial charter, Sir William Phipps, soon after his return from Quebec, by desire of his countrymen proceeded to England.*

[1691.] In the discharge of the duties of their mission, the deputies appear to have employed every effort that patriotic zeal could prompt, and honorable policy could admit, to obtain satisfaction to their constituents in the punishment of their oppressors, and the restitution of their charter. But in both these objects their endeavors were unsuccessful; and the failure (whether justly or not) was generally ascribed to the unbending integrity with which Mather and Phipps rejected every art and intrigue that seemed inconsistent with the honor of their country. It was soon discovered that the king and his minister were extremely averse to an inquiry into the conduct of Andros and Randolph, and not less so to the restitution of the ancient charter of the colony. The proceedings of the British court on this occasion present a confused and disgusting picture of intrigue and duplicity. The deputies were beset by pretended counsellors and partisans, some perhaps indiscreet, and some no doubt insincere. They were persuaded, by certain of their advisers, to present to the privy council the charges against Andros *unsigned*, and assured by others, that in so doing they had *cut the throat of their country*. When they attended to present their charges, they were anticipated by Andros and Randolph, who came prepared with a charge against the colony for rebellion against lawful authority, and the imprisonment of their legitimate governor. Sir John Somers, the counsel for the deputies consented that they should abandon the situation of accusers and stand on the defensive, and he tendered the unsigned charges as an answer to the accusations of Andros and Randolph. The council demurred to the reception of a plea presented in the name of a whole people, and required that some individuals should appear and make the plea their own. "Who was it," said the Lord President, "that imprisoned Sir Edmund and the rest? you say it was the country, and that they rose as one man. But that is nobody. Let us see the persons who will make it their own case." The deputies thereupon offered to sign the charges, and to undertake individually every responsibility for the acts of their countrymen. But they were deterred from this proceeding by the remonstrances of Sir John Somers, who insisted (for no intelligible purpose) on persisting in the course in which they had begun. Some of the counsellors too, protested against the injustice and chicanery of encountering the complaint of a whole country with objections of such a technical description. "Is not it plain," they urged, "that the revolution in Massachusetts was carried on exactly in the same manner as the revolution in England! Who seized and imprisoned Chancellor Jeffries! who secured the garrison of Hull! These were the acts of the people, and not of private individuals." This difference of opinion on a point of form seems to have been the object which the ministry had

* Neal, ii. 419-450. Hutchinson, i. 395-407. Governor Colden's History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, i. 126. Colden erroneously supposes the expedition against Quebec to have taken place in the following year.

† Philosophic observers have been struck with surprise at the contrast between the language and the conduct of the English Whigs in the Revolution of 1688. Their conduct in effecting the great change was liberal and manly. Their language, contracted and prejudiced, seemed intended to veil the audacity of their proceedings from the grossness of public view. They asserted indefeasible hereditary right with their tongues, while they violated it with their hands; and recommended the settlement of the crown in the very words of that act of settlement which they had so deliberately set aside—endeavoring, like the entailor of an estate, to deprive their posterity of the liberty that they themselves had enjoyed and found it necessary to exercise. They seemed to have considered the Americans in some such light as they regarded their own posterity, and to have looked with very little favor on every exercise of liberty independent of themselves. While they studied to clothe their own conduct in the semblance of precedent, they exacted a substantial authority to precedent from their successors and their dependants.

studied to promote. Without determining the point, the council interrupted the discussion by a resolution, that the whole matter should be submitted to the king; and his majesty soon after signified his pleasure that the complaints of both parties should be dismissed.* Thus terminated the impeachment of Andros, in a manner very ill calculated to impress the people of Massachusetts with respect for the justice of the British government. They had soon after the mortification of seeing him add reward to impunity, and honored with the appointment of governor of Virginia.*

The deputies finding that the House of Commons, though at first disposed to annul the proceedings on the *quo warranto* against Massachusetts, had been persuaded by the arguments of Somers and the other lawyers who had seats in the house to depart from this purpose, and that the king was determined not to restore the old charter, employed every effort to obtain at least a restitution of the privileges it had contained. But William and his ministers, though deterred from imitating the tyrannical proceedings of the former reign, were heartily desirous of availing themselves of whatever acquisitions these proceedings might have made to the royal prerogative; and finding that the crown had acquired a legal pretext to exercise a much stronger authority over the colony than had been reserved in its original constitution, it was determined to take advantage of this pretext without regard to the tyrannical nature of the proceeding by which it had been obtained. The restoration of their ancient privilege of electing their own municipal officers was ardently desired by the people, and contended for by the deputies with a vehemence which the king would probably have resented as disrespectful to himself, if he had not felt himself bound to excuse the irritation excited by his own injustice. He adhered inflexibly to his determination of retaining, as far as possible, every advantage that fortune had put into his hands: and at length a new charter was framed, with changes that materially affected the ancient constitution of the colony, and transferred to the crown many valuable privileges that had originally belonged to the people. By this charter the territories of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Maine, together with the conquered province of Acadia or Nova Scotia, were united together in one jurisdiction—an arrangement that was by no means satisfactory to the parties included in it; for Plymouth, which had earnestly solicited a separate establishment, was forcibly annexed to Massachusetts; and Hampshire, which had as earnestly petitioned to be included in this annexation, was erected into a separate jurisdiction.† The appointment of the governor, deputy governor, secretary, and all the officers of the admiralty, was reserved to the crown. Twenty-eight councillors were directed to be chosen by the House of Assembly, and presented to the governor for his approbation. The governor was empowered to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly at pleasure; to nominate, exclusively, all military officers, and (with the consent of his council) all the judges and other officers of the law. To the governor was reserved a negative on the laws and acts of the general assembly and council; and all laws enacted by these bodies and approved by the governor were appointed to be transmitted to England for the royal approbation; and if disallowed within the space of three years, they were to be utterly void.

The innovations that were thus introduced into their ancient constitution, excited much discontent in the minds of the people of Massachusetts; the more so because the extension of royal authority was not attended with a proportional communication of the royal protection: and the king, at the very time when he appropriated the most valuable privileges of the people found himself constrained, by the urgency of his affairs in Europe, to refuse the assistance which the people had besought from him to repel the hostilities of the

* Randolph was not sent back to America. He received, however, an appointment in the West Indies, where he died, retaining, it is said, his dislike of the people of New England to the last. Eliot's Biographical Dictionary of New England, 402, 3. Cranfield, the tyrant of New Hampshire, was appointed collector of Barbadoes. He repented of his conduct in New England, and endeavored to atone for it by showing all the kindness in his power to the traders from that country. Belknap, i. 222.

† The union, so earnestly desired by the people of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was overruled by the interest, and for the convenience, of Samuel Allen, a merchant in London, to whom Mason's heirs had sold their claim to the soil of New Hampshire. He was appointed the first governor of the province; and employing his authority in vexatious but unsuccessful attempts to efface his purchased claim, rendered himself extremely odious to the people. Belknap, i. cap. ix. and xi. He was superseded by Lord Bellamont in 1698.

Indians and of the French settlers in Canada. The situation of the states of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were permitted to reassume all their ancient privileges, rendered the injustice with which Massachusetts was treated more flagrant and irritating. Though legal technicalities might seem to warrant the advantage which those states enjoyed, it was utterly repugnant to the enlarged views of justice and equity which ought to regulate the policy of a legislator. Only mistake on the one hand, or their own artifice on the other, could be supposed to entitle them to a distinction that made the treatment of Massachusetts more invidious; and a very dangerous lesson was taught to the colonies when they were thus given to understand that it was their own vigilant dexterity and successful intrigue, or the blunders of the parent state, that they were to rely on as the safeguards of their rights. The injustice of the policy of which Massachusetts now complained was rendered still more glaringly apparent by the very different treatment obtained by the powerful corporation of the city of London. The charter of this city, though annulled with the same solemnity, and on grounds as plausible, as the ancient charter of Massachusetts, was restored by a legislative act immediately after the revolution. Nor was any political advantage derived by the English government from this violation of just and equitable principles. The patronage that was wrested from the people and appropriated by the crown, was quite inadequate to the formation of a powerful royal party in the country. The appointment of the governor and other officers was regarded as a badge of dependence, instead of forming a bond of union. The popular assemblies retained sufficient influence over the governors to curb them in the enforcement of obnoxious measures, and sufficient power to restrain them from making any serious inroad on the constitution. It is a remarkable fact that the dissensions between the two countries, which afterwards terminated in the dissolution of the British empire in America, were in a great degree promoted by the pernicious counsels and erroneous information that the colonial governors of those provinces, in which the appointment to that office was exercised by the king, transmitted to the English ministry.

Aware of the dissatisfaction with which the new charter was regarded, the ministers of William judged it prudent to wave in the outset the full exercise of the invidious prerogative, and desired the deputies to name the person whom they considered most acceptable to their countrymen as governor of Massachusetts: and the deputies having concurred in the nomination of Sir William Phipps, the appointment to this office was bestowed on him accordingly. This act of courtesy was attended with a degree of success in mollifying the ill humor of the people, that strongly attests the high estimation in which Phipps was held: for on his arrival in Boston, [1692,] though some discontent was expressed, and several of the members of the general court loudly insisted that the new charter should be absolutely rejected,* yet the great body of the people received him with acclamations; and a large majority of the general court resolved that the charter should be thankfully accepted, and appointed a day of thanksgiving for the safe arrival of their worthy governor and Mr. Mather, whose services they acknowledged with grateful commemoration. The new governor hastened to approve himself worthy of the favorable regards of his countrymen. Having convoked a general assembly of the province, he addressed them in a short but characteristic speech, recommending to them the preparation of a body of good laws with all the expedition they could exert. "Gentlemen," said he, "you may make yourselves as easy as you will for ever. Consider what may have a tendency to your welfare, and you may be sure that whatever bills you offer to me, consistent with the honor and interest of the crown, I'll pass them readily. I do but seek opportunities to serve you. Had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted of this province. And whenever you have settled such a body of good laws, that no person coming

* Mr. Mather and the other deputies, when they found it impossible to obtain an alteration of the new charter, proposed at first to reject it altogether, and to institute a process for trying the validity of the judgment pronounced on the *quo warranto*. They were deterred from this proceeding by the solemn assurance of Treby, Somers, and the two chief justices of England, that if the judgment were reversed, a new *quo warranto* would be issued, and undoubtedly followed by a judgment exempt from all ground of challenge. These learned persons assured the deputies that the colonists, by erecting judicatories, constituting a house of representatives, and incorporating colleges, had forfeited their charter, which gave no sanction to such acts of authority. Hutchinson, i. 115.

after me may make you uneasy, I shall desire not one day longer to continue in the government." His conduct amply corresponded with these professions.

The administration of Sir William Phipps, however, was neither long nor prosperous. Though he might give his sanction as governor to popular laws, it was not in his power to guard them from being rescinded by the crown; and this fate soon befel a law that was passed exempting the people from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own assemblies, and declaring their right to share all the privileges of Magna Charta. He found the province involved in a distressing war with the French and Indians, and in the still more formidable calamity of that delusion which has been termed the *New England witchcraft*. When the Indians were informed of the appointment of Sir William Phipps to the office of governor of Massachusetts, they were struck with amazement at the fortunes of the man whose humble origin they perfectly well knew, and with whom they had familiarly associated but a few years before in the obscurity of his primitive condition. Impressed with a high opinion of his courage and resolution, and a superstitious dread of that fortune that seemed destined to surmount every obstacle and prevail over every disadvantage, they would willingly have made peace, but were induced to continue the war by the artifices and intrigues of the French. A few months after his arrival, the governor, at the head of a small army, marched to Pemnaquid, on the Merrimack river, and there caused to be constructed a fort of considerable strength, and calculated by its situation to form a powerful barrier to the province, and to overawe the neighboring tribes of Indians and interrupt their mutual communication. The beneficial effect of this operation was experienced in the following year, [1693,] when the Indians sent ambassadors to the fort at Pemnaquid, and there at length concluded with English commissioners a treaty of peace, by which they renounced for ever the interests of the French, and pledged themselves to perpetual amity with the inhabitants of New England. The colonists, who had suffered severely from the recent depredations of these savages,* and were still laboring under the burdens entailed on them by former wars, were not slow to embrace the first overtures of peace: and yet the utmost discontent was excited by the measure to which they were indebted for the deliverance they had so ardently desired. The expense of building the fort and of maintaining its garrison and stores occasioned an addition to the existing taxes, which was borne with much impatience. The party who had opposed submission to the new charter, eagerly promoted every complaint against the administration of a system which they regarded with rooted aversion; and labored so successfully on this occasion to render the person and government of Sir William Phipps odious to his countrymen, that his popularity sustained a shock from which it never afterwards entirely recovered. The people were easily led to connect in their apprehension the increase of taxation with the abridgment of their political privileges, and to believe that if they had retained their ancient control over the officers of government, the administration of their affairs might have been more economically conducted. But another cause, to which I have already alluded, and which we must now proceed more fully to consider, rendered the minds of the people at this time unusually susceptible of gloomy impressions, and suspicious not less irritating than unreasonable.

The belief of witchcraft was at this period almost universal in christian countries; and the existence and criminality of the practice were recognised in the penal code of every civilized state. Persons suspected of being witches and wizards were frequently tried, condemned, and put to death by the authority of the most enlightened tribunals in Europe; and in particular, but a few years before this period, Sir Matthew Hale, a man highly and justly renowned for the strength of his understanding, the variety of his knowledge, and the eminent christian graces that adorned his character, had, after a long and anxious investigation, adjudged a number of persons to die for this offence, at an assize in Suffolk.† The reality of witchcraft, as yet, had never

* The situation of the people of New Hampshire, in particular, had become so irksome and dangerous that at one time they appear to have adopted the resolution of abandoning the province. Belknap, i. 266.

† Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 647. Even so late as the middle of the eighteenth century, the conviction of the witches of Warbois, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was still commemorated in annual sermons at Huntingdon. Johnson's Works, Observations on the tragedy of Macbeth. The seeders in Scotland published an act of their associate presbytery at Edinburgh in 1743 (reprinted at Glasgow in 1760).

been questioned, nor were there any to whom it appeared unimportant or incredible, except those who regarded the spiritual world altogether as a mere speculation, vague, visionary and delusive. Among the number of those who every where believed in it, were some of the unfortunate beings who were put to death as witches. Instigated by fraud and cruelty, or possessed by demoniacal frenzy, some of these unhappy persons professed more or less openly to hold communication with the powers of darkness; and, by the administration of subtle poisons, by disturbing the imagination of their victims, or by an actual appropriation of that mysterious agency which scripture assures us did once exist, and which no equal authority has ever proved to be extinguished, they committed crimes and inflicted injuries which were punished, perhaps, under an erroneous name. The colonists of New England, participating in the general belief of this practice, regarded it with a degree of abhorrence and indignation becoming the piety for which they were so remarkably distinguished. Their experience in America had tended to strengthen the sentiments on this subject which they had brought with them from England; for they found the belief of witchcraft firmly rooted among the Indian tribes, and the practice (or what was so termed and esteemed) prevailing extensively, and with perfect impunity, among those people whom as heathens they justly regarded as the worshippers of demons. [13] Their conviction of the reality of witchcraft must necessarily have been confirmed by this evidence of the universal assent of mankind; and their resentment of its enormity proportionately increased by the honor and acceptance which they saw it enjoy under the shelter of superstitions that denied and dishonored the true God. The first trials for witchcraft in New England occurred in the year 1645, when four persons charged with this crime were put to death in Massachusetts. Goffe, the regicide, in his diary, records the conviction of three others at Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1662, and remarks, that, after one of them was hanged, the young woman who had been bewitched was restored to health. For more than twenty years after, we hear but little of any similar prosecutions. But in the year 1688, a woman was executed for witchcraft at Boston, after an investigation conducted with a degree of solemnity that made a deep impression on the minds of the people. An account of the whole transaction was published, and so generally were the wise and good persuaded of the justice of the proceeding, that Richard Baxter wrote a preface to the account, in which he scrupled not to declare every one who refused to believe it an obdurate Sadducee.* The attention of the people being thus strongly excited, and their suspicions thus powerfully awakened in this direction, the charges of witchcraft began gradually to multiply, till, at length, there commenced at Salem that dreadful tragedy which rendered New England for many months a scene of bloodshed, terror, and madness, and at one time seemed to threaten the subversion of civil society.

It was in the beginning of the year 1692 that this malady seemed to originate in an epidemic complaint resembling epilepsy, and which the physicians, finding themselves unable to explain or cure, ascribed very readily to supernatural inclination. Some young women, and among others the daughters and niece of Mr. Parris, the minister of Salem, were first attacked by this distemper, and induced by the declarations of their medical attendants to ascribe it to witchcraft. The delusion was encouraged by a perverted application of the means best fitted to strengthen and enlighten the understanding. Solemn fasts and assem-

blies for extraordinary prayer were held by the neighboring clergy; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The fancy of the patients, perverted by disordered sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, soon dictated accusations against particular individuals as the authors of their sufferings. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing natural epidemic, frequently revolved by persons of weak mind and susceptible frame, were propagated with amazing rapidity, and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was powerfully aided by the dread of the mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise; and this appalling dread, embelishing the reason of its victims, soon led them to confirm the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of their experience. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific,* attended the cases of the sufferers, and were supposed to prove beyond a doubt that the disorder was supernatural, and no bodily ailment; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who enhanced the malignity of their disease by the frightful agency to which they ascribed it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into this dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity, by the punishment of the guilty. These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intuition by which they were supposed to be communicated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual inflicting his sufferings, no consideration of previous character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been utterly rejected by human tribunals—that they were judged incapable of common proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So powerful and universal was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that none dared, even if they had been disposed, openly to deny it; and even the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption that the apparitions of themselves, described by their accusers, had really been seen, and reduced to plead that their semblance had been assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons. It was answered, however, most gratuitously, but, unhappily to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could assume only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him, and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of these charges, and seeming to establish them in some cases was thought to confirm them in all. Some of the accused persons, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing the charge, recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their temptors and associates. In order to beget favor and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices. These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound policy, offered impunity to all who would confess the charges and betray their associates, while

denouncing the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as a national sin. Amot's Criminal Trials in Scotland, 367. In the year 1672 (sixty years before the act against witchcraft in England) Louis the Fourteenth issued an edict forbidding the French tribunals to receive accusations of witchcraft. But this edict was ineffectual. Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV. cap. 29.

The last executions for witchcraft in the British dominions were at Huntingdon in 1716, and in Sutherlandshire in 1722. Amot.

* Cudworth declares that all who disbelieve witchcraft must be atheists. James the First caused a book that exposed the imposture of some pretended instances of witchcraft to be burned by the hands of the hangman—a favorite mode of reply with his majesty to the works of his adversaries. He had written a work on demonology, in which he thus described a part of the preparations for the invocation of evil spirits:—"Circles are made, triangular, quadrangular, round, double or single, according to the form of the apparition they crave." How the conjurers made triangular circles, he has omitted to explain. The famous Sichelver, who told his hearers from the pulpit, that the divine right of kings, and the divine origin of christianity, "concur like parallel lines, meeting in one common centre," seems to have inherited the mathematics as well as the politics of this prince.

blies for extraordinary prayer were held by the neighboring clergy; and the supposition of witchcraft, which in reality had been previously assumed, was thus confirmed and consecrated in the apprehension of the public. The fancy of the patients, perverted by disordered sensation, and inflamed by the contagious terror which their supposed malady excited, soon dictated accusations against particular individuals as the authors of their sufferings. The flame was now kindled, and finding ample nourishment in all the strongest passions and most inveterate weaknesses of human nature, carried havoc and destruction through the community. The bodily symptoms of the prevailing natural epidemic, frequently revolved by persons of weak mind and susceptible frame, were propagated with amazing rapidity, and having been once regarded as symptoms of witchcraft, were ever after referred to the same diabolical origin. The usual and well known contagion of nervous disorders was powerfully aided by the dread of the mysterious agency from which they were now supposed to arise; and this appalling dread, embelishing the reason of its victims, soon led them to confirm the visions of their disturbed apprehension with the realities of their experience. Symptoms before unheard of, and unusually terrific,* attended the cases of the sufferers, and were supposed to prove beyond a doubt that the disorder was supernatural, and no bodily ailment; while, in truth, they denoted nothing else than the extraordinary terror of the unhappy patients, who enhanced the malignity of their disease by the frightful agency to which they ascribed it. Every case of nervous derangement was now referred to this source, and every morbid affection of the spirits and fancy diverted into this dangerous channel. Accusations of particular individuals easily suggested themselves to the disordered minds of the sufferers, and were eagerly preferred by themselves and their relatives, in the hope of obtaining deliverance from the calamity, by the punishment of the guilty. These charges, however unsupported by proof, and however remote from probability, alighted with fatal influence wherever they fell. The supernatural intuition by which they were supposed to be communicated, supplied and excluded all ordinary proof; and when a patient, under the dominion of nervous affections, or in the intervals of epileptic paroxysms, declared that he had seen the apparition of a particular individual inflicting his sufferings, no consideration of previous character could screen the accused from a trial, which, if the patient persisted in the charge, invariably terminated in a conviction. The charges were frequently admitted without any other proof, for the very reason for which they should have been utterly rejected by human tribunals—that they were judged incapable of common proof, or of being known to any but the accuser and the accused. So powerful and universal was the belief in the reality of the supposed witchcraft, that none dared, even if they had been disposed, openly to deny it; and even the innocent victims of the charges were constrained to argue on the assumption that the apparitions of themselves, described by their accusers, had really been seen, and reduced to plead that their semblance had been assumed by an evil spirit that sought to screen his proper instruments and divert the public indignation upon unoffending persons. It was answered, however, most gratuitously, but, unhappily to the conviction of the public, that an evil spirit could assume only the appearance of such persons as had given up their bodies to him, and devoted themselves to his service. The semblance of legal proof, besides, was very soon added to the force of these charges, and seeming to establish them in some cases was thought to confirm them in all. Some of the accused persons, terrified by their danger, sought safety in avowing the charge, recanting their supposed impiety, and denouncing others as their temptors and associates. In order to beget favor and verify their recantation, they now declared themselves the victims of the witchcraft they had formerly practised, counterfeited the nervous affections of their accusers, and imputed their sufferings to the vengeance of their ancient accomplices. These artifices and the general delusion were promoted by the conduct of the magistrates, who, with a monstrous inversion of equity and sound policy, offered impunity to all who would confess the charges and betray their associates, while

* Swelling of the throat, in particular, now well known as a hysterical symptom, was considered at this time a horrible prodigy. Medical science was still depraved by an admixture of gross superstition. The touch of a king was believed to be capable of curing some diseases; and astrology formed a part of the course of medical study, because the efficacy of drugs was believed to be promoted or impeded by planetary influence.

they inflexibly doomed to death every accused person who maintained his innocence. Thus, one accusation produced a multitude of others, the accused becoming accusers and witnesses, and hastening to escape from the danger by involving other persons in it. From Salem, where its main fury was exerted, the evil spread extensively over the province of Massachusetts; and wherever it was able to penetrate, it effectually subverted the happiness and security of life. The sword of the law was wrested from the hands of justice, and committed to the grasp of the wildest fear and fury. Suspense and alarm pervaded all ranks of society. The first and the favorite objects of accusation had been ill-favored old women, whose dismal aspect, exciting terror and aversion, instead of pity and kindness, was reckoned a proof of their guilt, and seemed to designate the proper agents of mysterious and uncertain wickedness. But the sphere of accusation was progressively enlarged to such a degree, that at length neither age nor sex, neither ignorance nor innocence, neither learning nor piety, neither reputation nor office, could afford the slightest safeguard against a charge of witchcraft. Even irrational creatures were involved in this fatal charge; and a dog belonging to a gentleman accused of witchcraft, was hanged as an accomplice of its master. Under the dominion of terror, all mutual confidence seemed to be destroyed, and the best feelings of human nature trampled under foot. The nearest relations became each other's accusers and one unhappy man, in particular, was condemned and executed on the testimony of his wife and daughter, who appear to have accused him merely for the sake of preserving themselves. Many respectable persons fled from the colony; others, maintaining their innocence, were capitally convicted, and died with a determined courage and piety that affected, but could not disavow, the spectators. The accounts that have been preserved of the trials of these unfortunate persons, present a most revolting and humiliating picture of frenzy, folly, and injustice. There were received in evidence against the prisoners, accounts of losses and mishaps that had befallen the accusers or their cattle (in some cases, twenty years before the trial) recently after some meeting or some disagreement with the prisoners. Against others, it was deposed that they had performed greater feats of strength, and walked from one place to another in a shorter space of time than the accusers judged possible without diabolical assistance. But the main article of proof was the spectral apparitions of the persons of the supposed witches to the eyes of their accusers during the paroxysms of their malady. The accusers sometimes declared that they could not see the prisoners at the bar of the court; which was construed into a proof of the immediate exertion of Satanic influence in rendering their persons invisible to the eyes of those who were to testify against them. The bodies of the prisoners were commonly examined for the discovery of what were termed witch-marks; and as the examiners did not know what they were seeking for, and yet earnestly desired to find it, every little puncture or discoloration of the skin was easily believed to be the impress of diabolical touch. In general the accusers fell into fits, or complained of violent uneasiness at the sight of the prisoners. On the trial of Mr. Burroughs, a clergyman of the highest respectability, some of the witnesses being affected in this manner, the judges replied to his protestations of innocence, by asking if he would venture to deny that these persons were then under the influence of diabolical agency. He answered that he did not deny it, but that he denied having any concern with it. "If you were not a friend of the devil," replied the presiding judge, "he would not exert himself in this manner to prevent these persons from speaking against you." When a prisoner in his defence uttered any thing that seemed to move the audience in his favor, some of the accusers were ready to exclaim that they saw the devil standing by and putting the words in his mouth; and every feeling of humanity was chased away by such absurd and frantic exclamations.* Some fraud and malignity undoubtedly mixed with sincere misapprehension in stimulating these prosecutions. The

* It is impossible to read these trials as they are reported by Cotton Mather and Neal, without being struck with the resemblance they exhibit to the proceedings in England on the trials of the persons accused of participation in the Popish Plot. In both cases, the grand engine of injustice and destruction was the passion of fear; a passion which, when strongly excited, is capable of producing the most enormous excesses of fury and cruelty. In both countries a mixture of causes contributed to the production of the evil; but unquestionably there was a much greater degree of artifice employed to excite and maintain the popular panic in England and in America.

principle that was practically enforced in the courts of justice, that in cases of witchcraft, accusation was equivalent to conviction, presented the most subtle and powerful allurements to the expression of natural ferocity, and the indulgence of fantastic terror and suspicion; and there is but too much reason to believe that rapacity, malice and revenge were not vainly invited to seize this opportunity of satiating their appetites in confiscation and bloodshed. So strong meanwhile was the popular delusion, that even the detection of manifest perjury on one of the trials proved utterly insufficient to weaken the credit of the most unsupported accusation. Sir William Phipps the governor, and the most learned and eminent persons both among the clergy and laity of the province, partook and promoted the general infatuation. Nothing but an outrageous zeal against witchcraft seemed capable of assuring any individual of the safety of his life; and temptations that but too frequently overpowered human courage and virtue, arose from the conviction impressed on every person that he must make choice of the situation of the oppressed or the oppressor. The *afflicted* (as the accusers were termed) and their witnesses and partisans, began to form a numerous and united party in every community, which none dared to oppose, and which none who once joined or supported could forsake with impunity. A magistrate who had for some time taken an active part in examining and committing the supposed delinquents, beginning to suspect that these proceedings originated in some fatal mistake, showed an inclination to discourage them; and was instantly assailed with a charge of witchcraft against himself. A constable who had apprehended many of the accused, was struck with a similar suspicion, and hastily declared that he would meddle in this matter no farther. Instantly aware of the danger he had provoked, he attempted to fly the country, but was overtaken in his flight by the vengeance of the accusers, and, having been brought back to Salem, was tried for witchcraft, convicted and executed. Some persons whom self-preservation had induced to accuse their nearest relatives, being touched with remorse, proclaimed the wrong they had done, and retracted their testimony. They were convicted of relapse into witchcraft, and died the victims of their returning virtue.

The evil at length became too great to be borne. About fifteen months had elapsed since the malady had broke out, and so far from being extinguished or abated, it was growing every day more formidable. Of twenty-eight persons who had been capitally convicted, nineteen had been hanged;* and one, for refusing to plead, had been *pressed to death*—the only instance in which this English legal barbarity was ever inflicted in North America. The number of the accusers and pardoned witnesses multiplied with alarming rapidity. The sons of Governor Bradstreet, and other individuals of eminent station and character, had fled from a charge belied by the whole tenor of their lives. An hundred and fifty persons were in prison on the same charge, and complaints against no less than two hundred others had been presented to the magistrates. Men began to ask themselves, Where this would end? The constancy and piety with which the unfortunate victims had died, produced an impression on the minds of the people which, though counterbalanced at the time by the testimony of the pardoned witnesses, began to revive with the reflection that these witnesses had purchased their lives by their testimony, while the persons against whom they had borne evidence had sealed their own testimony with their blood. It was happy, perhaps, for the country, that while the minds of the people were awakening to reflections so favorable to returning moderation and humanity, some of the accusers carried the audacity of their arraignment to such a pitch, as to prefer charges of witchcraft against Lady Phipps, the governor's wife, and against some of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather, the most pious minister and popular citizen of Massachusetts. These charges at once opened the eyes of Sir William Phipps and Dr. Mather; so far, at least, as to induce a strong suspicion that many of the late proceedings had been rash and indefensible. They felt that they had dealt with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that

others should deal with them. The same sentiment also beginning to prevail in the public mind, a resolute and successful attempt was made by a respectable citizen of Boston to stem the fury of these terrible prosecutions. Having been charged with witchcraft by some persons at Andover, he anticipated an arrest, by boldly arresting his accusers for defamation, and laid his damages at a thousand pounds. The effect of this vigorous proceeding surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It seemed as if a spell that had been cast over the people of Andover was dissolved by one bold touch; the frenzy vanished in a moment, and witchcraft was heard of in that town no more. The impression was rapidly propagated throughout the province; and the effect of it was seen at the very next court that was held for the trial of witchcraft, when, of fifty prisoners who were tried on such evidence as had been formerly deemed sufficient, the accusers could obtain the conviction of no more than three, who were immediately reprimanded by the governor. These acquittals were doubtless in part produced by a change which the public opinion underwent as to the sufficiency of what was denominated *spectral evidence* of witchcraft. An assembly of the most eminent divines of the province, convoked for the purpose by the governor, had, after due consideration, given it forth as their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others, was no proof of their being witches," and that it was by no means inconsistent with scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched. The ministers, nevertheless, united in strongly recommending to the government the vigorous prosecution of all persons still accused of witchcraft. But the judgment they had pronounced respecting the validity of the customary evidence, rendered it almost impossible to procure a conviction, and produced, at the same time, so complete a revolution in the public mind respecting the late executions, that charges of witchcraft were found to excite no other sentiments than disgust and suspicion of the parties who preferred them. The cloud that had so deeply overcast the prosperity and happiness of the colony vanished entirely away, and universal shame and remorse succeeded to the frenzy that had lately prevailed. Even those who continued to believe in the reality of the diabolical influence of which the accusers had complained, were satisfied that most, if not all, of the unfortunate convicts had been unjustly condemned, and that their accusers, in charging them, had been deluded by the same agency by which their sufferings were occasioned. Many of the witnesses now came forward and published the most solemn recantations of the testimony they had formerly given, both against themselves and others; apologizing for their perjury by a protestation, of which all were constrained to admit the force, that no other means of saving their lives had been left to them. These testimonies were not able to shake the opinion which was still retained by a considerable party both among the late accusers and the public at large, that much witchcraft had mixed with the late malady, whether the real culprits had yet been detected or not. This opinion was supported in treatises written at the time by Dr. Mather and other eminent divines. But it was found impossible ever after to revive prosecutions that excited such painful remembrances, and had been so lamentably perverted. Sir William Phipps, soon after he had relieved the three persons last convicted, ordered all who were in custody on charges of witchcraft to be released, and in order to prevent the dissensions that might arise from the retributory proceedings against the accusers and their witnesses, he proclaimed a general pardon to all persons for any concernment they might have had with the prosecutions for witchcraft. The surviving victims of the delusion, however, and the relatives of those who had perished, were enabled to enjoy all the consolation they could derive from the sympathy of their countrymen and the earnest regret of their persecutors. The house of assembly appointed a general fast and prayer, "that God would pardon all the errors of his servants and people in a late tragedy raised among us by Satan and his instruments." One of the judges who had presided on the trials at Salem, stood up in his place in church on this occasion, and implored the prayers of the people that the errors he had been guilty of might not be visited by the judgments of an avenging God on the country, his family, or himself. Many of the jurymen subscribed and published a declaration lamenting and condemning the delusion to which they had yielded, and acknowledging that they had brought the reproach

of innocent blood on their native land. Mr. Paris, the clergyman who had instituted the first prosecutions, and promoted all the rest, found himself exposed to a resentment not loud or violent, but deep and general, and was at length universally shunned by his fellow citizens, and abandoned by his congregation. He appears, throughout the whole proceedings, to have acted with perfect sincerity, but to have been transported, by a vehement temper and a strong conviction of the righteousness of the ends he pursued, into the adoption of means for their attainment, inconsistent with truth, honor, or justice. While the delusion lasted, his violence was applauded as zeal in a righteous cause, and little heed was given to accusations of artifice and partiality in conducting what was believed to be a controversy with the devil. But when it appeared that all these efforts had in reality been directed to the shedding of innocent blood, his popularity gave place to universal odium and disgust. Sensible, at length, how dreadfully erroneous his conduct had been, [1694,] he hastened to make a public profession of repentance, and solemnly begged forgiveness of God and man. But the people declaring that they would never more attend the ministry of one who had been the instrument of misery and ruin to so many of their countrymen, he was obliged to resign his charge and depart from Salem.

This terminated a scene of delusion and cruelty that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and had exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue, into the slaves or associates, the terrific dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins. Among the various evil consequences that resulted from these events, not the least important was the effect they produced on the minds of the Indian tribes, who began to conceive a very unfavorable opinion of the people that could inflict such barbarities on their own countrymen, and the religion that seemed to arm the hands of its professors for their mutual destruction. This impression was the more disadvantageous to the colonists, as there had existed for some time a competition between their missionaries and the priests of the French settlements, for the instruction and conversion of the Indians;† and it was always found that the tribes embraced the political interests of that people whose religious instructors were most popular among them. The French did not fail to improve to their own advantage, the odious spectacle that the late frenzy of the people of New England had exhibited; and to this end they labored with such diligence and success, that in the following year, when Sir William Phipps paid a visit to the tribes with whom he had concluded the treaty of Pennamquid, and endeavored to unite them in a solid and lasting friendship with the colonists, he found them more firmly wedded than ever to the interests of the French, and under the dominion of prepossessions unfavorable in the highest degree to the formation of friendly relations with the English. To his proposition of renewing the treaty of peace, they agreed very readily; but all his instances to prevail with them to desist from their intercourse with the French, proved utterly unavailing. They refused to listen to the missionaries who accompanied him; having learned from

* Mather, B. ii. Life of Sir William Phipps. Increase Mather's Cases of Conscience concerning Evil Spirits. Neal, ii. 496—511. Hutchinson, ii. 17—62. Caley's Wonders of the Invisible World. "I find these entries in the MS. Diary of Judge Sewall: 'Went to Salem, where, in the meeting-house, the persons accused of witchcraft were examined; a very great assembly. 'Twas awful to see how the afflicted persons were agitated.' But in the margin is written, in a tremulous hand, probably on a subsequent review, the lamenting Latin interjection, *Vae, vae, vae!*" Holmes, ii. 5, 6.

† It was a very depraved edition of Christianity that was preached to the Indians by the French priests—a system that harmonized perfectly well with the passions and sentiments which true Christianity most strongly condemns. It substituted the rites and superstitious inventions of the Romish church in the place of their ancient witchcraft and idolatry; and stigmatizing their enemies as heretics, afforded additional sanction and incitement to hatred, fury, and cruelty. Neal has preserved (Vol. i. p. 266) a specimen of the French Missionary Catechism, containing a tissue of the most absurd and childish fictions gravely propounded as the articles of christian doctrine. The following anecdote is related by Governor Colden in his History of the Five Nations, Vol. I. p. 207. "About the time of the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, Therouet, a noted Indian sachem, died at Montreal. The French gave him christian burial in a pompous manner: the priest that attended him at his death having declared that he died true Christian. For (said the priest) while I explained to him the passion of our Saviour, whom the Jews crucified, he cried out, 'Oh! had I been there, I would have revenged his death, and brought away their scalps.' The French priests who ministered amongst the Indians were Jesuits: and their maxim, that it was unnecessary to keep faith with heretics, proved but too congenial to the savage ethics of their pupils.

* This is nothing to the slaughter that was inflicted in the regular course of justice or injustice in England. Howell, in two letters, one dated February 3, 1648, the other February 20, 1647, says that in two years there were indicted in Suffolk and Essex between 200 hundred and 300 witches, of whom more than half were executed. That this was accounted no very extraordinary number of executions in England, may be inferred from a variety of similar facts collected by Barrington, in his Observations on Stat. 20 Henry the Sixth.

the French priests to believe that the English were heretics, and enemies to the true religion of Christ. Some of them scrupled not to remark, that since they had received the instructions of the French, witchcraft had entirely disappeared from among them, and that they had no desire to revive it by communication with a people among whom it was reputed still to prevail more extensively than it had ever done with themselves.

Every thing, indeed, betokened the renewal of hostilities between the colonists and the Indians, which accordingly broke out very soon after, and was perhaps accelerated by the departure of Sir William Phipps from New England. The administration of this governor, though in the main highly and justly popular, had not escaped a considerable degree of reproach. The discontents excited by the taxation that had been imposed for the support of the fortification at Penmaquid, concurring with the resentments and enmities that the prosecutions for witchcraft had left behind, produced a party in the province who labored on every occasion to thwart the measures and traduce the character of the governor. Finding their exertions in Massachusetts insufficient to deprive him of the esteem of the great body of the people, these adversaries transmitted articles of impeachment against him to England, and petitioned the king and council for his recall and punishment. The king having declared that he would hear the cause himself, an order was transmitted to the governor to meet his accusers in the royal presence at Whitehall; in compliance with which, Sir William set sail for England, carrying with him an address of the assembly expressive of the strongest attachment to his person, and beseeching the king that they might not be deprived of the services of so able and meritorious an officer. On his appearance at court his accusers vanished, and their charges were withdrawn; and having rendered a satisfactory account of his administration to the king, he was preparing to return to his government, when a malignant fever put an end to his life. [1695.] He left behind him the reputation of a pious, upright, and honorable man. As a soldier, if not pre-eminently skilful, he was active and brave; as a civil ruler, faithful, magnanimous, and disinterested: it was remarked of him, as of Aristides, that "he was never seen the prouder for any honor that was done him by his countrymen;" and though the generous simplicity of his manners added lustre to the high rank he had attained, he was never ashamed to revert to the humility of the condition from which he had sprung. In the midst of a fleet that was conveying an armament which he commanded on a military expedition, he called to him some young soldiers and sailors who were standing on the deck of his vessel, and pointing to a particular spot on the shore, said, "Young men, it was upon that hill that I kept sheep a few years ago;—and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you learn to fear God and be honest, and you don't know what you may come to."

On the departure of Sir William Phipps, the supreme authority in Massachusetts devolved on Mr. Stoughton, the lieutenant-governor, who continued to exercise it during the three following years; the king being so much engrossed with his wars and negotiations on the continent of Europe, that it was not till after the peace of Ryswick that he found leisure even to nominate a successor to Sir William Phipps. During this period, the happiness of the people was much disturbed by internal dissension, and their prosperity invaded by the calamities of war. The passions bequeathed by the persecutions for witchcraft continued long to divide and agitate the people; and the factious opposition which they had promoted to the government of Sir William Phipps, continued to increase in vigor and virulence after his departure. The mutual animosities of the colonists had attained such a height, that they seemed to be ready to involve their country in a civil war; and the operations of the government were cramped and obstructed at the very time when the utmost vigor and unanimity were requisite to encounter the hostile enterprises of the French and the Indians. Incited by their French allies, the Indians recommenced the war with the usual suddenness and fury of their military operations. Wherever surprise or superior numbers enabled them to prevail over parties of the colonists, or detached plantations, their victory was signalled by the extremities of barbarous cruelty.† The colony of

Acadia, or Nova Scotia, now once more reverted to the dominion of France. It had been annexed, as we have seen, to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and governed hitherto by officers deputed from the seat of the supreme authority at Boston. But Port Royal (or Annapolis, as it was afterwards termed) having been now recaptured by a French armament, the whole settlement revolted, and re-annexed itself to the French dominions—a change that was ratified by the subsequent treaty of Ryswick. But a much more serious loss was sustained by Massachusetts in the following year; [1696.] when, in consequence of a combined attack of the French and Indians, the fort erected by Sir William Phipps at Penmaquid was compelled to surrender to their arms, and was levelled with the ground. This severe and unexpected blow excited the utmost dismay: and the alarming consciousness of the danger that might be apprehended from the loss of a barrier of such importance, rebuked in the strongest manner the factious discontent that had murmured at the expense of maintaining it. These apprehensions were but too well justified by the increased ravages of Indian warfare, and the increased insolence and fury with which this triumph inspired the Indian tribes. Mr. Stoughton and his council adopted the most vigorous measures to repair or retaliate the disaster, and despatched forces to attack the enemy both by land and sea; but miscarriage attended both these expeditions, and, at the close of the year, the colonial forces had been unable, by the slightest advantage, to check the assaults of the enemy, or to revive the drooping spirits of their countrymen. In the following year,* [1697.] the province, after being severely harassed by the incursions of the Indians, was alarmed by the intelligence of a formidable invasion which the French were preparing, with a view to its complete subjugation. The commander of a French squadron which was cruising on the northern coasts of America had concerted with the Count Frontignac, the governor of Quebec, a joint attack by sea and land, with the whole united force of the French and Indians on the colony of Massachusetts, and little doubt was entertained of the conquest of the people, or the complete destruction of their settlements. On the first intelligence of this design, the ancient spirit of New England seemed again to awake, and, partial animosities being swallowed up in a more generous passion, the people co-operated with the utmost vigor in the energetic measures by which Stoughton prepared to repel the coming danger. He caused the forts around Boston to be repaired, the whole militia of the province to be embodied and trained with the strictest discipline, and every other measure conducive to an effectual defence to be promptly adopted. In order to ascertain, and, if possible, anticipate the purposed operations of the enemy by land, he despatched a considerable force to scour the eastern frontiers of the province; and this body encountering a detachment of the Indians, who had assembled to join the French invaders, after a short engagement, gave them a complete defeat. This unexpected blow, though in itself of little importance, so deranged the plans of the French as to induce them to defer the invasion of Massachusetts by land till the fol-

penetrate, war was carried into the bosom of every family. The case of a Mrs. Dustan of Haverhill in Massachusetts is remarkable. She was made prisoner by a party of twelve Indians, and, with the infant of which she had been delivered but a week before, and the nurse who attended her, forced to accompany them on foot into the woods. Her infant's head was dashed to pieces on a tree before her eyes; and she and the nurse, after fatiguing marches in the depth of winter, found themselves at an Indian hut a hundred and fifty miles from their home. Here they were informed that they were to be made slaves for life, but were first to be conducted to a distant settlement, where they would be stripped, scourged, and forced to run the gauntlet naked between two files of the whole tribe to which their captors belonged. This intelligence determined Mrs. Dustan to make a desperate effort for her liberation. Early in the morning, having awakened her nurse and a young man, a fellow-prisoner, she got possession of an axe, and, with the assistance of the young man and the nurse, despatched no fewer than ten Indians in their sleep; the other two awoke and escaped. Mrs. Dustan returned in safety with her companions to Haverhill, and was liberally rewarded for her intrepidity by the legislature of Massachusetts. Dwight's Travels.

Whatever other cruelties the Indians might exercise on the bodies of their captives, it is observable that they never attempted to violate the chastity of women, and that they respected modesty in so far as was consistent with the infliction of torture. Belknap, i. 1287. They had a strong aversion to negroes, and generally killed them whenever they fell into their hands. 254.

* In the midst of these troubles died this year the venerable Simon Bradstreet, the last survivor of the original planters, for many years governor, and termed by his countrymen the Nestor of New England. He died in his ninety-fifth year; earnestly desiring to be dissolved, and enter into the rest of God, insomuch (says Cotton Mather) that it seemed as if death were conferred upon him, instead of life being taken from him.

lowing year; and the French admiral finding his fleet weakened by a storm, and apprised of the vigorous preparations for his reception, judged it prudent, in like manner, to abandon the projected naval invasion.

In the commencement of the following year, [1698.] intelligence was received in America of the treaty of Ryswick, by which peace had been concluded between Britain and France. By this treaty it was agreed that the two contracting powers should mutually restore to each other all conquests that had been made during the war, and that commissioners should be appointed to examine and determine the rights and pretensions of either monarch to the territories situated in Hudson's Bay. The evil consequences of thus leaving the boundaries of growing settlements unascertained, were sensibly experienced at no distant date.

Count Frontignac, the governor of Canada, on receiving intelligence of this treaty, summoned the chiefs of the Indian tribes together, and informing them that he could no longer support them in hostilities against the English, advised them to deliver up their captives, and make the best terms for themselves that they could obtain. The government of Massachusetts, on receiving their pacific overtures, sent two commissioners to Penobscot to meet with their principal sachems, who endeavored to apologise for their unprovoked hostilities by ascribing them to the artifice and instigation of the French jesuits. They expressed, at the same time, the highest esteem, and even a filial regard, for Count Frontignac, and an earnest desire that, in case of any future war between the French and English, the Indians might be permitted to observe a neutrality between the belligerent parties. After some conferences, a new treaty was concluded with them, in which they were made to acknowledge a more formal submission to the crown of England than they had ever before expressed.

On the settlement of his affairs in Europe, the king at length found leisure to direct some portion of his attention to America, and nominate a successor to the office that had been vacant since the death of Sir William Phipps. The Earl of Bellamont was appointed governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire: and, having selected the former of these places for his own personal residence, he continued the immediate administration of the others in the hands of Mr. Stoughton as deputy governor.

Having traced the separate history of New England up to this period, we shall now leave this interesting province in the enjoyment (unhappily, too short-lived) of a peace, of which a long train of previous hostility and calamity had taught the inhabitants fully to appreciate the value. They were now more united than ever among themselves, and enriched with an ample stock of experience of both good and evil. When Lord Bellamont visited Massachusetts in the following year, the recent heats and animosities had entirely subsided, and general harmony and tranquillity appeared to prevail. [1699.] The virtue that had so signally distinguished the original settlers of New England was now seen to shine forth among their descendants with a lustre less dazzling, but with an influence in some respects more amiable, refined, and humane, than had attended its original display.

One of the causes that undoubtedly contributed to the restoration of harmony, and the revival of piety among the people, was the publication, about this period, of various histories* of the New England commonwealth, written with a spirit and fidelity well calculated to commend to the minds of the colonists the just results of their national experience. The subject was deeply interesting; and, happily, the treatment of it was undertaken by writers whose principal object was to render this interest subservient to the promotion of piety and virtue. Though the colony might be considered as yet in its infancy, it had passed through a great variety of fortune. It had been the adopted country of many of the most excellent men of the age in which it arose, and the native land of others who had inherited the character of their ancestors, and transmitted it to their successors in unimpaired vigor, and with added renown. The history of man never exhibited an effort of more vigorous and enterprising virtue than the original migration of the puritans to this distant and desolate region; nor did the annals of colonization as yet supply more than one other instance of the foundation of a commonwealth, and its advancement through a period of weakness and danger, to

* Hutchinson (ii. 81, 5) says that he was sued at London in an action of damages, but that it was withdrawn.

† Numerous cases are related by the colonial historians of the torture and slavery inflicted by the Indians on their captives, and of the desperate efforts of many of the colonists to defend themselves and their families, or to escape from the hands of their savage enemies. Wherever the Indians could

* Of these productions one of the earliest in point of composition was Governor Winthrop's Journal of Events in New England, from 1630 till 1644. But this Journal was not published till the year 1790. The continuation of it till the year 1649, was not published till 1826.

strength and security, in which the principal actors had left behind them a reputation at once so illustrious and unassailed, with fewer memorials calculated to pervert the moral senso, or awaken the regret of mankind. The relation of their achievements had a powerful tendency to excite hope, and animate perseverance; to impart courage to the virtuous, and to fortify the virtue of the brave. They could not indeed boast, like the founders of the settlement of Pennsylvania, that by a resolute profession of non-resistance to injuries, and a faithful adherence to that profession, they had so realized the Divine protection by an exclusive reliance on it, as to disarm the ferocity of barbarians, and conduct the establishment of their commonwealth without violence and bloodshed. But if they were involved in numerous wars, it was the singular and honorable characteristic of them all, that they were invariably the offspring of self-defence against the unprovoked malignity of their adversaries, and that not one of them was undertaken from motives of conquest or plunder. Though they considered these wars as necessary and justifiable, they deeply deplored them; and, more than once, the most distressing doubts were expressed, at the close of their hostilities, if it were lawful for christians to carry even the rights of self-defence to such fatal extremity. They behaved to the Indian tribes with as much good faith and justice as they could have shown to a powerful and civilized people,* and were incited by their inferiority to no other acts than a series of the most magnanimous and laudable endeavors to instruct their ignorance, and elevate their condition. If they fell short of the colonists of Pennsylvania in the exhibition of christian meekness, they unquestionably excelled them in the extent and activity of christian labor. The quakers succeeded in disarming the Indians; the puritans labored to convert them. The chief, if not the only fault, with which impartial history must ever reproach the conduct of these people, is the religious intolerance that they cherished, and the persecution which in more than one instance it prompted them to inflict. Happily for their own character, the provocation they received from the objects of their persecution, tended strongly to extenuate the blame: and happily, no less, for the legitimate influence of their character on the minds of their posterity, the fault itself, notwithstanding every extenuation, stood so manifestly contrasted and inconsistent with the very principles with which their own fame was for ever associated, that it was impossible for a writer of common integrity, not involved in the immediate heat of controversy, to render a just tribute to their excellence, without finding himself obliged to reprobate this signal departure from it. The histories that were now published were the composition of the friends, associates, and successors of the original colonists, and written with an energy of just encomium that elevated every man's ideas of his ancestors and his country, and of the duties which arose from these natural or patriotic relations, and excited universally a generous sympathy with the characters and sentiments of the fathers of New England. These writers, nevertheless, were too conscientious, and too enlightened, to confound the virtues with the defects of the character they described; and while they dwelt apologetically on the causes by which persecution had been provoked, they lamented the infirmity that (under any degree of provocation) had betrayed good men into so unchristian an extremity. Even Cotton Mather, the most encomiastic of the historians of New England, and who cherished very strong prejudices against the quakers and other persecuted sectaries, has expressed still stronger disapprobation of the severities they encountered from the objects of his encomium. These representations could not fail to produce a beneficial effect on the people of New England. They saw that the glory of their country was associated with principles that could never coalesce with or sanction intolerance; and that every instance of persecution with which their annals were stained, was a dereliction of these principles, and an impeachment of their country's cause. Inspired with the warmest attachment to the memory, and the highest respect for the virtue of their ancestors, they were powerfully reminded, by the errors into which they had fallen, to suspect and repress in themselves those infirmities from which even virtue of so high an order had been found to afford no exemption. From this time the religious zeal of the people of New England

was no longer perverted by intolerance, or disgraced by persecution; and the influence of Christianity in mitigating enmity, and promoting kindness and indulgence, derived a freer scope from the growing conviction, that the principles of the gospel were utterly irreconcilable with violence and severity; that, revealing to every man his own corruption much more clearly than that of any other human being, they were equally adverse to confidence in himself and to suspicion of others; and that a deep sense of entire dependence on Divine aid, must ever be the surest indication of the acceptance of human purpose and the efficacy of human endeavor to subserve the divine cause. Cotton Mather, who has recorded the errors of the first colonists, lived to witness the success of his representations in the charity and liberality of their descendants.*

New England having been colonised by men, not less eminent for learning than piety, was distinguished at a very early period by the labors of her scholars, and the dedication of her literature to the interests of religion. The theological works of Cotton, Hooker, the Mathers, and other New England divines, have always enjoyed a very high degree of esteem and popularity, not only in New England, but in every protestant country of Europe. The annals of the colony, and the biography of its founders and their immediate successors, were written by cotemporary historians with a minuteness which was very agreeable and interesting to the first generation of their readers, and to which they were prompted, in some measure at least, by the conviction they entertained that their country had been honored with the signal favor and more especial guidance and direction of Providence. This conviction, while it naturally betrayed the writers into the fault of prolixity, enforced by the strongest sanctions the accuracy and fidelity of their narrations. Recording what they considered the peculiar dealings of God with a people peculiarly his own, they presumed not to disguise the infirmities of their countrymen; nor did they desire to magnify the Divine grace in the infusion of human virtue, above the Divine patience in enduring human frailty and imperfection. The errors and failings of the illustrious men whose lives they related, gave additional weight to the impression which above all they desired to convey, that the colonization of New England was an extraordinary work of Heaven, that the counsel and the virtue by which it had been carried on were not of human origin, and that the glory of God had been displayed no less in imparting the strength and wisdom than in overruling the weakness and perversity of the instruments which he deigned to employ. The most considerable of these historical works, and the most interesting performance that the literature of New England has ever produced, is the "Magnalia Christi Americana," or History of New England by Cotton Mather. The arrangement of this work is exceedingly faulty, and its vast bulk will ever continue to render its exterior increasingly repulsive to modern readers. The continuity of the narrative is frequently broken by the introduction of long discourses, epistles, and theological reflections and dissertations; biography is intermixed with history, and events of trifling or merely local interest related with intolerable prolixity. It is not so properly a single or continuous historical narration, as a collection of separate works illustrative of the various portions of New England history, under the heads of "Remarkable Providences, Remarkable Trials," and numberless other subdivisions. A plentiful intermixture of puns, anagrams, and other barbarous conceits, exemplifies a peculiarity (the offspring, partly of bad taste, and partly of superstition) that was very

* A discourse which he published some years after this period, contains the following passage:—"In this capital city of Boston, there are ten assemblies of Christians of different persuasions, who live so lovingly and peaceably together, doing all the offices of neighborhood for one another in such a manner, as may give a sensible rebuke to all the bigots of uniformity, and show them how consistent a variety of rites in religion may be with the tranquillity of human society; and may demonstrate to the world that persecution for conscientious dissent in religion is an abomination of desolation; a thing whereof all wise and just men will say, 'Cursed be its anger, for it is fierce; and its wrath, for it is cruel.'" Neal's Present State of New England, p. 611. The first episcopal society was formed in Massachusetts in 1686 (before the arrival of Andros); and the first episcopal chapel erected at Boston in 1688. Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc. iii. 259. A quaker meeting-house was built at Boston in 1710. Ibid. 260.

† "If we look on the dark side, the human side, of this work, there is much of human weakness and imperfection hath appeared in all that hath been done by man, as was acknowledged by our fathers before us. Neither was New England ever without some fatherly chastisements from God; showing that he is not fond of the formalities of any people upon earth, but expects the realities of practical godliness, according to our profession and engagement unto him." Higginson's Attestation, prefixed to Cotton Mather's History.

prevalent among the prose writers, and especially the theologians of that age. Notwithstanding these defects, the work will amply repay the labor of every reader. The biographical portions in particular possess the highest excellence, and are superior in dignity and interest to the compositions of Plutarch. Cotton Mather was the author of a great many other works,* many of which have been highly popular and eminently useful. One of them bears the title of "Essays in do Good" and contains a lively and forcible representation (conveyed with more than the author's usual brevity) of the opportunities which every rank and every relation of life will present to a devout mind, of promoting the glory of God and the good of mankind. The celebrated Dr. Franklin, in the latter years of his active and useful life, declared that all the good he had ever done to his country or his fellow-creatures, must be ascribed to the impression that had been produced on his mind by perusing that little work in his youth. It is curious to find an infidel philosopher thus ascribe all his practical wisdom to the lessons of a christian divine, and trace the stream of his beneficence to the fountain of the gospel.

A traveller who visited Boston in the year 1686, mentions a number of booksellers there who had already made fortunes by their trade. The learned and ingenious author of the History of Printing in America has given a catalogue of the works published by the first New England printers in the seventeenth century. Considering the circumstances and numbers of the people, the catalogue is amazingly copious. One of the printers of that age was an Indian, the son of one of the first Indian converts.

The education and habits of the people of New England prepared them to receive the full force of those impressions which their national literature was calculated to produce. In no country have the benefits of knowledge been ever more highly prized or more generally diffused. Institutions for the education of youth were coeval with the foundation of the first colonial community, and were propagated with every accession to the population and every extension of the settlements. Education was facilitated in this province by the peculiar manner in which its colonization was conducted. In many other parts of America, the planters dispersed themselves over the face of the country; each residing on his own farm, and placing his house in the situation most conducive to his own convenience as a planter. The advantages resulting from this mode of inhabitation were gained at the expense of such dispersion of dwellings as obstructed the erection of churches and schools, and the enjoyment of social intercourse. But the colonization of New England was conducted in a manner much more favorable to the improvement of human character and the refinement of human manners. All the original townships were settled in what is termed the village manner; the inhabitants having originally planted themselves in small communities, from regard to the ordinances of religion and the convenience of education. Every town containing fifty householders was obliged by law to provide a schoolmaster qualified to teach reading and writing; and every town containing a hundred householders, to maintain a grammar school. But the generous ardor of the people continually outstripped the provisions of this law. We have seen Harvard College established in Massachusetts but a few years after the foundation of the colony was laid. The other states, for some time after, were destitute of the wealth and population necessary to support similar establishments within their own territories; but they frequently assessed themselves in the most liberal contributions for the maintenance and enlargement of Harvard College. The contributions, even at a very early period, of Connecticut, Newhaven, and New Hampshire, have been particularly and deservedly noted for their liberality. The close of the same century was illustrated by the establishment of Yale College in Connecticut. So high was the repute that the province long continued to enjoy for the excellency and efficiency of its seminaries of education, that many respectable persons, not only in the other American states, but even in Great Britain, sent their children to be educated in New England.

A general appetite for knowledge, and universal

* His biographers have given us a catalogue of his works, amounting to no fewer than three hundred and eighty-two—many no doubt of small dimensions, but others of considerable bulk, and some voluminous. He was a singular economist of time, and at once the most voluminous and popular writer, and the most zealous and active minister of his age. Above his study door was inscribed this impressive admonition to his visitors, "Be short." He was the son of Dr. Increase Mather, born in 1663, and died in 1727.

* Not only were all the lands occupied by the colonists fairly purchased from their Indian owners, but, in some parts of the country, the lands were subject to quit-rents to the Indians, "which," says Belknap, in 1784, "are annually paid to their posterity." p. 74.

familiarity with letters, was thus maintained from the beginning among the people of this province. The general discouragement of frivolous amusements, and of every recreation that bordered upon vice, tended to devote their leisure hours to reading; and the sentiments and opinions derived through this avenue of knowledge, sunk deeply into vigorous and undissipated minds. The historical retrospections of this people were peculiarly calculated to exercise a favorable influence on their character and turn of thinking, by awakening a generous emulation and connecting them with a uniform and progressive course of manly, patient, and successful virtue.

Notwithstanding the general diffusion of knowledge among the people of New England, the lower classes were not entirely exempt from some of the prevalent delusions of the age. In particular, the notion, then generally received in the parent state, of the efficacy of the royal touch for the cure of the disorder called the king's evil, appears to have been imported into New England, to the great inconvenience of those who were so unhappy as to receive it. Belknap has transcribed from the records of the town of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, the petition of an inhabitant to the court of this province, in the year 1687, for assistance to undertake a journey to England, that he might be cured of his disease by coming in contact with a king; * a circumstance which Heaven (it may be hoped) has decreed should never be possible within the confines of North America.

The amount of the population of New England at this period has been very differently estimated by different writers. According to Sir William Petty, the number of inhabitants amounted, in the year 1691, to one hundred and fifty thousand. A much lower computation is adopted by Neal, and a much higher by a later historian. The population, it is certain, had been considerably augmented, both by the emigrations of dissenters from various of the European states, and by native propagation in circumstances so favorable to increase. Yet no quarter of North America has seen its own population so extensively drained by emigration as New England, which, from a very early period of its history, has never ceased to send swarms of hardy, industrious, and educated men to recruit and improve every successive settlement that has offered its resources to energy and virtue. The total restraint of licentious intercourse; the facility of acquiring property and maintaining a family; the discouragement of idleness and luxury; and the prevalence of industrious and frugal habits among all classes of people, concurred with powerful efficacy to render marriages both frequent and prolific in New England. Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, and the largest city in North America, appears to have contained a population of about 10,000 persons at the close of this century. In the year 1720, its inhabitants amounted to 20,000. Every inhabitant of the province was required by law to keep a stock of arms and ammunition in his house; and all males above sixteen years of age were enrolled in the militia, which was assembled for exercise four times every year.

The whole territory of New England was comprehended at this period in four jurisdictions, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. To Massachusetts there had been annexed the settlements of New Plymouth and Maine, and to Connecticut the settlement of Newhaven. The territories of these governments were divided into constituted districts called townships, each of which was represented by one or two deputies (according to the number of the freeholders) in the assembly of the state. Besides this elective franchise, the freeholders of each township enjoyed the right of appointing the municipal officers denominated select-men, by whom the local administration of the township was exercised. The qualification of a freeholder in Massachusetts was declared by its charter to be an estate of the value of forty shillings per annum, or the possession of personal property to the amount of fifty pounds; communion with the con-

gregational churches having ceased for many years to be requisite to the enjoyment of political privileges. In the other states of New England, the qualification was at this period nearly the same as in Massachusetts. The expenses of government had been defrayed originally by temporary assessments, to which every man was rated according to the value of his whole property; but since the year 1645, excises, imposts, and poll taxes had been in use. The judicial proceedings in all the provincial courts were conducted with great expedition, cheapness, and simplicity of procedure.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the one enjoying a chartered, the other an unchartered jurisdiction, were the only two states of New England in which the superior officers of government were appointed by the crown, and from the tribunals of which an appeal was admitted to the king in council. As New Hampshire was too inconsiderable to support the substance as well as the title of a separate establishment, it was the practice at this period, and for some time after, to appoint the same person to be governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In Connecticut and Rhode Island, all the officers of government (excepting the members of the court of admiralty) were elected by the inhabitants; and so resolutely was this highly-valued privilege asserted, that when King William appointed Fletcher, the governor of New York, to command the Connecticut forces, the province refused to obey him. The laws of these states were not subject to the negative, nor the judgments of their tribunals to the review, of the king. But the validity of their laws was declared to depend on a very uncertain criterion—a conformity, as close as circumstances would admit, to the jurisprudence of England.* So perfectly democratic were the constitutions of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that in neither of them was the governor suffered to exercise a negative on the resolutions of the assembly. The spirit of liberty was not suppressed in Massachusetts by the encroachments of royal prerogative on the ancient privileges of the people, but was vigorously exerted through the remaining and important organ of the provincial assembly. All the patronage that was vested in the royal governor was never able to create a royalist party in this state. The functionaries whom he appointed, depended on the popular assembly for the emoluments of their offices; and it was not till after many unsuccessful efforts, that the British government were able to free the governor himself from the same dependence, and to prevail with the assembly to annex a fixed salary to his office. The people and the popular authorities of Massachusetts were always ready to set an example to the other colonies of a determined resistance to the encroachments of royal prerogative.

In all the colonies, and especially in the New England states, there existed at this period, and for a long time afterwards, a mixture of very opposite sentiments towards Great Britain. As the posterity of Englishmen, the colonists cherished a strong attachment to a land which they habitually termed the *Mother Country*, or *Home*,† and to a people whom, though contemporaries with themselves, they regarded as occupying an ancestral relation to them. As Americans, their liberty and happiness, and even their national existence, were associated with escape from royal persecution in Britain; and the jealous and unfriendly sentiments engendered by this consideration were preserved more particularly in Massachusetts by the privation of the privileges which had originally belonged to it, and which Connecticut and Rhode Island were still permitted to enjoy, and maintained in every one of the states by the oppressive commercial policy which Great Britain pur-

sued towards them, and of which their increasing resources rendered them increasingly sensible and proportionally impatient. The loyalty of Connecticut and Rhode Island was no way promoted by the preservation of their ancient charters—an advantage which they well knew had been conceded to them by the British government with the utmost reluctance, and of which numerous attempts to divest them by act of parliament were made by King William and his immediate successors. Even the new charter of Massachusetts was not exempted from such attacks; and the defensive spirit that was thus excited and kept alive by the aggressive policy of Britain contributed, no doubt, to influence, in a material degree, the future destinies of America.

In return for the articles which they required from Europe, and of which the English merchants monopolised the supply, the inhabitants of New England had no staple commodity which might not be obtained cheaper in Europe by their customers. They possessed, indeed, good mines of iron and copper, which might have been wrought with advantage; but they were restrained by the English legislature from manufacturing these metals either for home consumption or foreign exportation. The principal commodities exported from New England were the produce and refuse of their forests, or, as it was commonly termed, lumber, and the produce of their cod-fishery. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the annual imports into the provinces from England were estimated by Neal at 100,000*l*. The exports by the English merchants consisted of a hundred thousand quintals (the quintal weighing 112 pounds) of dried cod-fish, which were sold in Europe for 80,000*l*. and of three thousand tons of naval stores. To the other American plantations, New England sent lumber, fish and other provisions, to the amount of 50,000*l*. annually. An extensive manufacture of linen cloth was established about this time in the province: this was so advantage for which New England was indebted to the migration of many thousands of Irish presbyterians to her shores about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Ship-building was from an early period carried on to a considerable extent at Boston and other sea-port towns. It was the practice of some merchants to freight their vessels as they built them, with cargoes of colonial produce, and to sell the vessels in the same ports in which the cargoes were disposed of. A great part of the trade of the other colonies was conducted by the shipping of New England. At this period, and for many years afterwards, specie was so scarce in the province, that paper money formed almost exclusively the circulating medium in use among the inhabitants. Bills, or notes, were circulated for sums as low as half a crown.

The soil of a great part of the district of Maine was erroneously supposed, by its first European colonists, to be unfavorable to agriculture, and incapable of yielding a sufficient supply of bread to its inhabitants. This notion produced the deficiency which it presupposed; and, injurious as it was to the increase and prosperity of the inhabitants, it prevailed even till the period of the American revolution. Prior to that event, the inhabitants traded almost exclusively in lumber, and the greater part of the bread they consumed was imported from the middle colonies. All the states of New England were long infested with wolves; and, at the close of the seventeenth century, laws were still enacted by the New England assemblies offering bounties for the destruction of these animals.

Except in Rhode Island, the doctrine and form of the congregational church that was established by the first colonists prevailed generally in the New England states. Every township was required by law to choose a minister, and to fix his salary by mutual agreement of the parties; in default of which a salary proportioned to the ability of the township was decreed to him by the justices of the peace. In case of the neglect of any township to appoint a minister within the period prescribed by the law, the right of appointment for the occasion devolved to the court of quarter sessions. By a special custom of the town of Boston, the salaries of its ministers were derived from the voluntary contributions of their respective congregations, collected every Sunday on their assembling for divine service; and it was remarked, that none of the ministers of New England were so liberally provided for as those whose emoluments, unaided by legal provision, thus represented the success of their labors and the attachment or conscientiousness of their people. In Rhode Island there was no legal provision for the observance of divine worship, or the maintenance of religious institutions. This colony was peopled by a mixed mul-

* Belknap, i. Append. No. 46. The following advertisement occurs in the London Gazette of the 29th of May, 1682.—“These are to give notice that the weather growing warm, his majesty will not touch any more for the evil till towards Michaelmas. And his majesty's chirurgeons desire, to prevent his majesty being deceived, that greater care be taken for the future in registering certificates given to such as come to be touched.” After the Restoration, such multitudes flocked to the palace to be touched that a number of people were crushed to death. Evelyn's Journal, ii. 571. This superstition (which it is said that Cromwell vainly tried to attach to his own person) survived in England till the reign of Queen Anne, who touched (among others) the infant frame of Dr. Johnson.

* There were no regular means of ascertaining this conformity; these states not being obliged, like Massachusetts, to transmit their laws to England. On a complaint from an inhabitant of Connecticut, aggrieved by the operation of a particular law, it was declared, by the king in council, “that their law concerning dividing land-inheritance of an intestate was contrary to the law of England, and void;” but the colony paid no regard to this declaration. Hist. of the British Dominions in North America, B. ii. cap. iii. § 1.

† They have left one indelible mark of their origin, and their kindly remembrance of it, in the British names which they transferred to American places. When New-London in Connecticut was founded in the year 1648, the assembly of the province assigned its name by an act commencing with the following preamble: “Whereas it hath been the commendable practice of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts, that as this country hath its denomination from our dear native country of England, and thence is called New England; so the planters, in their first settling of most new plantations, have given names to these plantations of some cities and towns in England, thereby intending to keep up and leave to posterity the memorial of several places of note there,” &c. “This court, considering that there hath yet no place in any of the colonies been named in memory of the city of London,” &c. Trumhull, i. 170.

titude of sectarians, who, having separated themselves from christian societies in other places, had continued in a broken and disunited state in their present habitation. In their political capacity, they admitted unbounded liberty of conscience, and disavowed all connexion between church and state. In their christian relations, they made no account of the virtue of mutual forbearance, and absolutely disowned the duty of submitting to one another on any point, whether essential or circumstantial. Few of them held regular assemblies for public worship; still fewer appear to have had stated places for such assemblage; and an aversion to every thing that savored of *restraint* or *formality* prevailed among them all. Notwithstanding the unlimited toleration that was professedly established in this settlement, it appears that the government, in the year 1665, passed an ordinance to outlaw quakers and confiscate their estates, because they would not bear arms. But the people, in general, resisted this regulation, and would not suffer it to be carried into effect. Cotton Mather declares, that, in 1655, "Rhode Island colony was a collocation of antinomians, fatalists, anabaptists, antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, quakers, rangers, and every thing but Roman catholic and true Christians; *bona terra, mala gens*." In the town of Providence, which was included in this colony, and was inhabited by the descendants of those schismatics who had accompanied Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson in their exile from Massachusetts, the aversion to all establishments and every sort of subordination was carried to such an extreme that, at this period, the inhabitants had neither magistrates nor ministers among them. They entertained an invincible aversion to all rates and taxes, as the inventions of men to support *hirelings*, by which opprobrious term they designated all magistrates and ministers who refused to serve them for nothing. Yet they lived in great amity with their neighbors, and, though every man did whatever seemed right in his own eyes, it was rarely that any crime was committed among them; "which may be attributed," says the historian from whom this testimony is derived, "to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures, which they all read from the least to the greatest."* Massachusetts and Connecticut, as they were the most considerable of the New England states, in respect of wealth and population, so were they the most distinguished for piety, morality, and the cultivation and diffusion of knowledge. At the close of the seventeenth century there were an hundred religious assemblies in Massachusetts, exclusive of the numerous congregations of christian Indians. The censorial discipline exercised by those societies over their members was eminently conducive to the preservation of good morals; and the efficacy of this and of every other incitement to virtue was enhanced by the thinly peopled state of the country, where none could screen his character or pursuits from the observation of the public eye.

Perhaps no country in the world was ever more distinguished than New England was at this time for the general prevalence of those sentiments and habits that render communities respectable and happy. Sobriety and industry pervaded all classes of the inhabitants. The laws against immoralities of every description were remarkably strict, and not less strictly executed; and

* Neal, ii. 593, 596. We have an account of the religious condition of Rhode Island, about thirty years after this period, from the pen of the great and good Bishop Berkeley, who resided some years in this colony. A general indifference to religion, and a great relaxation of morality, had become the characteristics of the majority of the people. Several churches, however, some on the congregational, and others on the episcopal model, had been established; and through their instrumentality, the blessings of religion were yet preserved in the colony. Berkeley's Work, vol. ii. p. 355, 356.

So late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, the legislature of Rhode Island discouraged the project of a turnpike road, alleging that turnpike duties and ecclesiastical establishments were English practices, and badges of slavery, from which their people were distinguished over all the other Americans by a happy exemption. It was not till the year 1805 that the advantages of turnpike roads prevailed over the imaginary dignity of this exemption. Dwight, vol. ii. Letter 52.

† Josselyn, who visited New England, for the first time in 1638, relates, that in the village of Boston there were then two licensed inns. "An officer visits them," he adds, "whenever a stranger goes into them; and if he calls for more drink than the officer thinks in his judgment he can soberly bear away, he countersmands it, and appoints the proportion, beyond which he cannot get one drop." Josselyn's Voyage, 173. In 1694, the select men of Massachusetts were ordered to hang up in every alehouse lists of all reputed tipplers and drunkards within their districts; and alehouse keepers were forbidden to supply liquor to any person whose name was thus posted. Holmes, ii. 18. The magistrates of some of the towns of Scotland appear to have exercised similar acts of authority. An instance occurred in the town of Rutherglen in 1668. Ure's Hist. of Rutherglen, p. 71.

being cordially supported by public opinion, they were able to render every vicious and profligate excess equally dangerous and infamous to the perpetrator. We are assured by a respectable writer, that at this period there was not a single beggar in the whole province. Labor was so valuable, and so cheap, and the elective franchise so extensive, that every industrious man might acquire a stake in the soil, and a voice in the civil administration of his country. The general diffusion of education caused the national advantages which were thus vigorously improved, to be justly appreciated; and an ardent and enlightened patriotism knit the hearts of the people to each other and to their country.

The state of society in New England, the circumstances and habits of the people, tended to form, among their leading men, a character more useful than brilliant;—not (as some have imagined) to discourage talent, but to repress its vain display, and train it to its legitimate and respectable end, of giving efficacy to wisdom and virtue. Yet this state of society was by no means inconsistent either with refinement of manners or with innocent hilarity. Lord Bellamont was agreeably surprised with the graceful and courteous demeanor of the gentlemen and clergy of Connecticut, and confessed that he found the aspect and address that were thought peculiar to nobility, in a land where this aristocratical distinction was unknown. From Dutton's account of his residence in Boston in 1686, it appears that the inhabitants of Massachusetts were at that time distinguished in a very high degree by the cheerfulness of their manners, their hospitality, and a courtesy the more estimable that it was indicative of real benevolence.*

In the historical and statistical accounts of the various states, we continually meet with instances of the beneficial influence exercised by superior minds on the virtue, industry, and happiness of particular districts and communities. In no country has the ascendancy of talent been greater or more advantageously exerted. The dangers of Indian invasion were encountered and repelled; the dejection and timidity produced by them, overcome; the feuds and contentions arising among settlers of various countries, habits, and opinions, composed; the temptations to slothful and degenerate modes of living, resisted; the self-denial requisite to the endowment of institutions for preaching the gospel and the education of youth, resolutely practised. In founding and conducting to maturity the settlements that from time to time extended themselves over the surface of the province, men of talent and virtue enjoyed a noble and arduous sphere of employment. They taught by action and example. They distinguished themselves from the rest of mankind by excelling them in their ordinary pursuits, and thinking better than they on the ordinary subjects of reflection and consideration. The impression they produced, if circumscribed in its limits, was intense in its efficacy: the fame they achieved, if neither noisy nor glaring, was lasting and refined. They propagated their own moral likeness around them, and rendered their wisdom and spirit immortal by engraving their own character on the minds of their fellow citizens. Mankind are more apt to copy characters than to practise precepts; and virtue is much more effectually recommended to their imitation and esteem by the life of zeal than by the weight of argument. Let the votaries of fame remember that if a life thus spent circumscribe the diffusion of the patriot's name, it seems to enlarge his very being, and extend it to distant generations; and that if posthumous fame be any thing more than a splendid illusion, it is such distinction as this, from which the surest and most lasting satisfaction will be derived.

The esteem of the community was considered so valuable a part of the emoluments of office, that the salaries of all public officers, except those who were appointed by the crown, were, if not scanty, yet exceedingly moderate. In Connecticut, it was remarked, that the whole annual expenses of its public institutions (about 809*l.*) did not amount to the salary of a royal governor. The slender emoluments of public offices, and the tenure of popular pleasure by which they were held, tended very much to exempt the offices from the pretensions of unworthy candidates, and the officers from calumny and envy. Virtue and ability were fairly appreciated; and we frequently find the same men re-elected for a long series of years to the same offices,

* Dutton's Life and Errors, Stage iv. Dutton, who had sat at good men's feasts in London, was yet struck with the plenty and elegance of the entertainments he witnessed in Boston.

and on some occasions succeeded by their sons, where inheritance of merit recommended inheritance of place.* In more than one of the settlements, the first codes of law were the compositions of single persons; the people desiring an eminent leader to compose for them a body of law, and then legislating unanimously in conformity with his suggestions.

The most lasting, if not the most serious, evil with which New England has been afflicted, is the institution of slavery, which continued till a late period to pollute all its provinces, and even now lingers, though to a very slight extent, in the province of New Hampshire.† The practice, as we have seen, originated in the supposed necessity created by the Indian hostilities; but, once introduced, it was fatally calculated to perpetuate itself, and to derive accessions from various other sources. For some time, indeed, this was successfully resisted; and instances have been recorded of judicial interposition to restrain the evil within its original limits. In the year 1645, a negro fraudulently brought from Africa, and enslaved within the New England territory, was liberated and sent home by the general court. There was never any law expressly authorising slavery; and such was the influence of religious and moral feeling in New England, that, even while there was no law prohibiting its continuance, it was never able to prevail to any considerable extent. In the year 1704, the assembly of Massachusetts imposed a duty of 4*l.* on every negro imported into the province; and eight years after, passed an act prohibiting the importation of any more Indian servants or slaves. In Massachusetts, the slaves never exceeded the fiftieth part of the whole population; in Connecticut and Rhode Island, when slaves were most numerous (in the middle of the eighteenth century,) the proportion was nearly the same; and in the territory that afterwards received the name of Vermont, when the number of inhabitants amounted to nearly nine thousand, there were only sixteen persons in a state of slavery. The cruelties and vices that slavery tends to engender were repressed at once by this great preponderance of the sound over the unhealthy part of the body politic, and by the circumstances to which this preponderance was owing. The majority of the inhabitants were decidedly hostile to slavery; and numerous remonstrances were addressed to the British government against the encouragement she afforded to it by maintaining the slave trade.‡ When America effected her independence, the New England states (with the single exception of New Hampshire) adopted measures which, in the course of a few years, abolished every trace of this vile institution. In New Hampshire, it seems to have been rather a preposterous regard for liberty, and the sacredness of existing possessions, than a predilection for slavery, that prevented this practice from being formally abolished by the principles by which it has been essentially modified and substantially condemned.§

* I had intended here to have subjoined a list (extracted from the New England Journals) of persons in whose families the government of particular states and towns has been vested, with the consent of their fellow citizens, for considerable periods of time. But I find the list too long for insertion.

† The assembly of this province, as early as the reign of George the First, passed a law, enacting, that "if any man smite out the eye or tooth of his man or maid servant, or otherwise maim or disfigure them, he shall let him or her go free from his service, and shall allow such farther recompense as the court of quarter sessions shall adjudge;" and that "if any person kill his Indian or negro servant, he shall be punished with death." The slaves in this province are said to have been treated in all respects like white servants. Warden's United States, i. 335.

‡ Very different in this respect were (at one period) the conduct and sentiments of the Portuguese government and the colonists of Brazil, where the royal authority was endangered by the endeavors of the crown to second the policy of the courts for extirpating or mitigating the evils of Indian and negro slavery. See Souther's History of Brazil, Part II.

§ There is a strange, I hope not a disingenuous, indistinctness in the statements of some writers respecting the negro slavery of New England. Winterbotham, writing in 1795, asserts, that "there are no slaves in Massachusetts." If he meant that a law had been passed which denounced, and was gradually extinguishing slavery, he was right; but the literal sense of his words is contradicted by Warden's Tables, which demonstrate that fifteen years after (the law not yet having produced its full effect) there were several thousand slaves in Massachusetts. Dwight relates his travels, in the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, through every part of New England, without giving us the slightest reason to suppose that such beings as slaves existed in any one of its states, except when he stops to defend the legislature of Connecticut from an imputation on the manner in which her share of the abolition had been conducted. Warden himself says, in one page, that "slavery no longer exists in New England," even while, in another, he indicates and seeks to palliate the occurrence of its extrema vestigia in New Hampshire.

BOOK III.

MARYLAND.

Charter of Maryland obtained from Charles the First by Lord Baltimore—Emigration of Roman Catholics to the Province—Friendly Treaty with the Indians—Generosity of Lord Baltimore—Opposition and Intrigue of Cleyborne—First Assembly of Maryland—Representative Government established—Early introduction of Negro Slavery—An Indian War—Cleyborne's Rebellion—Religious Tolerance established in the Colony—Separate Establishment of the House of Burgesses—Cleyborne declares for Cromwell—and usurps the Administration—Tolerance abolished—Distractions of the Colony—terminated by the Restoration—Establishment of a provincial Mint—Happy State of the Colony—Naturalization Acts—Death of the first Proprietary—Wise Government of his Son and Successor—Law against importing Felons—Establishment of the Church of England suggested—Dissemination of the Delaware Territory from Maryland—Arbitrary Projects of James the Second—Alarm of the Colonists—Rumor of a Popish Plot—A Protestant Association is formed—and usurps the Administration—The Proprietary Government suspended by King William—Establishment of the Church of England, and Persecution of the Catholics—State of the Province—Manners—Laws.

FROM the history of Massachusetts and of the other New England states, which were the offspring of its colonization, we are now to proceed to consider the establishment of a colony which arose from the settlement of Virginia. In relating the history of this state, we have had occasion to notice, among the causes that disquieted its inhabitants during the government of Sir John Harvey, the diminution of their colonial territory by arbitrary grants from the crown, of large tracts of country situated within its limits. The most remarkable of these was the grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore.

Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, was Secretary of State to King James the First, and one of the original associates of the Virginian Company. Impressed with the value of colonial property, and the improvement that it seemed likely to derive from the progress of colonization, he employed his political influence to secure an ample share of it to himself and his family. He was a strenuous assertor of the supremacy of that authority from the exercise of which he expected to derive his own enrichment; [1620] and when a bill was introduced into the House of Commons for making the Newfoundland fishery free to all British subjects, he opposed it, on the plea that the American territory, having been acquired by conquest, was subject to the exclusive regulation of the royal prerogative. The first grant that he succeeded in obtaining was of a district in Newfoundland named Avalon, where, at a considerable expense, he formed the settlement of Ferryland; [1622] but finding his expectations disappointed by the soil and climate of this inhospitable region, he paid a visit to Virginia, for the purpose of ascertaining if some part of its richer territory might not be rendered more subservient to his advantage. Observing that the Virginians had not yet formed any settlements to the northward of the river Potowmack, he determined to obtain a grant of territory in that quarter; and easily prevailed with Charles the First to bestow on him the investiture he desired. With the intention of promoting the aggrandisement of his own family, he combined the more generous design of founding a new state, and colonizing it with the persecuted votaries of the church of Rome, to which he had become a convert; but the design which he had facilitated by an act of injustice, he was not permitted himself to realize. His project, which was interrupted by his death, just when all was prepared for carrying it into effect, was resumed by his son and successor, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, in whose favor the king completed and executed the charter [1632] that had been destined for his father.

If the charter which this monarch had granted a short time before to the puritan colonists of Massachusetts may be regarded as the exercise of policy, the investiture which he now bestowed on Lord Baltimore was not less manifestly the expression of favor. This nobleman, like his father, was a Roman catholic; and his avowed purpose was to people the territory with colonists of the same persuasion, and erect an asylum in America for the catholic faith. By the charter, it was declared that the grantee was actuated by a laudable

zeal for extending the christian religion, and the territories of the empire; and the district assigned to him and his heirs and successors was described as "that region bounded by a line drawn from Watkins' Point of Chesapeake Bay; thence to that part of the estuary of Delaware on the north which lies under the fortieth degree, where New England is terminated: thence in a right line, by the degree aforesaid, to the meridian of the fountain of Potowmack; thence following its course by the farther bank to its confluence." In honor of the queen, the province thus bestowed on a nobleman of the same faith with her majesty was denominated Maryland: and in honor, perhaps, of her majesty's faith, the endowment was accompanied with immunities more ample than any of the other colonial establishments possessed. The new province was declared to be separated from Virginia, and no longer subordinate to any other colony, but immediately subject to the crown of England, and dependant on the same for ever. Lord Baltimore was created the absolute proprietary of it; saving the allegiance and sovereign dominion due to the crown. He was empowered, with the assent of the freemen or their delegates, whom he was required to assemble for that purpose, to make laws for the province, not repugnant to the jurisprudence of England; and the acts of the assembly he was authorised to execute. For the population of the new colony, licence was given to all his Majesty's subjects to transport themselves thither; and they and their posterity were declared to be liegemen of the king and his successors, and entitled to the liberties of Englishmen, as if they had been born within the kingdom. Power was given to the proprietary, with assent of the people, to impose all just and proper subsidies, which were granted to him for ever: and it was covenanted on the part of the king, that neither he nor his successors should at any time impose, or cause to be imposed, any tallages on the colonists, or their goods and tenements, or on their commodities to be laden within the province. Thus was conferred on Maryland, in perpetuity, that exemption which had been granted to other colonies for a term of years. The territory was erected into a palatinate; and the proprietary was invested with all the royal rights of the palace, as fully as any bishop of Durham had ever enjoyed; and he was authorised to appoint officers, to repel invasions, and to suppress rebellions. The advowsons of those churches, which should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England, were granted to him. The charter finally provided, that, in case any doubt should arise concerning its true meaning, the interpretation most favorable to the proprietary should be adopted; excluding, however, any construction derogatory to the christian religion, or to the allegiance due to the crown.

Though the sovereignty of the crown was thus reserved over the province, and a conformity enjoined between its legislation and the jurisprudence of England, no means were provided for the exercise of the royal dominion or the ascertainment of the stipulated conformity. The charter contained no special reservation of royal interference in the government of the province, and no obligation on the proprietary to transmit the acts of assembly for confirmation or disallowance by the king. In erecting the province into a palatinate, and vesting the hereditary government of it in the family of Lord Baltimore, the king exercised the highest attributes of the prerogative of a feudal sovereign. A similar trait of feudal prerogative appears in the perpetual exemption from royal taxation which was confirmed by the charter, and which, at a later period, gave rise to much intricate and elaborate controversy. It was maintained, when this provision became the subject of critical discussion, that it could never be construed to import an exemption from parliamentary taxation, since the king could not be supposed to intend to abridge the jurisdiction of the parliament, or to renounce a privilege that was not his own; and that even if such construction had been intended, the immunity was illegal, and incapable of restraining the functions of the legislature. In addition to the general reasoning that has been employed to demonstrate this illegality, reference has been made to the authority of a parliamentary proceeding mentioned by Sir Edward Coke, who, in a debate on the royal prerogative in the year 1620, assured the Commons that a dispensation from subsidies

* Yet at an after period, it was considered, that an exclusion of parliamentary taxation, whether effectually constituted, would be at least imported by such a clause; and in the Pennsylvania charter when an exemption of this description was conceded, it was qualified by an express "saving of the authority of the English parliament."

granted to certain individuals within the realm in the reign of Henry the Seventh, had been subsequently repealed by act of parliament. But to render this authority conclusive, it would be necessary to suppose, that every act of parliament that introduced a particular ordinance was also declaratory of the general law; and even then the application of this authority to the charter of Maryland may very fairly be questioned. Colonies, in that age, were regarded entirely as dependencies of the monarchical part of the government; the rule of their governance was the royal prerogative, except where it was specially limited or excluded by the terms of a royal charter; and the same power that gave a political being to the colony was considered adequate to determine the political privileges of its inhabitants. The colonists of Maryland undoubtedly conceived that their charter bestowed on them an exemption from all taxes but such as should be imposed by their own provincial assembly; for it discharged them for ever from the taxation of the only power that was considered competent to exercise this authority over them. Not the least remarkable peculiarity of this charter is, that it affords the first example of the dismemberment of a colony, and the creation of a new one within its limits, by the mere act of the crown.

Lord Baltimore having thus obtained the charter of Maryland, hastened to execute the design of colonizing the new province, of which he appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to be governor. The first body of emigrants, consisting of about two hundred gentlemen of considerable rank and fortune, chiefly of the Roman catholic persuasion, with a number of inferior adherents, sailed from England under the command of Calvert in November, 1632; and after a prosperous voyage, landed in Maryland, near the mouth of the river Potowmack, in the beginning of the following year. [1633.] The governor, as soon as he landed, erected a cross on the shore, and took possession of the country, for *our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord the king of England*. Aware that the first settlers of Virginia had given umbrage to the Indians by occupying their territory without demanding their permission, he determined to imitate the wiser and juster policy that had been pursued by the colonists of New England, and to unite the new with the ancient race of inhabitants by the reciprocal ties of equity and good-will. The Indian chief to whom he submitted his proposition of occupying a portion of the country answered at first with a sullen indifference, the result most probably of aversion to the measure and of conscious inability to resist it, that he would not bid the English go, neither would he bid them stay, but that he left them to their own discretion. The liberality and courtesy, however, of the governor's demeanor succeeded at length in conciliating his regard so powerfully, that he not only formed a friendly league between the colonists and his own people, but persuaded the other neighboring tribes to accede to the treaty, and warmly declared, *I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, if I had so much breath as to speak, I would command the people not to revenge my death; for I know they would not do such a thing, except it were through my own fault*. Having purchased the rights of the aborigines at a price which gave them perfect satisfaction, the colonists obtained possession of a considerable district, including an Indian town which they immediately proceeded to occupy, and to which they gave the name of St. Mary's. It was not till their numbers had undergone a considerable increase, that they judged it necessary to enact legislative regulations, and establish their political constitution. They lived some time under the domestic regimen of a patriarchal family, and confined their attention to the providing of food and habitations for themselves and the associates by whom they expected to be reinforced. The lands which had been ceded to them were planted with facility, because they had already undergone the discipline of Indian tillage; and this circumstance, as well as the proximity of Virginia, which now afforded an abundant supply of the necessaries of life, enabled the colonists of Maryland to escape the ravages of that calamity, which had afflicted the infancy, and nearly proved fatal to the existence of every one of the other settlements of the English in America. The tidings of their safe and comfortable establishment in the province, concurring with the uneasiness experienced by the Roman catholics in England, induced considerable numbers of the professors of this faith to follow the original emigrants to Maryland; and no efforts of wisdom or generosity were spared by Lord Baltimore to facilitate the population and promote the happiness of the colony. The transportation of people, and of necessary stores and

* His colonial policy is thus contrasted by an old writer, with that of Chief Justice Popham, the promoter of the first attempts to Colonize New England: "Judge Popham and Sir George Calvert agreed not inore unanimously in the public design of planting, than they differed in the private way of it: the first was for extirpating heathens, the second for converting them. He sent away the lowdest, this the soberest people: the one was for present profit, the other for a reasonable expectation"—"the first set up a common stock, out of which the people should be provided by proportions; the second left every one to provide for himself." *Lloyd's State Worthies*, 751, 752.

provisions, during the first two years, cost him upwards of forty thousand pounds. To every emigrant he assigned fifty acres of land in absolute fee; and with a liberality unparalleled in that age, and altogether surprising in a catholic, he united a general establishment of Christianity as the common law of the land, with an absolute exclusion of the political predominance or superiority of any one particular sect or denomination of Christians. This wise administration soon converted a dreary wilderness into a prosperous colony. It is a proof at once of the success of his policy, and the prosperity and happiness of the colonists, that a very few years after the first occupation of the province, they granted to their proprietary a considerable subsidy of tobacco, as a grateful acknowledgment of his liberality and beneficence. Similar tributes continued, from time to time, to attest the merit of the proprietary and the attachment of the people.

The wisdom and virtue by which the plantation of the new province was signalised, could not atone for the arbitrary injustice by which its territory had been wrested from the jurisdiction of Virginia; and while it is impossible not to regret the troubles which originated from this circumstance, there is something not altogether dissatisfactory to the moral eye, in beholding the inevitable fruits of usurpation. Such lessons are most agreeable, when the retribution which they represent is confined to the immediate perpetrators of wrong: but they are not least salutary when the admonition they convey is extended to the remote accessories, who are willing to avail themselves of the injustice of the principal delinquents. The king had commanded Sir John Harvey, the governor of Virginia, to render the utmost assistance and encouragement to Lord Baltimore, in establishing himself and his associates in Maryland. But though the governor and his council readily agreed, in humble submission to his majesty's pleasure, to observe a good correspondence with their unwelcome neighbors, they determined at the same time to maintain the rights of the prior settlement. The planters of Virginia presented a petition against the grant to Lord Baltimore: and both parties were admitted to discuss their respective pretensions before the Privy Council. After vainly endeavoring to promote an amicable adjustment, the council awarded that his lordship should retain his patent, and the petitioners their remedy at law—a remedy which probably had no existence, and to which the Virginians never thought proper to resort. For the preventing of farther differences, it was ordered by the council that free and mutual commerce should be permitted between the two colonies; that neither should receive fugitives from the other, or do any act that might provoke a war with the natives; and that both should on all occasions assist and befriend each other in a manner becoming fellow subjects of the same empire.

But although the Virginian planters were thus compelled to withdraw their opposition, and the Virginian government to recognise the independence of Maryland, the establishment of this colony encountered an obstinate resistance from interests much less entitled to respect; and the validity of Lord Baltimore's grant was vehemently opposed by the pretensions of a prior intruder. This competitor was William Cleyborne, a member of Sir John Harvey's council, and secretary of the province of Virginia; and the friendship between Harvey and this individual may perhaps account for a singularity in the conduct of that tyrannical governor, and explain why on one occasion at least he was disposed to maintain the interests of the Virginian planters in opposition to the arbitrary purposes of the king. About a year preceding the date of Lord Baltimore's charter, the king had granted to Cleyborne a licence under the sign manual to traffic in those parts of America not comprehended in any prior patent of exclusive trade: and for the enforcement of this licence Harvey had superadded to it a commission in similar terms under the seal of his own authority. The object of Cleyborne and his associates was to monopolise the trade of the Chesapeake; and with this view they had proceeded to establish a small trading settlement in the isle of Kent, which is situated in the very centre of Maryland, and which Cleyborne now persisted in claiming as his own, and refused to submit to the newly erected jurisdiction. The injustice of a plea which construed a licence to traffic into a grant of territory, did not prevent the government of Virginia from countenancing Cleyborne's opposition; and, encouraged by the approbation which they openly gave to his pretensions, he proceeded to enforce them by acts of profligate intrigue, and even sanguinary violence. He infused his own spirit into the inhabitants of the isle of

Kent, and scattered jealousies among the Indian tribes, some of whom he was able to persuade that the new settlers were Spaniards and enemies to the Virginians. [1634.] Lord Baltimore at length was sensible of the necessity of a vigorous defence of his rights: and orders were transmitted to the governor to vindicate the provincial jurisdiction, and enforce an entire subordination within its limits. Till this emergency, the colony had subsisted without enacting or realising its civil institutions; but the same emergency that now called forth the powers of government, tended also to develop its organisation. Accordingly, in the commencement of the following year, [1635.] was convened the first assembly of Maryland, consisting of the whole body of the freemen; and various regulations were enacted for the maintenance of good order in the province. One of the enactments of this assembly was, that all perpetrators of murder and other felonies should incur the same punishments that were awarded by the laws of England; an enactment which, besides its general utility, was necessary to pave the way to the judicial proceedings that were contemplated against Cleyborne. This individual, accordingly, still persisting in his outrages, was indicted soon after of murder, piracy, and sedition. Finding that those who had encouraged his pretensions left him unaided to defend his crimes, he fled from justice, and his estate was confiscated. Against these proceedings he appealed to the king; and petitioned at the same time for the renewal of his licence and the grant of an independent territory adjoining to the isle of Kent. By the assistance of powerful friends, and the dexterity of his representations, he very nearly obtained a complete triumph over his antagonists, and eventually prevailed so far as to involve Lord Baltimore and the colonists of Maryland in a controversy that was not terminated for several years. At length the lords commissioners of the colonies, to whom the matter had been referred, pronounced a final sentence, dismissing Cleyborne's appeal, and adjudging that the whole territory belonged to Lord Baltimore, and that no plantation or trade with the Indians should be established without his permission within the limits of his patent. Thus divested of every semblance of legal title, Cleyborne exchanged his hopes of victory for schemes of revenge; and watching every opportunity of hostile intrigue that the situation of the colony might present to him, he was unfortunately enabled, at a futuro period, to wreak the vengeance of disappointed rapacity upon his successful competitors.

The colony meanwhile continued to thrive, and the numbers of its inhabitants to be augmented by copious emigration from England. With the increase of the people, and the extension of the settlements to a greater distance from St. Mary's, the necessity of a legislative code became apparent: and Lord Baltimore having composed a body of laws for the province, transmitted them to his brother, with directions to propose them to the assembly of the freemen. The second assembly of Maryland was in consequence convoked by the governor, [1637.] with the expectation no doubt of an immediate ratification of the suggestions of the proprietary. But the colonists, with a cordial attachment to Lord Baltimore, cherished a just estimation of their own political rights; and while they made a liberal provision for the support of his government, they hesitated not a moment to reject the code that he tendered to their acceptance. In the place of it, they prepared for themselves a collection of regulations, which are creditable to their own good sense, and from which some insight may be derived into the state of the settlement at this period. The province was divided into baronies and manors, the privileges of which were now carefully defined. Bills were framed for securing the liberties of the people and the titles to landed property, and for regulating the course of intestate succession. A bill was passed for the support of the proprietary, and an act of attainder against Cleyborne. In almost all the laws where prices were stated or payments prescribed, tobacco, and not money, was made the measure of value. The colonists of Maryland appear to have devoted themselves as vehemently as the Virginians did at first to the cultivation of this valuable article. In their indiscriminate eagerness to enlarge their contributions to the market, and to obtain a price for the whole produce of their fields, they refused to accede to the regulations by which the planters of Virginia improved the quality by diminishing the quantity of their supply; and this collision was productive of much dispute and ill-humor between the colonies, and tended to keep alive the original disgust with which the establishment of Maryland had been regarded by Virginia.

The third assembly of Maryland, which was convoked two years afterwards, [1639], was rendered memorable by the introduction of a representative body into the constitution. The population of the province had derived so large an increase from recent emigrations, that it was impossible for the freeholders to continue any longer to exercise the privilege of legislation by personal attendance. A law was therefore passed for the introduction of representatives, and the modification of the house of assembly. It was declared by this act, that those who should be elected in pursuance of writs issued should be called burgesses, and should supply the place of the freemen who chose them, in the same manner as the representatives in the parliament of England, and, in conjunction with those called by the special writ of the proprietary, together with the governor and secretary, should constitute the general assembly. But though the election of representatives was thus established for the convenience of the people, they were not restricted to this mode of exercising their legislative rights; for, by a very singular clause, it was provided, that all freemen refraining from voting at the election of burgesses, were at liberty to take their seats in person in the assembly. The several branches of the legislature were appointed to sit in the same chamber, and all acts assented to by the united body were to be deemed of the same force as if the proprietary and freemen had been personally present. It was not long before the people were sensible of the advantage that the democratic part of the constitution would derive from the separate establishment of its peculiar organ; but although this innovation was suggested by the burgesses very shortly afterwards, the constitution that was now adopted continued to be retained by the legislature of Maryland till the year 1650. Various acts were passed in this assembly for the security of liberty, and the administration of justice according to the laws and customs of England. All the inhabitants were required to take the oath of allegiance to the king; the prerogatives of the proprietary were distinctly recognised; and the great charter of England was declared to be the measure of the liberties of the colonists. To obviate the inconveniences that began to be threatened by the almost exclusive attention of the people to the cultivation of tobacco, it was found necessary to enforce the planting of corn by law. A tax was imposed for the supply of a revenue to the proprietary. But notwithstanding this indication of prosperity, and the introduction of representative government, that the colonists were not yet either numerous or wealthy, may be strongly inferred from the imposition of a general assessment to erect a water-mill for the use of the colony. Slavery seems to have been established in Maryland from its earliest colonization: for an act of this assembly describes the people to consist of all christian inhabitants, *slaves only excepted*. That slavery should gain a footing in any community of professing Christians, will excite the regret of every one who knows what slavery and Christianity mean. Some surprise may mingle with our regret when we behold this baneful institution adopted in a colony of catholics, and of men who not only were themselves fugitives from persecution, but so much in earnest in the profession of their distinctive faith, as for its sake to incur exile from their native country. The unlawfulness of slavery had been solemnly announced by the pontiff, whom the catholics regard as the infallible head of their church. When the controversy on this subject was submitted to Leo the Tenth, he declared, that not only the christian religion, but nature herself, cried out against a state of slavery. But the good which an earthly potentate can effect, is far from being commensurate with his power of doing evil. When a pope divided the undiscovered parts of the world between Castile and Portugal, his arrogant division was held sacred; when another levelled his humane sentence against the lawfulness of slavery, his authority was contemned or disregarded.

The discontent with which the establishment of the new colony had been regarded by the Virginians was heightened, no doubt, by the contrast between the liberty and happiness that the planters of Maryland were permitted to enjoy, and the tyranny that they themselves were exposed to from the government of Sir John Harvey. The arguments by which the Maryland charter had been successfully defended against them, tended to associate the loss of their liberties with the existence of this colony: for the complaint of dismemberment of their original territory had been encountered by the plea, that the designation of that territory had perished with the charter which contained it, and that by the dissolution of the company to which

the charter had belonged, all the dominion it could claim over unoccupied territory had reverted to the crown. From the company, or at least during its existence, the Virginians had obtained the liberties which had been wrested from them at the time of its dissolution; and hence their ardent wishes for the restoration of their liberties were naturally connected with the re-establishment of a corporation, whose patent, if revived, would annul the charter of Maryland. It was fortunate for both the colonies that the liberties of Virginia were restored by the king without the appendage of the ancient corporation; and that the Virginians, justly appreciating the advantages they possessed, now regarded with aversion the revival of the patent, and were sensible that their interests would be rather unpaired than promoted by the event that would enable them to re-annex Maryland to their territory. Had the change of circumstances and interests been deferred but a short time, the most injurious consequences might have resulted to both the colonies; [1610] for the assembling of the Long Parliament, and the encouragement which every complaint of royal misgovernment received from that assembly, inspired the proprietors of the Virginia company with the hope of obtaining a restitution of their patent. Fortified by the opinion of eminent lawyers whom they consulted, and who scrupled not to assure them that the ancient patents of Virginia still remained in force,* and that the grant of Maryland, as derogatory to them, was utterly void, they presented an application to the parliament complaining of the unjust invasion that their privileges had undergone, and demanding that the government of Virginia should be restored to them. This application would undoubtedly have prevailed, if it had been seconded by the colony. Its failure was mainly occasioned by the vigorous opposition of the assembly of Virginia.

Under the constitution which was thus preserved to them by the efforts of its ancient antagonists, the colonists of Maryland continued to enjoy a great degree of happiness and prosperity, [1641.] and to evince, by their unabated gratitude to the proprietary, that the spirit of liberty rather enhances than impairs the attachment of a free people to its rulers, and that a just sense of the rights of men is no way incompatible with a lively impression of their duties. The wise and friendly policy which the governor continued to pursue towards the Indians, had hitherto preserved a peace which had proved highly beneficial to the infancy of the colony. But unfortunately the intrigues of Cleyborne had infected the minds of these savages with a jealous suspicion, which the increasing power of the colony had no tendency to mitigate, and which the immoderate avidity of some of the planters tended powerfully to inflame. The rapid multiplication of the strangers seemed to threaten their extinction as a people; and the augmented value which the territory they sold to the colonists had subsequently derived from the industry and skill of its new proprietors, easily suggested to their envy and ignorance the angry surmise, that they had been defrauded in the original vendition. This injurious suspicion was confirmed by the conduct of various individuals among the planters, who procured additional grants of land from the Indians without the authority of government, for considerations which were extremely inadequate, and which, upon reflection, filled them with anger and discontent.† These causes at length produced the calamity which the governor had labored so earnestly to avert. An Indian war broke out in the beginning of the year 1642, and continued for several years after to administer its accustomed evils, without the occurrence of any decisive issue, or the attainment of any considerable advantage by either party. Peace having been with some difficulty re-established, [1644.] the assembly proceeded to enact laws for the prevention of the more obvious causes of complaint and animosity. All acquisitions of land from the aborigines, without the consent of the proprietary, were declared derogatory no less to his dignity and rights, than to the safety of the community, and therefore void and illegal. It was made a capital felony to sell or kidnap any

friendly Indians; and a high misdemeanor to supply them with spirituous liquors, or to put them in possession of arms or ammunition. Partly by these regulations, and more by the humane and prudent conduct of the proprietary government, the peace that was now concluded between the colony and the Indians subsisted, without interruption, for a considerable period of time.

But the colony was not long permitted to enjoy the restoration of its tranquillity. Scarcely had the Indian war been concluded, when the intrigues of Cleyborne exploded in mischiefs of far greater magnitude, and more lasting malignity. The activity of this enterprising and vindictive spirit had been curbed hitherto by the deference which he deemed it expedient to profess to the pleasure of the British court, at which he had continued to cultivate his interest so successfully, that, in the year 1642, he had received from the king the appointment of treasurer of Virginia for life. But the civil wars which had now broke out in England, leaving him no longer any thing to hope from royal patronage, he made no scruple to declare himself a partizan of the popular cause, and to espouse the fortunes of a party from whose predominance he might expect at once the gratification of his ambition, and the indulgence of his revenge. In conjunction with his ancient associates in the isle of Kent, and aided by the contagious fervor of the times, he raised a rebellion in Maryland in the beginning of the year 1645. Calvert, unprepared at first with a force suitable to this emergency, was constrained to fly into Virginia for protection; and the vacant government was instantly appropriated by the insurgents, and exercised with a violence characteristic of the ascendancy of an unpopular minority. Notwithstanding the most vigorous exertions of the governor, seconded by the well-affected part of the community, the revolt was not suppressed till the autumn of the following year [1646]. The afflictions of that calamitous period are indicated by a statute of the assembly, which recites "that the province had been wasted by a miserable dissension and unhappy war, which had been closed by the joyful restitution of a blessed peace." To promote the restoration of tranquillity and mutual confidence, an act of general pardon and oblivion was passed, from the benefits of which only a few leading characters were excepted; and all actions were discharged for wrongs that might have been perpetrated during the revolt. But the additional burthens which it was found necessary to impose upon the people, were consequences of the insurrection that did not so soon pass away: and, three years afterwards, [1649] a temporary duty of ten shillings on every hundred weight of tobacco exported in Dutch bottoms was granted to the proprietary; the one half of which was expressly appropriated to satisfy claims produced by the recovery and defence of the province; and the other was declared to be conferred on him for the purpose of enabling him the better to provide for its safety in time to come.

In the assembly by which the imposition of this duty was enacted, a magnanimous attempt was made to preserve the peace of the colony by suppressing one of the most fertile sources of human contention and animosity. It had been declared by the proprietary, at a very early period, that religious toleration should constitute one of the fundamental principles of the social union over which he presided; and the assembly of the province, composed chiefly of Roman Catholics, now proceeded, by a memorable *Act concerning Religion*, to interweave this noble principle into its legislative institutions. This statute commenced with a preamble, declaring that the enforcement of the conscience had been of dangerous consequence in those countries wherein it had been practised; and thereafter enacted, that no persons professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against their consent; so that they be not unfaithful to the proprietary, or conspire against the civil government; That persons molesting any other in respect of his religious tenets should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, and twenty shillings to the proprietary: That those who should reproach their neighbors with opprobrious names of religious distinction, should forfeit ten shillings to the persons so insulted: That any one speaking reproachfully against the blessed Virgin or the apostles, should forfeit five pounds; but that blasphemy against God should be punished with death. By the enactment of this statute, the catholic planters of Maryland procured to their adopted country the distinguished praise of being the first of the American states in which toleration was

established by law;* and graced their peculiar faith with the signal and unwonted merit of protecting that religious freedom which all other christian associations were conspiring to overthrow. It is a striking and instructive spectacle to behold at this period the puritans persecuting their protestant brethren in New England; the episcopalians retorting the same severity on the puritans in Virginia; and the catholics, against whom all the others were combined, forming in Maryland a sanctuary where all might worship and none might oppress, and where even protestants sought refuge from protestant intolerance. If the dangers to which the Maryland Catholics must have felt themselves exposed from the disfavor with which they were regarded by all the other communities of their countrymen, and from the ascendancy which their most zealous adversaries the presbyterians were acquiring in the councils of the parent state, may be supposed to account in some degree for their enforcement of a principle of which they manifestly needed the protection, the surmise will detract very little from the merit of the authors of this excellent law. The moderation of mankind has ever needed adventitious support; and it is no depreciation of christian sentiment, that it is capable of deriving an accession to its purity from the experience of persecution. It is by divine grace alone that the fire of persecution thus sometimes tends to refine virtue and consume the dross that may have adhered to it; and the progress of this history is destined to show, that without such overruling agency, the commission of injustice naturally tends to its own reproduction, and that the experience of it engenders a much stronger disposition to retaliate its severities than to sympathise with its victims. It had been happy for the credit of the protestants, whose hostility perhaps enforced the moderation of the catholics of Maryland, if they had imitated the virtue which their own apprehended violence may have tended to elicit. But, unfortunately, a great proportion even of those who were constrained to seek refuge among the catholics from the persecutions of their own protestant brethren, carried with them into exile the same intolerance of which themselves had been the victims; and the presbyterians and other dissenters who now began to flock in considerable numbers from Virginia to Maryland, gradually formed a protestant confederacy against the interests of the original settlers; and, with ingratitude still more odious than their injustice, projected the abrogation not only of the catholic worship, but of every part of that system of toleration, under whose shelter they were enabled to conspire its downfall. But though the catholics were thus ill requited by their protestant guests, it would be a mistake to suppose that the calamities that subsequently desolated the province were produced by the toleration which her assembly now established, or that the catholics were really losers by this act of justice and liberality. From the disposition of the prevailing party in England, and the state of the other colonial settlements, the catastrophe that overtook the liberties of the Maryland catholics could not possibly have been evaded: and if the virtue they now displayed was unable to avert their fate, it exempted them at least from the reproach of deserving it; it redoubled the guilt and scandal incurred by their adversaries, and achieved for themselves a reputation more lasting and honorable than political triumph or temporal elevation. What Christian, however sensible of the errors of catholic doctrine, would not rather be the descendant of the catholics who established toleration in Maryland, than of the protestants who overthrew it!

From the establishment of religious freedom, the assembly of Maryland proceeded to the improvement of political liberty; and in the following year [1650] the constitution of this province received that structure which, with some interruptions, it continued to retain for more than a century after. So early as the year 1642, the burgesses who had been elected to the existing assembly, whether actuated by the spirit natural to representatives, or animated by the example of the commons of England, had expressed a desire "that they might be separated, and sit by themselves, and have a negative." Their desire was disallowed at that time; but now, in conformity with it, a law was passed, enacting that members called to the assembly by special writ should form the upper house: that those who were chosen by the hundreds should form the lower

* This seems to corroborate the supposition that the quo warranto against the Virginia company was not prosecuted to a judicial issue.

† Similar causes of offence undoubtedly begot or promoted many of the wars between the Indians and the other colonies. "Such things," says the historian of New Hampshire, "were indeed disallowed by the government, and would always have been punished, if the Indians had made complaint; but they knew only the law of retaliation, and when an injury was inflicted, it was never forgotten till revenged." The fraud, or supposed fraud, of an individual, might, at the distance of many years from its perpetration, involve the whole colony to which he belonged in an Indian war. Belknap, l. 128.

* Rhode Island was at this time the only one of the protestant settlements in which the principle of toleration was recognized: and even there, Roman catholics were excluded from participating in the political rights that were enjoyed by the rest of the community.

house; and that all bills which should be assented to by the two branches of the legislature, and ratified by the governor, should be deemed the laws of the province. An act of recognition of the undoubted right of Lord Baltimore to the proprietaryship of the province, was passed in the same session. The assembly declared itself bound by the laws both of God and man, to acknowledge his just title by virtue of the grant of the late king Charles of England; it submitted to his authority, and obliged its constituents and their posterity for ever to defend him and his heirs in his royal rights and pre-eminences, so far as they do not infringe the just liberties of the free-born subjects of England: and it besought him to accept this act as a testimony to his posterity, of its fidelity and thankfulness for the manifold benefits which the colony had derived from him. Blending a due regard to the rights of the people with a just gratitude to the proprietary, the assembly at the same time enacted a law prohibiting the imposition of taxes without the consent of the freemen, and declaring in its preamble, "that as the proprietary's strength doth consist in the affections of his people; on them he doth rely for his supplies, not doubting of their duty and assistance on all just occasions." Perhaps it is only under such patriarchal administration as Maryland yet retained an admixture of in her constitution, and under such patriarchs as Lord Baltimore, that we can ever hope to find the realization of the political philosopher's dream of a system that incorporates into politics the sentiments that embellish social intercourse, and the affections that sweeten domestic life. In prosecution of its patriotic labors, the assembly proceeded to enact laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of agriculture and commerce; and a short gleam of tranquil prosperity preceded the calamities which the province was fated again to experience from the evil genius of Cleyborne, and the interposition of the parent state.

The parliament having now established its supremacy in England, had leisure to extend its views beyond the Atlantic; and if the people of Virginia were exposed by their political sentiments to a collision with this formidable power, the inhabitants of Maryland were not less obnoxious to its bigotry from their religious tenets. This latter province was not denounced by the parliamentary ordinance of 1650 as in a state of rebellion, like Virginia; but it was comprehended in that part of the ordinance which declared that the plantations were, and of right ought to be, dependent on England, and subject to its laws. In prosecution of the views and purposes of this ordinance, certain commissioners, of whom Cleyborne was one, [1651.] were appointed to reduce and govern the colonies within the bay of Chesapeake. In Virginia, where resistance was attempted, the existing administration was instantly suppressed; but as the proprietary of Maryland expressed his willingness to acknowledge the parliamentary jurisdiction, the commissioners were instructed to respect his rights: [1652.] and he was suffered to rule the province as formerly, though in the name of the keepers of the liberties of England.* But Cleyborne was not to be so easily deterred from availing himself of an opportunity so favorable for satiating his malignity; and unfortunately his designs were favored by the distractions in England that preceded the elevation of Cromwell to the protectorate, and by the disunion which began to prevail in the province from the pretensions of the protestant exiles who had recently united themselves to its population. Ever the ally of the strongest party, Cleyborne hastened to espouse the fortunes of Cromwell, whose triumph he easily foresaw; [1653.] and inflamed the dissensions of the province, by encouraging the protestants to unite the pursuit of their own ascendancy with the establishment of the protectoral government. The contentions of the two parties were at length exasperated to the extremity of civil war; and after various skirmishes, which were fought with alternate success, the catholics and the other partizans of the proprietary government were defeated in a decisive engagement, [1654.] the governor deposed, and the administration usurped by Cleyborne and his associates.

Although the victorious party did not consider themselves warranted expressly to disclaim the title of the proprietary, they made haste to signalise their triumph by abolishing his institutions. Fuller and Preston, whom Cleyborne had appointed commissioners for directing the affairs of Maryland under his highness the lord protector, proceeded to convoke an assembly of the province; and some of the persons who were elected burgesses having refused to serve in a capacity which they deemed inconsistent with their obligations

to Lord Baltimore, the legislative power was the more unreservedly appropriated by the partizans of innovation. The assembly having, as a preliminary measure, passed an act of recognition of Cromwell's just title and authority, proceeded to frame a law concerning religion, which derogated not less signally from the credit of the protestant cause, than from the justice of the protector's administration.* By this law it was declared, that none who professed the doctrines of the Romish church could be protected in this province by the laws of England formerly established, and yet unrepented, or by the government of the commonwealth: That such as professed faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine and discipline publicly held forth, should not be restrained from the exercise of their religion; "provided such liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy; or to such as, under the profession of Christianity, practise licentiousness." Thus the Roman catholics were deprived of the protection of law in the community which their own industry and virtue had collected, and by those protestants to whom their humanity had granted a country and a home. This unworthy triumph was hailed by the zealots against popery in London, where a book was published soon after under the title of "Babylon's Fall in Maryland." But the catholics were not the only parties who experienced the severity of the new government. The protestant episcopalians were equally excluded from the protection of law; and a number of quakers having resorted soon after to the province, and begun to preach against judicial oaths and military pursuits, were denounced by the government as heretical vagabonds, and subjected to the punishment of flogging and imprisonment.

As Lord Baltimore's right to the proprietaryship of the province was still outwardly recognised, the commissioners, either deeming it requisite to the formality of their proceedings, or more probably with the hope of embroiling him with the protector, demanded his assent to the changes which had been thus introduced. But he firmly refused to sanction either the deposition of his governor, or any one of the recent proceedings of the commissioners and their adherents; and declared in particular, that he never would assent to the repeal of a law which protected the most sacred rights of mankind. The commissioners did not fail to complain of his contumacy to Cromwell, to whom they continued from time to time to transmit the most elaborate representations of the tyranny, bigotry, and royalist predilections of Lord Baltimore, and the expediency of depriving him of the proprietaryship of the province.* [1655.] But all their representations were ineffectual. Lord Baltimore was allowed by Cromwell to retain the rights which he was practically debarred from exercising; and the commissioners remained in the province to enact the tyranny and bigotry of which they had falsely accused him. Their proceedings, as intemperate as their councils, could neither preserve internal tranquility in the colony, nor insure their own repose. The people, lately so tranquil and happy, were now a prey to all those disorders which never fail to result from religious persecution embittered by the triumph of party in civil contention. In this situation an insurrection was easily raised by Josias Fendal, [1656.] a restless and profligate adventurer, destined by his intrigues to become the Cleyborne of the next generation, and who now sought occasion to gratify his natural turbulence under pretence of asserting the rights of the proprietary and the ancient liberties of the province. This insurrection proved eminently unfortunate to the colony. It induced Lord Baltimore to repose a very ill grounded confidence in Fendal; and its suppression

* Cromwell is at least obnoxious to the charge of having suffered the triumph of his own and of the protestant cause to be signalized by the suppression of a toleration established by Roman catholics. That he incited, or even approved this proceeding, is by no means apparent. In the records of this province, there is a letter from him to his commissioners, desiring them not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government. Chalmers, 226. But the protector was much more distinguished by the vigor of his conduct than the perspicuity of his dictation; and his correspondents were sometimes unable to discover the meaning of his letters. It appears that, during the distractions of this period, Virginia evinced a disposition to resume her lost authority over Maryland. This design was instantly checked by Cromwell; and in one of his letters to the commissioners on this subject, we find him reprehending them for not having understood his former communications. Chalmers, 223, 224. Hazard, 594. He seems, on many occasions, to have studied an ambiguity of language that left him free to approve or disapprove the proceedings of his officers, according to the success that might attend them.

† Langford's Refutation of a scandalous pamphlet, named *Babylon's Fall in Maryland*. Chalmers, p. 221. Hazard, p. 620, 621, 623, 625. The only copy of Langford's Tract that I have ever met with was in the library of Mr. Chalmers.

was attended with increased severity from the commissioners and additional impositions on the people.

The affairs of the colony continued for two years longer in this distracted condition; when at length the commissioners, disgusted with the disorders which they had contributed to produce, but were unable to compose, and finding all their efforts unavailing to procure the abrogation of Lord Baltimore's title, to which they ascribed the unappeasable discontent of a great part of the population, surrendered the administration of the province into the hands of Fendal, who had been appointed* governor by the proprietary. [1658.] But this measure, so far from restoring the public quiet, contributed to aggravate the mischiefs which had so long infested the province by giving scope to the machinations of that unprincipled agitator, whose habitual restlessness and impetuosity had been mistaken for attachment to the proprietary government. No sooner had he called together an assembly, [1659.] than with unblushing treachery he surrendered into the hands of the burgesses the trust which Lord Baltimore had committed to him, and accepted from them a new commission as governor; and the burgesses, by his instigation, dissolved the upper house, and assumed to themselves the whole legislative power of the state. Fendal and his associates were probably encouraged to pursue this lawless career by the distractions of the English commonwealth that followed the death of the protector. Their administration, which was chiefly distinguished by the imposition of heavy taxes, and the persecution of the quakers, was happily soon terminated by the restoration of Charles the Second; [1669.] and Philip Calvert producing a commission to himself from the proprietary, and a letter from the king commanding all officers, and others his subjects in Maryland, to assist in the re-establishment of Lord Baltimore's jurisdiction, found his authority universally recognised and peaceably submitted to. Fendal was now tried for high treason, and found guilty; but the clemency of the proprietary prevailed over his resentments, and he granted him a pardon on condition of a moderate fine, and under declaration of perpetual incapacity of public trust. This lenity was very ill requited by its worthless object, who was reserved by farther intrigues and treachery to disturb at an after period the repose of the province. [1661.] His accomplices, upon a timely submission, were fully pardoned without prosecution. The recent usurpations were passed over in wise silence, and buried in a generous oblivion; toleration was forthwith restored; and the inhabitants of Maryland once more experienced the blessings of a mild government and internal tranquility.

Happily for mankind, amidst the contentions of parties and the revolutions of government, there is a strong under-current of peaceful and industrious life, which often pursues its course with very little disturbance from the tempests that agitate the surface of society. Notwithstanding the disorders to which Maryland had so long been a prey, the province had continued to increase in population, industry, and wealth; and at the epoch of the Restoration, it appears to have contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. The re-establishment of a humane government and general subordination, however, had manifestly the effect of quickening the march of prosperity; and, accordingly, about five years after this period, we find the population increased to sixteen thousand persons. At this latter period, the number of ships trading from England and other parts of the British dominions to Maryland, was computed at an hundred. So great was the demand for labor in the colony, and so liberal its reward, that even the introduction of negro slavery had not been able to degrade it in public esteem. Industry, amply recompensed, was animated and cheerful, and, closely connected with independence and improvement of condition, was the object of general respect. Every young person was trained to useful labor; and though a legal provision was made for the support of the poor, pauperism and beggary were unknown in the colony, and the public bounty, though sometimes delicately conveyed to the necessities of proud poverty or modest misfortune, was never known to be openly solicited.† An account of the condition of Maryland was published at London in the year 1666, by George Alsop, who had resided in the province both prior and subsequent to the Restoration. From his representation it appears that a great

* Winterbotham erroneously ascribes this appointment to Cromwell.

† Alsop's Maryland, 15, 16. The English civil wars appear to have produced a considerable improvement in the condition of laborers in North America, by interrupting the emigration of additional competitors for employment. Winthrop's New England, ii. 219.

deal of the labor of the colony was performed by indentured servants; and that the treatment of those persons was so humane, and the allotment of land and stock which they received from their masters at the end of their quadriennial servitude so ample, that the author, who himself had served in this capacity, declares he was much happier as an indentured servant in Maryland than as an apprentice in London. It was common for ruined tradesmen and indigent laborers in England to adopt this resource for retrieving or improving their condition; though many were deterred by the misrepresentations circulated by weak politicians who dreaded the depopulation of the realm, or by interested employers who apprehended an augmentation of the wages of labor. No emigrants, says Alsop, were more successful in bettering their condition than female servants; they invariably obtained an immediate and respectable establishment in marriage. Money appears to have been very scarce in the colony, and quite unknown in its domestic transactions; tobacco being the universal medium of exchange, the remuneration of all services, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and the measure of all penal amercements. This author, when he has occasion to mention the troubles that preceded the Restoration, alludes to them merely as affairs of state, and events of very inconsiderable importance. Of some of the personages who were culpably implicated in them, it was his opinion, "that their thoughts were not so bad at first, as their actions would have led them into in process of time."*

A great proportion of the inhabitants of Maryland, and, in particular, all the catholic part of the population, were sincerely attached to the royal government;† and the gratification they derived from the restoration of the king enhanced the satisfaction with which they returned to the patriarchal sway of their benevolent proprietary. During the general festivity that prevailed in the province, the house of assembly was convoked by the governor. One of the first measures adopted by this body was an attempt to provide a remedy for the scarcity of money, which, it was declared, formed a serious obstruction to the advancement of trade. For this purpose they besought the proprietary to establish a mint in the province; and enacted that the money to be coined should be of as good silver as English sterling, and that the proprietary should accept of it in payment of his rents and other debts. This act, and the New England ordinance in 1652, are the only instances of the assertion of a right to coin money that occur in the colonial jurisprudence. A coinage accordingly took place in Maryland; and the measure seems neither to have offended the British government, nor to have disappointed the colony, for the law was confirmed and declared perpetual by the assembly in the year 1676. Yet, in consequence perhaps of the blame that Massachusetts incurred for a similar proceeding, the practice of coining soon after fell into disuse, and the acts that had introduced it were repealed. In the same session there was passed an act for the imposition of port duties, which conferred on the proprietary half a pound of powder and three pounds of shot for every ton of the burden of vessels not belonging to the province. This act, as we shall afterwards find, gave rise to some political controversy at the period of the British Revolution.

The happiness and prosperity of the colony were promoted by the arrival, in the following year, [1662.] of Charles Calvert, the eldest son of the proprietary, whom his father appointed the resident governor of Maryland, for the purpose of enabling him to form acquaintance with the people over whom he was destined to maintain the hereditary jurisdiction. From the various *acts of gratitude* (as they were termed) that were passed by the assembly during his administration, Charles Calvert appears to have followed, with successful virtue, the wise and generous policy of his father; and his administration, both as governor, and afterwards as proprietary, proved no less honorable to himself than beneficial to the province. Legislation continued for a considerable period to be the only public proceeding in which the people were called to share; and various laws were enacted by the assembly for the ascertainment of public and private right, the promotion of commerce, and the encouragement of agricultural and manufacturing industry. Acts were passed for engraving more perfectly the English statute

law on the jurisprudence of the colony; for securing the stability of possessions, and the observance of contracts; and for the encouragement of the sowing of English grain, and the rearing and manufactory of hemp and flax. [1666.] As the agitations of the parent state had ever been found to diffuse their influence through the colonial territories, and the perturbing spirit of rumor to gain force and falsehood proportioned to the distance from which it was wafted, it was attempted to protect the quiet of the colony by an act against the divulgers of false news; but this desirable object was much more respectably as well as effectually promoted by the excellence and popularity of the governor's administration. The public tranquillity was threatened with some disturbance from the encroachments of the Dutch on the western banks of the Delaware, and from the hostile incursions of a distant tribe of Indians. But the vigorous remonstrances of Calvert obliged the Hollanders to desert the whole country around Cape Henlopen, of which he instantly took possession;‡ and his prudence, seconded by the friendly demonstrations of the Indians who were in alliance with the province, restored peace with the hostile tribe by a treaty, which was confirmed by act of assembly. The fidelity of the Indian allies was rewarded by settling on them and their descendants a considerable territory, which, being assured to them on various occasions by successive acts of the assembly, continued in their possession for near a century after. All the Indian tribes within the limits of the province now declared themselves subject to the proprietary government, and in testimony of this subjection, the inferior chiefs or princes, on the death of their principal sachem, refused to acknowledge the sway of his successor, till his pretension to this dignity had been recognised by governor Calvert. The removal of the Dutch from Cape Henlopen induced many of these settlers to unite themselves to the colony of Maryland, where they were received with the utmost kindness; and, in the year 1666, the assembly passed in their favor the first act that occurs of any colonial legislature for the naturalization of aliens. Many similar laws were enacted in every subsequent session, till the British Revolution; and, during that period, great numbers of foreigners transported themselves to this province, and became completely incorporated with the ancient inhabitants.

The principal, if not the only, inconvenience of which the people of Maryland were sensible at this period, was that which they shared with all the other colonies, and which was inflicted by the parliamentary acts of navigation. In Virginia, where the pressure of these restrictions was sooner and more severely felt, an attempt was made to enhance the price of the staple commodity, by prohibiting the growth of tobacco for a limited time; but, as Maryland refused to concur in this proceeding, its efficacy was defeated, and the ancient animosity of the Virginians against the inhabitants of the neighboring colony unhappily revived. To this animosity we must ascribe the various complaints against the colonists of Maryland which Virginia continued from time to time to address to the king; all of which, upon examination, proved to be utterly unfounded.† As the inconvenience arising from the navigation laws began to be more sensibly experienced in Maryland, the policy that had been ineffectually suggested by Virginia was more favorably regarded; and at length a prohibitory act, suspending the growth of tobacco, was passed this year by the assembly; but the dissent of the proprietary and governor, who apprehended that it might prove injurious to the poorer class of planters, as well as detrimental to the royal customs, prevented this regulation from being carried into effect. The popularity of Lord Baltimore and his son appears to have sustained no abatement from this opposition to the project of the assembly. Though averse to impose any direct restraint on the cultivation of tobacco, they willingly concurred in giving every encouragement that was desired to other branches of industry; and their efforts to alleviate the public inconvenience were justly appreciated, as well as actively seconded, by a people

more attentive to improve the remaining advantages of their situation, than to resent the injustice by which these advantages had been circumscribed. While Virginia was a prey to discontent and insurrection, Maryland continued to enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity, and to acknowledge the patriotic superintendence of its generous proprietary. By an act passed in the year 1671,* the assembly imposed a duty of two shillings sterling on every hoghead of tobacco exported: the one-half of which was to be applied in maintaining a magazine of arms, and discharging the necessary expenses of government; and the other half was settled on the proprietary, in consideration of his receiving merchantable tobacco for his rents and alienation fines, at twopence a pound. This provision was soon after continued during the life of the heir of the proprietary, by "An act of gratitude," [1674.] as the assembly termed their ordinance, "to Charles Calvert, the governor."

Cecilus, Lord Baltimore, the father of the province, having lived to reap these happy and honorable fruits of the plantation which he had founded and reared with so much wisdom and virtue, died in the forty-fourth year of his supremacy, [1676.] crowned with venerable age and unsullied reputation. It was his constant maxim, which he often recommended to the legislative assembly, "that by concord a small colony may grow into a great and renowned nation; but that by dissension, mighty and glorious kingdoms have declined and fallen into nothing." Some observations on the state of the province at the period of his death occur in a letter written in the same year by a clergyman of the church of England, resident there, to the archbishop of Canterbury. Maryland, it appears, had been then divided into ten counties, and contained upwards of twenty thousand inhabitants. The catholics, says this writer, had provided for their priests; and the quakers maintained their speakers; but no care was taken to build up a protestant church. There were but three or four ministers of the church of England in Maryland; and from the want of a public establishment for them the colony, he declares, had fallen into a most deplorable condition, having become a *pest-house of iniquity*, in which the Lord's day was openly profaned. As a remedy for this evil, he suggests an endowment of the church of England at the public expense.‡ The remedy discredits the representation, which, besides, is totally unconfirmed by any other account: and it seems neither uncharitable nor unreasonable to suppose, that this writer contemplated the existing condition of society, through the inverted medium of the same opinion that represented to him the future advancement of the spiritual interests of the laity, originating from the promotion of the temporal interests of the clergy. The brightness of distant hope tends to darken the realities of present experience; and the associations that serve to dignify and illustrate the one, are able to degrade and obscure the other. The protestant part of the population of Maryland was less distinguished by that christian zeal which leads men to impose sacrifices on themselves, than by that ecclesiastical zeal which prompts them to exact sacrifices from others; they were probably less wealthy from having been more recently established in the province, than the catholics; and the erection of their churches had been farther retarded by the state of dispersion in which the inhabitants generally lived. The church of England ministers, like the clergy of every other order, depended on the professors of their own particular tenets for support; and it is not easy to see the force of the reasoning that assigns the liberality of other sectarians to their clergymen, as an argument for burdening them with the support of the church of England ministers also,—or the existing incompetency of these ministers to control the immoralities of their people, as an argument for endowing them with a provision that would render them independent of the discharge of their duty. This logic,

* Bacon's Laws, 1671, cap. 11. "Reflecting with gratitude," says the preamble of this enactment, "on the unwearied care of the proprietary, and the vast expense that he has been put to in preserving the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their lives and liberties, and the increase and improvement of their estates." History should delight to record the expressions of popular gratitude for conspicuous service—the public honors rendered to wisdom and virtue.

† The same year there was passed an act "for encouraging the importation of negroes and slaves."

‡ Chalmers, p. 362, 363. Yeo, apud Chalmers, p. 375. This representation is as incredible as the statement that was published about twelve years after by the protestant association of Maryland of the daily murders and persecutions incited by the proprietary and committed by the papists. No reliance can be placed on the accounts that men give of the character and conduct of those whom they are preparing or longing to plunder.

* Alsop's Maryland, 31. 35. 37. 38. 101. 102. The Advocate's Library of Edinburgh contains a copy of this little work.

† It was one of the charges preferred against the proprietary by Cromwell's commissioners, that Charles the Second had been proclaimed by the people of Maryland, without any signification of displeasure from Lord Baltimore. Hazard, 629, 629.

however, proved quite satisfactory to the primate of England, who eagerly undertook to reform the morals of the people of Maryland, by obtaining a legal establishment and wealthy endowment to a protestant episcopal church in the province.

The deceased proprietary was succeeded by his son Charles, Lord Baltimore, who had governed the province for fourteen years with a high reputation for virtue and ability. With the religious tenets, he inherited the tolerant principles of his father; and one of the first acts of his administration was to confirm the remarkable law of 1649, which established an absolute political equality among all denominations of Christians. Having convoked an assembly, in which he presided in person, he performed, with their assistance, what has often been recommended to other legislatures, but rarely executed by any—a diligent revision of the whole code of provincial laws; repealing those that were judged superfluous or inexpedient, confirming the salutary, and explaining the obscure. In this assembly, an attempt was made to stem the progress of an existing evil, by a regulation more wisely, perhaps, than constitutionally opposed to the policy of the mother country. The morals of the colonists were much more seriously endangered by the transportation of felons to Maryland, than by the want of a legislative endowment in the province to the clergy of the English national church. To the common law of England, this punishment of transportation was quite unknown; though in some cases it permitted the felon who chose rather to lose his country than his life to abjure the realm. It was a statute of Elizabeth which first inflicted banishment on dangerous rogues; and it was James the First who, without any regard to this law, but in the plenitude of his royal prerogative, adopted the measure of ordering dissolute persons to be sent to Virginia. He was indebted for the suggestion to Chief-justice Popham, who being a proprietor of colonial territory, as well as a judge, conceived the project of rendering the administration of justice subservient to his colonial designs, and had destined New England in particular to anticipate the uses of Botany Bay. The practice of transporting felons to the colonies was resumed soon after the Restoration, and received so far the countenance of the legislature, that an act of parliament authorised the king to inflict this punishment on convicted quakers. The effects of it proved so disagreeable to the people of Maryland, that a law was now framed against the importation of convicts into the province, and afterwards re-enacted at various subsequent periods till towards the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne. Whether any notice was taken of this declaration of resistance to a measure of the British government or what were the effects of it, I am unable to discover. It is certain that at a later period, the evil was continued and increased in spite of the remonstrances of all the respectable inhabitants; and shortly prior to the American revolution, no fewer than three hundred and fifty felons were annually imported into Maryland from the parent state.

At the conclusion of the session, the proprietary having announced his intention of visiting England, the assembly, in acknowledgment of the many signal favors he had rendered to the people, and as a token of their love and respect, unanimously desired his acceptance of all the public tobacco which remained unappropriated in the stores of the province. Lord Baltimore was undoubtedly worthy of these demonstrations of regard; and the experience of his own, together with the remembrance of his father's merits, might have been expected to recommend the system of proprietary government to the lasting approbation of the colonists. But this species of magistracy was destined to enjoy a very brief popularity in America. Allied to no similar institution, and surrounded by no kindred order in the provincial establishments, it stood wholly unsheltered from envy, a solitary specimen of hereditary grandeur; and its objectionable features were exhibited in the most offensive light, when, in the progress of succession, exclusive dignity became the instrument of worthlessness, or the portion of incapacity. These considerations, it must be acknowledged, afford no explanation of the sudden decline which Lord Baltimore's popularity was destined to experience; and we must seek elsewhere for the causes of that revolution of public opinion in which his merits were so ungratefully depreciated or forgotten. If he had lived in an age less subject to jealousy and alarm, or presided in a colony composed entirely of catholics, he would probably have enjoyed a larger harvest of popular gratitude. But the toleration which his father had established, and the naturalization of foreigners which he himself had introduced, had at-

tracted into the province a multitude of protestants both of French and of English extraction. The tolerating principles of the proprietary were not able to disarm the French protestants of their enmity against a faith whose perfidy and persecution they had so severely experienced; and the English protestants, impressed with the opinion which their friends in the mother country had derived from the policy of the king, regarded toleration but as a cloak under which popish bigotry disguised the most dangerous designs. These unhappy impressions were deeply confirmed by the alarms and intrigues of which the ensuing period of English history was abundantly prolific, and which invariably extended their influence to the minds of the people of Maryland; where a mixture of opinions unknown in any other of the provinces gave a peculiar interest to the conflict of the same opinions that was carried on in the parent state.

On his arrival in England, [1677.]* Lord Baltimore was assailed with complaints preferred against him to the Committee of Plantations, by the colony of Virginia and the prelates of England. The accusations of Virginia, which related to boundaries and Indian treaties, were easily repelled; but the controversy with the prelates was not so satisfactorily adjusted. Compton, bishop of London, to whom the primate had imparted his ecclesiastical project for the colony, represented to the committee that religion was deplorably neglected in Maryland; that while the Roman catholic priests were enriched with valuable possessions, the protestant ministers of the church of England were utterly destitute of support; and that an universal immorality had consequently overspread the province. Lord Baltimore, in justification of himself and the colonial legislature, exhibited the act of 1649, together with the recent confirmation of it, which gave freedom and protection to every sect of Christians, but special privileges to none. He stated that four ministers of the church of England were in possession of plantations which afforded them a decent subsistence; but that from the variety of religious opinions that prevailed in the assembly, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to induce this body to consent to a law that should oblige any sect to maintain other ministers than its own. Satisfactory as this answer ought to have been, the impartial policy of the proprietary did not meet with perfect acquiescence. The committee declared that they thought fit there should be a public maintenance assigned to the church of England, and that the proprietary ought to propose some means for the support of a competent number of her clergy. The king's ministers at the same time signified to him the royal pleasure that immorality should be discouraged, and the laws against vice punctually executed in Maryland.

This last, and probably the least seriously meant of the injunctions communicated to Lord Baltimore in England, was the only one of them that received any attention from the colonial government. [1678.] A law was passed by the assembly for the more strict observance of Sunday; and after the return of the proprietary, [1681.] new regulations were enacted for the more speedy prosecution of offences, and the stricter definition of punishments. As the more rigid enforcement of the navigation act began now to occasion an increased depreciation of the staple produce of the colony, numerous attempts were made by the proprietary and assembly during the two following years to counteract or diminish this inconvenience, by giving additional encouragement to provincial productions and colonial commerce. Laws were enacted for promoting tillage and raising provisions for exportation; for restraining the export of leather and hides; for the support of tanners and shoemakers; and for encouraging the making of linen and woollen cloth. Thus early did the legislature endeavor to introduce manufactures into the province; but the attempt was premature; and though domestic industry was able to supply some articles for domestic uses, it was found impracticable even at a much later period to render Maryland a manufacturing country. For the encouragement of trade, various ports were erected, where merchants were enjoined to reside, and commercial dealings to be carried on, and where all trading vessels were required to unlade the commodities of Europe, and take on board the productions of the province. But from the situation

* Three or four of the inhabitants of Maryland were murdered this year by a tribe of Indians who were at war with the colonists of Virginia, and a great deal of alarm was created in the province. But the Indians soon perceived that they had too hastily supposed that the Marylanders were their enemies, and made satisfaction for the outrage. Oidmixon, i. 192.

of the country, abounding with navigable rivers, and from the great variety of ports that were erected in conformity with the wishes of the planters, every one of whom desired to have a port on his own plantation, this regulation was attended with very little effect. It was during this interval, that there occurred the last instance of the expression of that reciprocal regard which had done so much honor to the proprietary and the people. By a vote of the assembly in the year 1682, this body "to demonstrate its gratitude, duty, and affection to the proprietary," desired his acceptance of a liberal contribution: which he acknowledged with many thanks, but declined to accept on account of the straitened circumstances of the colony.

But, amidst all this seeming cordiality, and the mutual endeavors of the proprietary and the people to promote the general interest, there lurked in the province the seeds of present discontent and of future insurrection. The fiction of the popish plot extended its baneful influence to Maryland, and was by some profligate politicians within the colony made the corner stone of projects similar to those in which it originated in England. The insurrections that had been provoked by the oppression of the covenanters in Scotland; the discontents in England; the vehement disputes with regard to the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne; the continued disagreement between the king and parliament; all transmitted through the magnifying and uncertain medium of rumor to a country so remote from the opportunity of just information, seemed to forebode a renewal of the convulsions of the preceding reign. A general ferment was excited in men's minds; and in the strong expectation that prevailed of some great change, parties and individuals prepared with anxiety to defend their interests; or intrigued with eagerness for the enlargement of their advantages. The absence of the proprietary from the province during his visit to England probably served to promote the designs of the factious, which, however, received a seasonable check from his return. Fendal, who had raised insurrection against the administration of Cromwell, and afterwards betrayed and resisted the government of the proprietary, now availed himself of the lenity he had experienced, to excite a renewal of commotions in Maryland. He seems to have had no other view than to scramble for property and power amidst the confusion that he expected to ensue; and he encouraged his partisans with the assurance, that, during the approaching civil wars of England, they might easily possess themselves of whatever plantations they pleased to appropriate. But Lord Baltimore, partly by a steady application of the laws, and partly by the influence of the tidings of the king's triumph over his opponents at the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, was able as yet to preserve, even without a struggle, the tranquillity of the province. Fendal was tried for his seditious practices in the year 1681; and though the acts of the assembly had annexed the penalty of death to the offence of which he was convicted, he was now only fined, and banished from the province for ever. But unfortunately his influence was not banished with his person; and one of his associates, John Coode, who was tried along with him but acquitted, remained behind, to effect, at a fitter season, those designs which were dissipated for the present by the last ray of success that attended the proprietary's administration. A few others of the less guilty associates of Fendal and Coode were convicted of sedition, and punished by fine.

The last years of the proprietary government were embittered by the retribution of that injustice in which it began; and the wrong that had been done so long before to Virginia, was now avenged by the abscission of a considerable portion of the territory that had been allotted to Maryland. If the historian of this transaction were permitted to adapt the particulars of it to his own wishes and conceptions of moral consistency, he would ascribe the requital of the Maryland usurpation to other instrumentality than that of the venerable patriarch of Pennsylvania. Such, however, was the mode of this occurrence; and as the founder of American toleration committed the encroachment on Virginia, so another distinguished friend of the rights of conscience effected the retributory partition of Maryland. On the arrival of William Penn in America, a meeting took place between him and Lord Baltimore (two of the most prudent and virtuous persons that have ever ruled over mankind), in the hope of effecting an amicable adjustment of the boundaries of their respective territorial grants. Penn was received by Lord Baltimore with that distinguished respect due to illustrious character, and becoming christian courtesy; and

we may suppose that he entertained corresponding regards for a legislator whose institutions had long afforded a peaceful asylum for persecuted quakers. But the pretensions of the parties were so completely inconsistent with each other, that it proved impossible at the time to adjust them in a manner satisfactory to both. Penn had been authorised to appropriate, among other districts, the whole of the peninsula lying between the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware, which formed a considerable part of the territory included within the charter of Maryland, and part of which had been colonized by Dutch and Swedish settlers before the state of Maryland was formed. Lord Baltimore's was certainly the more equitable claim; but Penn appears to have been encouraged to persist in his counter-pretension by the declaration of the Committee of Plantations, that it had never been intended to grant to Lord Baltimore any territory except such as was inhabited at the time by savages, and that the tract which he now claimed having been planted by Christians antecedent to his grant, was plainly excluded from its intentment, though it might be embraced by its literal construction. The controversy between these two distinguished men was conducted with a greater conformity to the general principles of human nature than I find it pleasant to record. While the conflicting claims were yet unsettled, Penn proceeded to appropriate the disputed territory; and as Lord Baltimore insisted that the inhabitants should either acknowledge the jurisdiction of Maryland or abandon their dwellings, mutual proclamations were exchanged by the two proprietary governments against each other's proceedings. A recent and deservedly esteemed biographer of Penn, whose partial acquaintance with the grounds of the dispute explains without excusing his partial judgment on the merits of the parties, has termed Lord Baltimore's assertion of his rights an outrage, and characterized the counter-proclamation of Penn as a lenient remedy by which christian patience encountered lawless violence. But Penn did not content himself with this remedy. He complained to the English government, and by his interest at court procured it to be adjudged that the debatable territory should be divided into two equal parts, one of which was appropriated to himself, and the other to Lord Baltimore. This adjudication was carried into effect; and the territory which now composes the state of Delaware was thus dismembered from the provincial limits of Maryland.* [1635.]

Meanwhile, the late proceedings against Fendal and his associates were made the foundation, in England, of fresh complaints against Lord Baltimore for partiality to papists. It was in vain for him to represent that the laws of his province gave equal encouragement to Christians of every sect, without dispensing peculiar favor to any; that in order to conform his administration to the principles of the constitution, he had always endeavored to divide the offices of government as equally as possible among protestants and catholics; and that to allay the jealousy that had taken possession of the protestants, he had latterly suffered them to engross nearly the whole command of the militia, and the custody of the arms and military stores of the province. From the record of Fendal's trial, he showed that the proceedings against this individual had been perfectly fair; nay, so indulgent, that he had been allowed to except against all Roman catholics as jurymen. Notwithstanding the satisfactoriness of this explanation, the ministers of the king, less desirous of doing justice to others than of shifting the imputation of popery from themselves, commanded that all the offices of government should in future be committed exclusively to the hands of protestants; and thus meanly sanctioned the unjust suspicions under which the proprietary government was already laboring. It was less easy for Lord Baltimore to defend himself against another charge which was now preferred against him, and which, having some foundation in truth, involved him in considerable difficulty. He was accused of obstructing the custom-house officers in the collection of the parliamentary duties; and it did certainly appear that, biassed perhaps by the desire of alleviating as far as possible the pressure of the commercial restrictions, he had construed them in some points in a manner too favorable to the freedom and

wishes of the colonists. While he endeavored unsuccessfully to maintain the legitimacy of his interpretation, he strongly charged the collectors of the revenue with wilfully disturbing the trade and peace of the colony by wanton interference and groundless complaint. It would appear that this recrimination was well founded, and that the revenue officers, provoked to find that the unpopularity of their duties prevailed over the respect they conceived due to their office, had labored to convert their own private disagreements with individuals into the occasion of national dispute: for when a new surveyor-general of the customs in Maryland was appointed shortly after, he had the justice to report that the province had been greatly misrepresented with regard to its opposition to the acts of trade. The proprietary, however, incurred a severe rebuke from the king for his erroneous construction of the law. Charles latterly complained that he should obstruct his service and discourage his officers, after the many favors that had been heaped upon him and his father, and even threatened him with the visitation of a writ of *quo warranto*. It seems never to have occurred to the English government, nor did Lord Baltimore presume to urge, that the king, in proceeding to exact imposts in Maryland, violated the most express provisions of the royal charter, and appropriated to himself what truly belonged to the proprietary.

On the accession of James the Second to the throne of his brother, he transmitted to the colonies a proclamation of this event, which was published in Maryland with lively and unaffected demonstrations of joy. The Committee of Plantations had taken so much pains during the preceding reign to obtain accurate information of the affairs of the colonies and the temper of their inhabitants, that it was perfectly well known how much they were affected by reports from England, and what disturbances the prospect of confusion in the mother country was apt to engender. On the invasions of Monmouth and Argyle, the king transmitted accounts of these occurrences to the proprietary; assigning as the reason for this communication, the prevention of any false rumors which might be spread among his people in that distant province of the empire, by the malicious insinuations of evil disposed men. He informed him at the same time with marks of peculiar exultation, that the parliament had cheerfully granted him an aid, to be levied on the importation of sugars and tobacco, which he hoped would not be burdensome to the inhabitants of Maryland, as the imposition was not laid on the planter, but on the retailers and consumers. But the imposition could not be disarmed of its injurious influence by such royal logic and barren good wishes; and both in Virginia and in Maryland it served to augment the burdens and cool the loyalty of the people. As the other impediments of commerce were found to be aggravated in Maryland by the continued prevalence of a scarcity of money, [1686,] an attempt was now made to remedy this evil by a law for the *advancement* of coins. French crowns, pieces of eight, and six dollars were appointed to be received in all payments at six shillings each; all other coins at an advance of threepence in the shilling; and the sixpences and shillings of New England, according to their denominations, as sterling. As all accounts at that time were kept in tobacco, and in all contracts it was employed as the admeasure of value, the coins thus advanced were adjudged to be taken at the rate of six shillings for every hundred weight of that commodity. This law first gave rise in Maryland to the peculiarity of colonial currency, in contradistinction to sterling money.

At the same time that the king resolved to subvert the constitution of England, he determined to overthrow the proprietary governments of the colonies. It was, he declared, a great and growing prejudice to his affairs, both domestic and colonial, that such independent administrations should be maintained; and it was due no less to his interest than his dignity, to reduce them to more immediate subjection to the crown. Alarmed by the communication of this arbitrary purpose, the proprietary of Maryland again proceeded to England, and vainly represented to the inflexible despot that the administration of his province had been at all times conducted in conformity with the terms of his charter; that he had never knowingly failed in his duty to his sovereign; and that neither he nor his father had committed a single act which could infer the forfeiture of a patent which they had dearly purchased, in adding, at their own great expense, a considerable province to the empire. [1687.] These remonstrances were disregarded by the king; and the attorney-general received orders to issue a writ of *quo*

warranto against Lord Baltimore's charter. The writ was issued accordingly; but from the dilatory pace of the requisite legal procedure, and the important events that soon after diverted the monarch's attention to nearer concerns, no judgment upon it was ever pronounced. Thus, with impartial tyranny, which even the predilections of the bigot were unable to control, James, disregarding equally the feelings of the puritans of Massachusetts and the catholics of Maryland, involved both in the same undistinguishing project of oppression and degradation. Whether the singular friendship which, in this monarch and William Penn, seemed to unite the two extremes of human nature, might have suspended for a while the destruction of the constitutions of Pennsylvania, this consummation would have infallibly followed in due time; and the royal regards that Penn shared with Judge Jeffries and Colonel Kirke would have procured him no other advantage than that of being, perhaps, the last of the American proprietaries that was sacrificed. Fortunately for the interests of mankind, bigotry, infatuated by tyranny, at length obtained the ascendancy over the king's mind; and depriving the bigot of the adherents of the tyrant, involved even Jeffries in disgrace, and constrained even the prelates of England to seek protection in the principles of liberty.

[1688.] The birth of a son to James the Second, which was regarded with mingled scepticism and disappointment by his English subjects, and contributed to hasten the Revolution, was no sooner communicated by the proprietary (who was still in England,) to his officers in Maryland, than it excited general joy throughout the province. In the assembly which was convoked on this occasion, a law was passed for a perpetual commemoration and thanksgiving, every tenth day of June, for the birth of the prince. If this proceeding seem to indicate the prevalence of a feeling that may be supposed peculiar to the catholics, other parts of the conduct of this assembly strongly evinced the existence of those jealousies with which the protestants were infected, which the mean injustice of the late king's ministers had sanctioned, and which the unfortunate absence of Lord Baltimore now contributed to promote. The burgesses at first demurred to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary; and afterwards exhibited to the deputy-governors a list of pretended grievances that indicated nothing so strongly as the ill-humor and alarm of the parties who declared themselves aggrieved; for the articles are all so vague and so frivolous, and, if true, related only to such petty and easily remediable violations of law and usage, that it is impossible to peruse them without perceiving that the complainers either sought a cause of quarrel, or had already found one which they were backward to avow. A courteous and obliging answer was returned to the list of grievances, by the deputy-governors; and, as the malcontents were not yet transported by passion beyond the limits of reason and common sense, they returned thanks for this issue. [14] and the flame of discontent and suspicion seemed to be extinguished. But the embers remained, and waited only the influence of the coming events to show what a conflagration they were capable of producing. The spirit of party in the province, excited and preserved by religious differences, in an age in which to differ was to dislike and suspect, had been hitherto moderated by the liberal spirit of the laws, and the prudent administration of the proprietary. But no sooner were the tidings of the Revolution in England conveyed to the province, than those latent dissensions, inflamed by fresh incentives, burst forth in a blaze of insurrectionary violence; and those who had long been sowing discontent in the minds of their fellow citizens, now prepared to reap an abundant harvest from the prevalence of public disorder. [1689.]

When the deputy-governors were first informed of the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange, they hastened to take measures for preserving the tranquillity of the province, where as yet none could foresee, and none had been informed, of the extraordinary use that was to be made of that memorable achievement. They proceeded to collect the public arms that were dispersed in the various counties, and apprehended several persons who were accused of attempts to disturb the public peace. But these measures were completely frustrated by the rumour of a *popish plot*, which suddenly and rapidly disseminated the alarming intelligence that the deputy-governors and the catholics had formed a league with the Indians, for the massacre of all the protestants in the province. Confusion, dismay, and indignation, instantly laid hold of the minds of the people, and every exertion that was made to demonstrate the folly and absurdity of the report proved

* Chalmers, 647, 648, 650, 651, 661-666. Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 336, 337, 408, 409. Mr. Clarkson's account of this dispute is very defective, and tends to create an impression of the conduct of Lord Baltimore not less unfavorable than erroneous. If he considered the merits of the respective pleas too uninteresting to deserve his inquiry, he should have refrained from pronouncing or insinuating any judgment on the comparative merits of the parties. The controversy between Lord Baltimore and Penn is resumed and farther illustrated in the history of Pennsylvania, post, B. vii. cap. I.

ineffectual. Like the kindred fiction in England, the tale was corroborated by various unlucky circumstances, that tended wonderfully to support the general delusion. Though Lord Baltimore received orders to proclaim William and Mary, which he readily promised and prepared to obey, yet some fatal accident intercepted the commands which he transmitted to his deputies for that purpose: and they still awaited official orders respecting this delicate and important transaction, long after the corresponding proclamation had been published in Virginia. It happened unfortunately too, that, at the same conjuncture, they had to repeat the annual confirmation of the existing treaty of peace with the Indians. These occurrences, distorted by the arts of the factious, and the credulity of the timid, increased the prevailing panic, and accelerated the explosion it had long threatened to produce. A protestant association was formed by John Coode, the former accomplice of Fendal, and being soon strengthened by the accession of numerous adherents, took arms under this worthless leader for the defence of the protestant faith, and the assertion of the royal title of William and Mary. A declaration or manifesto was published by the associators, replete with charges against the proprietary, that reflect the utmost dishonor on their own cause. The reproaches of tyranny and wickedness, of murder, torture, and pillage, with which Lord Baltimore is loaded in this production, are refuted not only by the gross inconsistency between such heinous enormities and the recent limitation of the public grievances to the frivolous complaints exhibited to the deputy-governors, but by the utter inability of the associators to establish by evidence any one of their charges, even when the whole power and influence of the provincial government was in their hands. With matchless impudence and absurdity, the affronts that had been formerly complained of by the custom-house officers were now cited as an injury done to the province of Lord Baltimore, who, if he had ever participated in them at all, must have been induced to do so by resentment of the real grievances with which the province was afflicted. A charge of this description, however artfully calculated to recommend the cause of the associators to the favor of the British government, would never have suggested itself to a passionate multitude; and it is probable that the whole composition was the work of Coode, whose subsequent conduct showed how little he participated in the popular feelings which he was able to excite and direct with such energy and success. The deputies of Lord Baltimore endeavored at first to oppose by force the designs of the associators; but as the catholics were afraid to justify the prevalent rumours against themselves by taking arms, and as the well-affected protestants showed no eagerness to support a falling authority, they were compelled to deliver up the fort, and surrender the powers of government by capitulation. The king, apprised of these proceedings, hastened to express his approbation of them, and authorised the leaders of the insurgents to exercise in his name the power they had acquired, until he should have leisure to effect a permanent settlement of the administration. Armed with this commission, the associators continued for three years after to administer the government of Maryland, with a tyrannical insolence that exemplified the grievances they had falsely imputed to the proprietary, and produced loud and numerous complaints from both the protestant and catholic inhabitants of the province.

King William, meanwhile endeavored to derive the same advantage to the royal authority in Maryland, that the tyranny of his predecessor bequeathed to him in Massachusetts. But, to persist in the iniquitous process of *quo warranto*, was no longer practicable; and no other proceeding was left, but to summon Lord Baltimore to answer before the Privy Council the complaints expressed in the declaration of the associators. After a tedious investigation, which involved this nobleman in a heavy expense, it was found impossible to convict him of any other charge than that of holding a different faith from the men by whom he had been so ungratefully persecuted and so calumniously traduced. He was accordingly suffered to retain the patrimonial interest attached by his charter to the office of proprietary, but deprived by an act of council of the political administration of the province, of which Sir Edmund Andros was at the same time appointed governor by the king.* [1692.] The unmerited eleva-

tion of this worthless man was no less disgraceful than the unjust deposition of the proprietary. Lord Baltimore having exercised his power with a liberal regard to the freedom of other men's consciences, now parted with it from a pious regard to the sanctity of his own. Andros, who had formerly acquired promotion by active subservience to a catholic despot, now purchased its continuance by becoming the no less active abettor of protestant intolerance.

Thus fell the proprietary government of Maryland, after an endurance of fifty-six years, during which it had been administered with unexampled mildness, and with a regard to the liberty and welfare of the people, that deserved a very different requital from that which I have had the pain of recording. The slight notice which the policy of this catholic legislator has received from the philosophic economists of liberal institutions strongly attests the capricious distribution of fame, and may probably have proceeded from dislike of his religious tenets, which, it was feared, would share the commendation bestowed on their votary. It was apprehended perhaps, that the charge of intolerance so strongly preferred against catholic potentates and the Romish church, would be weakened by the praise of a toleration which catholics established and protestants overthrew. But in truth every deduction that is made from the liberality of catholics in general, and every imputation that is thrown on the usual influence of their tenets in contracting the mind, ought to magnify the merit of Lord Baltimore's institutions, and enhance the praise by demonstrating the rarity of his virtue. One of the most respectable features of the proprietary administration was the constant regard that was had to justice, and to the exercise and cultivation of benevolence, in all transactions and intercourse with the Indians. But though this colony was more successful than the New England states (who conducted themselves no less unexceptionably to the Indians) in avoiding war with its savage neighbors, yet we have seen that it was not always able to avert this extremity. In both these cases, no doubt, the pacific endeavors of the colonists were counteracted, not only by the natural ferocity of the Indians, but by the hostilities of other Europeans, by which that ferocity was additionally inflamed. Yet the quakers of Pennsylvania who were exposed to the same disadvantage, escaped its evil consequences, and were never attacked by the Indians. Relying implicitly and entirely on the protection of God, they renounced every act or indication of self-defence that could provoke the antagonism of human nature, or excite apprehensive jealousy, by showing the power to injure. But the puritan and the catholic colonists of New England and Maryland, while they professed and exercised good-will to the Indians, adopted the hostile precaution of showing their power to repel violence. They displayed arms and erected forts, and thus suggested the suspicion they expressed, and invited the injury they anticipated.

Before toleration was defended by Locke, it was realised by Lord Baltimore; and in the attempts which both of these eminent persons made to establish the model of a wise and liberal government in America, it must be acknowledged that the protestant philosopher was greatly excelled by the catholic nobleman.* The constitutions of William Penn have been the theme of panegyric no less just than general; but of those who have commended them, how few have been willing to notice the prior establishment of similar institutions by Lord Baltimore. Assimilated in their maxims of government, these two proprietaries were assimilated in their political fortunes; both having witnessed an eclipse of their popularity in America, and both being dispossessed of their governments by King William. Penn, indeed, was restored a few years

of Oldmixon's work that I refer, when the second is not expressly designated.

* In a company where Sir Isaac Newton, John Locke and William Penn happened to meet together, the conversation turned on the comparative excellence of the governments of Carolina and Pennsylvania. Locke ingeniously yielded the palm to Penn; (Clarkson's Life of Penn, vol. ii. p. 409.) and would doubtless have yielded it to Lord Baltimore. But Penn's reputation (from the interest which the quakers have felt in promoting it, and the willingness of philosophers to acknowledge him as an ally) has been much better protected than that of Lord Baltimore: and to this perhaps may be ascribed the very different treatment which the descendants of these proprietaries experienced from their respective provinces at the American revolution. The proprietary of Maryland was then a minor; yet his estates were confiscated, and no indemnification could ever be obtained. (Winterbottom, vol. iii. p. 4.) The descendants of Penn, after a long series of quarrels with the people, embraced the cause of Britain; yet the legislature of Pennsylvania indemnified them in the most liberal manner for the loss of their property. (Brisson's Travels, p. 329.)

after: but Lord Baltimore's deprivation continued during his life. On his death in 1716, his successor being a protestant, was restored to the enjoyment of proprietary powers. These powers, however, had in the interim sustained some abatement from an act of the English parliament,* which applied not only to this but to all the other feudatory principalities in North America, and rendered the royal sanction necessary to confirm the nomination of the proprietary governors.

Immediately after his appointment to the office of governor, Sir Edmund Andros proceeded to Maryland, where he convoked an assembly, in which the title of William and Mary was recognised by a legislative enactment. In this assembly an attempt was made to divest the proprietary of the port-duties that had been settled on his family in the year 1661. The assembly now made a tender of the produce of this tax to the king, alleging, that although the provision had been granted generally to the proprietary, the true intention of the legislature had been to confer it merely as a trust for the uses of the public. The king however declined to accept the offer, or sanction the assembly's construction of the grant; Sir John Somers, to whom the legitimacy of the proceeding was referred, having given it as his opinion that the duty truly belonged to Lord Baltimore, and was intended for his own use, and that it would be of dangerous consequence to receive parole proof of an intention in the legislature different from the plain meaning of the words of the law. The ingratitude which was thus evinced towards the proprietary met with a just retribution from the administration of Andros, who, though he is said to have approved himself a good governor in Virginia, appears to have exercised no little severity and rapacity in Maryland. Not the least offensive part of his conduct was, that he protected Coode against the complaints he had provoked, and enabled this profligate hypocrite a little longer to protract the period of his impunity. But Coode's fortunes soon became more suitable to his deaerts. Finding himself neglected by Colonel Nicholson, the successor of Andros, he began to practise against the royal government the same treacherous intrigues that he had employed with so much success against the proprietary administration. Inferior in talent to Bacon, the disturber of Virginia, and far inferior in sincerity to Leisler, the contemporary agitator of New York, he was chiefly indebted for his success to the daring reliance which he placed on the influence of panic, and the extent of popular credulity. He had an unbounded confidence in the power of patient and persevering calumny, and endeavored to impress it as a maxim on his confederates, that "if plenty of mud be thrown, some of it will undoubtedly stick." In 1695, this president of the protestant association of Maryland was indicted for treason and blasphemy; and, justly apprehending that he would be treated with less lenity under the protestant, than he had formerly experienced under the catholic administration, he declined to stand a trial, and fled for ever from the province which he had contributed so signally to dishonor.†

The suspension of the proprietary government was accompanied with a total subversion of the principles on which its administration had been uniformly conducted. The political equality of religious sects was subverted, and the universal toleration of every form of christian worship abolished. The church of England was declared to be the established ecclesiastical constitution of the state; and an act passed in the year 1692 having divided the several counties into parishes, a legal maintenance was assigned to a minister of this communion in every one of these parishes, consisting of a glebe, and of an annual tribute of forty pounds of tobacco from every christian male, and every male or female negro above sixteen years of age. The appoint-

* 7 and 8 Will. III. cap. 22 § 16. This was the first instance in which the English parliament assumed the right of modifying the charter and altering the constitution of an American province. In the course of the following century this power was exercised on several occasions, and very reluctantly submitted to. The pretension to it formed one of the grounds of quarrel that produced the American Revolution.

By another clause in the same statute, it was enacted, "that on no pretence whatever any kind of goods from the English American plantations shall hereafter be put on shore either in the kingdoms of Ireland or Scotland, without being first landed in England, and having also paid the duties there, under the penalty of a forfeiture of the ship and cargo." The Union in 1706 rendered this restriction void, in so far as related to Scotland.

† Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 193. Chalmers, p. 248. 374. 383, 384. Among other expressions that Coode's indictment led to his charge, under the count of blasphemy, he was accused of having said "that there was no religion but what was in Tully's Offices." To make these words the more intelligible, the indictment illustrated them by this innuendo, "that they were spoken of one Tully, a Roman orator, meaning."

* Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 193. "I know not how it happened, but so it was that in King William's reign, Queen Anne's, &c. there were periods when the friends or tools of the abdicated king were more hearkened to than the instruments of the revolution." Ibid (2d edition) i. p. 244. It is to the first edition

ment of the ministers was vested in the governor, and the management of parochial affairs in vestries elected by the protestant inhabitants. For the better instruction of the people, free-schools and public libraries were established by law in all the parishes, and an ample collection of books was presented to the libraries as a commencement of their literary stock, by the bishop of London. But notwithstanding all these encouragements to the cultivation of knowledge, and the rapid increase of her wealth and population, it was not till after her separation from the parent state, that any considerable academy or college was formed in Maryland. All protestant dissenters were declared to be entitled to the full benefit of the act of toleration passed in the commencement of William and Mary's reign by the English parliament. But this grace was strictly withheld from the Roman catholics; and the protestants who thus enacted toleration to themselves, with the most impudent injustice and unchristian cruelty, denied it to the men by whose toleration they themselves had been permitted to gain an establishment in the province. Sanctioned by the authority, and instructed by the example of the British government, the legislature of Maryland proceeded, by the most tyrannical persecution of the catholics, to fortify and disgrace the protestant ascendancy. Not only were these unfortunate victims of a conscience, which the actions of their opponents contributed additionally to mislead, excluded from all participation in political privileges, but they were debarred from the exercise of their worship and the advantages of education. By an act passed in the year 1704, and renewed in the year 1715, it was provided that any catholic priest attempting to convert a protestant, should be punished with fine and imprisonment; and that the celebration of mass, or the education of youth by a papist, should be punished by transportation of the offending priest or teacher to England, that he might there undergo the penalties which the English statutes inflicted on such actions. Thus in their eagerness to deprive others of their liberty, the protestants of Maryland truly subverted their own pretensions to independent legislation. They maintained that the statutes of the English parliament did not necessarily extend to Maryland; and in conformity with this supposition, we find an act of assembly in the year 1706, giving to certain English acts of parliament the force of law within the province. But it was manifestly inconsistent with this pretended independence, to declare any of the colonists amenable to the peculiar jurisprudence of England, for actions committed in the province and not punishable there. Though laws thus unjust and oppressive were enacted, it was found impossible to carry them into complete execution. Shortly after the act of 1704 was passed, the assembly judged it expedient to suspend its enforcement so far as to admit of catholic priests performing their functions in private houses; and the act of 1714 was suspended in a similar manner, in consequence of an express mandate to the assembly from Queen Anne.

Thus were the catholics of Maryland, under the pretence of vices which none realized more completely than their persecutors, deprived of those privileges, which for more than half a century they had enjoyed with unparalleled moderation. In addition to the other odious features of the treatment they experienced, there was a shameful violation of national faith in suffering protestant persecution to follow them into the asylum from its severity which they had been encouraged to seek, and with laborious virtue had established. Sensible of this injustice, or rather perhaps willing to induce the catholics whom they were determined not to tolerate at home to expatriate to Maryland, the British government continued from time to time to set bounds to the exercise of that colonial bigotry which its own example had excited, and its own authority still maintained.

Before the overthrow of the catholic church in Maryland, its clergy had signalized themselves by some attempts to convert the Indians to the christian faith; but their endeavors are represented as having been neither judicious nor successful. Eager to prevail on the savages to receive the formalities, before they were impressed with the substance of christian doctrine, they are said to have administered the rite of baptism to persons who understood it so little, that they considered their acceptance of it as a favor they had done to the missionaries in return for the presents they received from them, and used to threaten to renounce their baptism unless these presents were repeated. But if the catholics of Maryland were chargeable with a superstitious forwardness to administer this rite, some of their protestant fellow-colonists evinced a sentiment

tenfold more inexcusable, in their determination to withhold it. An act of assembly passed in the year 1715 declared that many people refused to permit their slaves to be baptized, in consequence of an apprehension that baptism would entitle them to their freedom; and accordingly, to overcome their reluctance, enacted that no negro receiving the holy sacrament of baptism, should derive therefrom any right or claim to be made free. It was the peculiar unhappiness of the lot of the Maryland protestants, that it surrounded them at once with catholics, whom they were incited to persecute, and with slaves whom they were enabled to oppress: and it was not till some time after the Revolution of 1688, that they began to show more genuine fruits of the tenets they professed, than the persecution of those who differed from them in religious opinion.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the population of Maryland amounted to thirty thousand persons: and whether from superiority of soil or industry, or from the absence of laws restrictive of cultivation, this province is said to have exported at least as much tobacco as the older and more populous province of Virginia. At a later period, a law was passed, prohibiting the cultivation on any estate of a greater quantity than six thousand plants of tobacco for every taxable individual upon the estate. Maryland was the first of the provinces in which the right of private property was from the beginning recognised in its fullest extent; and community of possessions had never even a temporary establishment. This peculiarity, it is probable, contributed to promote the peculiar industry by which this people have been distinguished. In the year 1699, Annapolis was substituted for St. Mary's as the capital of the province: but the same causes that prevented the growth of towns in Virginia, also repressed them in Maryland. There were few merchants or shop-keepers who were not also planters; and it was the custom for every man to maintain on his plantation a store for supplying the usual accommodations of shops to his family, servants, and slaves. Living dispersed over the province, and remote from each other, the effects of their comparative solitude are said to have been visible in the countenance, manners, and apparel of the great body of the planters; their aspect expressing less cheerfulness, their demeanor less vivacity, their dress less attention to neatness, and their whole exterior less *urbanity*, than were found in those colonies where cities engendered and diffused the elegant virtue to which they have given a name. But even those who have reproached them with this defect have not failed to recognize a more respectable characteristic of their situation, in that hospitality by which they were universally distinguished.* At a later period, the towns of Maryland seemed to acquire a sudden principle of increase; and Baltimore, in particular, has grown with a rapidity unexampled even in the United States. In none of the provinces, have the effects of a wise or illiberal system of government been more plainly apparent than in Maryland. For nearly a century after the British Revolution, difference in religious opinion was made the source of animosity and oppression; and during all that period not one considerable seminary of learning arose in the province. Within a few years after the return of equal laws and universal toleration, with the establishment of American independence, the varieties of doctrinal opinion among the people served but to illustrate religious charity; numerous colleges and academies were founded; and the same people among whom persecution had lingered longest, became distinguished for a remarkable degree of courteous kindness and generous compassion.

During the suspension of the proprietary government, the legislature of the province consisted of three branches; after its revival, of four: the proprietary, the governor, the council, and the burgesses. The proprietary, besides a large domain cultivated by himself, enjoyed a quit rent of two shillings sterling yearly for every hundred acres of appropriated land. This was increased at an after period to four shillings in some districts; and an unsuccessful attempt was made to raise it as high as ten shillings. The proprietaries had received but too little encouragement to rely on the stability of that gratitude which had been acquired by their original moderation. The salaries of the governor and deputy-governor consisted of official fees, and a tax on exported tobacco, enacted to them successively on their appointment to office, and propor-

* Winterbottom's America, vol. iii. p. 42. "That pride which grows on slavery, and is habitual to those who from their infancy are taught to believe and feel their superiority, is a visible characteristic of the inhabitants of Maryland." Ibid.

tioned to their popularity. The council consisted of twelve persons, appointed by the proprietary, and during the abeyance of his political rights, by the royal governor; each of whom received, during the session of the assembly, an allowance of one hundred and eighty pounds of tobacco daily from the province. The house of representatives or burgesses consisted of four members from each of the counties, and two from the capital; the daily allowance in each of them being one hundred and sixty pounds of tobacco. From the decisions of the provincial courts, in all cases involving property to the amount of three hundred pounds, an appeal was admitted to the king in council. The office of the select men in New England was performed in Maryland by the parochial vestries, which engrossed the management of all the public affairs of their districts, and soon underwent a remarkable abatement of the popular form of their original constitution; for though at first elected by the inhabitants, they held their office for life, and very early assumed the privilege of supplying vacancies in their own number by the election of the survivors. In the year 1704, it was provided by "An act for the advancement of the natives and residents of this province," that no office of trust, except those that were conferred by immediate commission from the crown, could be held by any person who had not previously resided three years in the colony."

The situation of slaves and of indented servants appears to have been very much the same in Maryland as in Virginia. Any white woman, whether a servant or free, becoming pregnant from the embrace of a negro, whether a slave or free, was punished with a servitude of seven years; and the children of "such unnatural and inordinate connexions," were doomed to servitude till they should attain the age of thirty-one. A white man begetting a child by a negress, was subjected to the same penalty as a white woman committing the corresponding offence. An indented servant, at the expiration of his servitude, was entitled to demand a liberal allowance of various useful commodities from his master, some of which he was prohibited, under a penalty, from selling for twelve months after his liberation. A tax was imposed on the importation of servants from Ireland, "to prevent the importing too great a number of Irish papists into this province."

To prevent the evasion of provincial debts or other obligations by flight to England, or to the other American states, all persons preparing to leave the colony were required to give public intimation of their departure, and obtain a formal passport from the municipal authorities. An act was passed in the year 1698, investing a large tract of land in Dorchester county, in two Indian kings, who, with their subjects, were to hold it as a fief from the proprietary, and to pay for it a yearly rent of one bear skin. In common with the other colonies, Maryland was much infested by wolves; and so late as the year 1715, a former act was renewed, offering "the sum of three hundred pounds of tobacco" as a reward for every wolf's head that should be brought by any colonist or Indian to a justice of the peace. An act proposing a similar recompense had been passed in Virginia; but it was repealed in the year 1666.

BOOK IV. NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA. CHAPTER I.

Early Attempts of the Spaniards and the French to colonize this territory—First Charter of Carolina granted by Charles the Second to Lord Clarendon and others—Formation of Albemarle Settlement in North Carolina—Settlement of Ashley River in South Carolina—Second Charter of the whole United Province—Proceedings at Albemarle—The Proprietaries enact the fundamental Constitutions of Carolina—Expedition of Emigrants to South Carolina—John Locke created a Landgrave—Hostilities with the Spaniards in Florida, and with the Indians—Disputes between the Proprietaries and the Colonists—Culpepper's Insurrection in North Carolina—He is tried in England, and acquitted—Discord among the colonists—Sothell's tyrannical administration—He is deposed.

WE have seen New England colonized by puritans exiled by royal and episcopal tyranny; Virginia replenished by cavalier and episcopal fugitives from republican triumph and puritan ascendancy; and Maryland founded by catholics retiring from protestant intolerance. By a singular coincidence, the settlement whose history we now proceed to examine, originally seemed to have been destined to complete this series of revolutionary persecution: and if the first colonists who were planted in it had been able to maintain their establishment, Carolina would have been peopled by Hugonots flying from catholic bigotry.*

* At a later period we have seen the descendants of one of

This territory has been the subject of a variety of pretensions, and distinguished at successive periods by a variety of names. The claim of England to the first discovery of it was disputed by the Spaniards, who maintained that Cabot never proceeded so far to the south, and that it had been yet unvisited by any European, when Ponce de Leon, the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, arrived on its shores, [1512], as he was sailing in quest of a land which was reported to contain a fountain endowed with the miraculous power of restoring the bloom and vigor of youth to age and decrepitude. Believing that he had now attained the favored region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards call Pasqua de Flores; but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream or fountain that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico. A few years afterwards, another Spanish officer, who was sent to make a more minute inspection of the territory supposed to have been thus newly discovered, performed an exploit but too congenial with the contemporary achievements of his countrymen, in kidnapping a considerable body of the natives, whom he carried away into bondage. Some researches for gold and silver, undertaken shortly after by succeeding adventurers of the same nation, having terminated unsuccessfully, the Spaniards appeared to have renounced the intention of any immediate settlement in this region, and left it to repose under the shadow of the name they had bestowed, and to remember its titular owners by their cupidity and injustice. The whole of this coast was subsequently explored [1523—1525] with considerable accuracy by Verazzan, an Italian navigator, in the service of the French, and whom Francis the First* had commissioned to attempt the discovery of new territories in America for the benefit of the crown. But the colonial designs of the French government were suspended during the remainder of this reign, by the favorite game of kings, which was played with such eager and obstinate rivalry between Francis and the Emperor Charles the Fifth.† During succeeding reigns, they were impeded by still more fatal obstructions; and all the advantages that France might have derived from the territory explored by Verazzan and neglected by the Spaniards, was postponed to the indulgence of royal and papal bigotry in a war of extermination against the Huguenots. The advantages, however, thus neglected by the French court, were not overlooked by the objects of its persecution; and at length the determination of appropriating a part of this territory as a retreat for the French protestants, was embraced by one of their leaders, the Admiral Coligni. Two vessels which he equipped for this purpose were accordingly despatched with a body of protestant emigrants to America, who landed at the mouth of Albemarle river, and in honor of their sovereign (Charles the Ninth), gave the country the name of Carolina; a name which, by a singular coincidence, the English, after obliterating, were destined to revive. Though these colonists had only to announce themselves as strangers to the faith and the name of the Spaniards, in order to secure the most friendly reception from the Indians, they suffered so many privations in their new settlement, from the inability of the admiral to furnish them with adequate supplies, that, after a short residence in America, they were compelled to return to France. A treacherous pacification having been effected, meanwhile, between the French court and the

the most illustrious people of antiquity seeking a refuge in America from Turkish oppression. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Sir William Duncan, an eminent English physician, conceived the project of founding a Grecian colony in North America, and actually transported, for this purpose, several hundred Greeks to East Florida. Galt's Letters from the Levant, p. 318.

* The kings of Spain and Portugal remonstrated against the projects of Francis as a direct impugnation of ecclesiastical authority. To this remonstrance the monarch is said to have pleasantly replied, "I should be glad to see the clause in Adam's will, which makes that continent their exclusive inheritance." Raynal.

† A slight demonstration was made by Francis in the year 1540 of an intention to colonize a different quarter of America, by the letters patent which he then granted to Jacques Quartier for the establishment of a colony in Canada. But the French made no permanent settlement even there till the reign of Henry the Fourth. Escarbot's Hist. of New France, p. 307. Champlain's Voyage, part i. In the commission to Quartier, the territory is described as "possessed by savages, living without the knowledge of God or the use of reason." Yet Pope Paul the Third had previously by a Bull declared the American Indians to be rational creatures, possessing the nature, and entitled to the rights of men.

protestants, Coligni employed the interval of repose, and the unwonted favor that he seemingly enjoyed with the king, in providing a refuge for his party from that tempest, which, though unhappily for himself, he did not clearly foresee, his experience and sagacity yet induced him to anticipate. Three ships, equipped by the king, and carrying out another detachment of Huguenots, [1564] were again despatched to Carolina, and followed soon after by a more numerous fleet with additional settlers, and an ample supply of arms and provisions. The assistance which the king of France thus vouchsafed to the Huguenots, reminds us of the similar policy by which Charles the First promoted, in the following century, the departure of the puritans from England. The French monarch was a little more liberal than the English, in the aid which he granted; but he was infinitely more perfidious and cruel in the designs which he truly entertained. Befriended by the Indians, and vigorously applying themselves to the cultivation of their territory, the colonists had begun to enjoy the prospect of a permanent and happy establishment in Carolina, when they were suddenly attacked by a force despatched against them by the king of Spain. The commander of the Spanish troops having first induced them to surrender as Frenchmen, put them all to the sword as heretics; announcing by a placard, erected at the place of execution, that this butchery "was not inflicted on them as subjects of France but as followers of Luther." Nearly a thousand French protestants were involved in this massacre; and only one soldier escaped to carry tidings to France, which charity does not oblige us to believe communicated any surprise to the projectors of the league of Bayonne and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Though the colony had been planted with the approbation of the French court, and peace subsisted at the time between France and Spain, the assault and extirpation of the colonists produced no demonstration of resentment from the French government, and would have been totally unavenged in this world, if De Gurgues, a French nobleman, incensed by such wickedness, had not determined to vindicate the cause of justice and the honor of his country. [1567.] Having fitted out three ships at his own expense, he set sail for Carolina, where the Spaniards, in careless security, possessed the fort and settlement which they had acquired by the murder of his countrymen. He easily obtained the zealous co-operation of the Indians, and with their assistance overpowered and slew all the Spaniards who resisted his enterprise, and hanged all whom he made prisoners on the nearest trees; erecting, in his turn, a placard which announced, that this execution "was not inflicted on them as Spaniards but as murderers and robbers." Having thus accomplished his purposed vengeance, he returned to France; first destroying every trace of the settlement which neither Frenchmen nor Spaniards were destined ever again to occupy.* Religious disputes excited a much greater degree of mutual hatred and of public confusion in France than in England, and were proportionally unfavorable to French colonization. Canada, which was the first permanent occupation of the French in America, was not colonized till six years after Henry the Fourth had issued the celebrated edict of Nantes.

About eighteen years after the expulsion of the French colony of Coligni, there was settled in the isle of Roanoke, in the same territory, the first plantation effected by Raleigh, of whose enterprises I have given an account in the history of Virginia. There was an analogy between the fortunes of their colonial settlements, as well as between the personal destinies of Coligni and Raleigh; and transient as it proved, it was still the most lasting trace of his exertions witnessed by Raleigh, that the name of the country was changed by the English from Carolina to Virginia—a name of which we have already traced the final application and peculiar history.† Even the subsequent colonial efforts of England

* L'Escarbot's Hist. of New France, 225. 401. Oldmixon, i. 327—329. Hewitt's Account of South Carolina and Georgia, i. 18—20. Williamson's History of North Carolina, cap. i. The French, however, retained their pretensions to the country. D'Aubigny, the father of Madame Maintenon, having formed the purpose of establishing himself in Carolina, found he had incurred the serious displeasure of the French court for having solicited a grant from the English government. Voltaire's Age of Louis the Fourteenth, cap. 26. Voltaire is mistaken in supposing that the future queen of France received her early education in Carolina, where as yet there were none but savage inhabitants. It was to Martineque that her father actually removed himself and his family, and whence, at the age of twelve years, this extraordinary woman returned to become the queen of a country where she had been in a prison. Memoires et Lettres de Maintenon, vol. i. Vie de M. Maintenon, 13.

† The denomination which he had bestowed in honor of

did not extend to this territory, till the year 1622, when several English families, flying from the massacres of the Indians in Virginia and New England, sought refuge within its limits, and are said to have acted the noble part of christian missionaries, with such success, that one of the Indian princes was converted from idolatry to the gospel. They suffered extreme hardship from scarcity of provisions, and were preserved from perishing by the generous contribution they received from the government of Massachusetts, whose assistance they had implored. An attempt was made to assume a jurisdiction over them by Sir Robert Heath, attorney-general to Charles the First, who obtained from his master a patent of the whole of this region by the name of Carolina. But as he made no attempt to execute the powers conferred on him, the patent was afterwards declared to have become void, because the conditions on which it had been granted had not been fulfilled.* Much collision and dispute between claimants and occupiers of colonial territory would have been prevented, if the principle of this adjudication had been more generally extended, and more steadily applied.

The country which so many unsuccessful attempts had been made to colonize, was indebted for its final settlement to a project formed by certain courtiers of Charles the Second for their own enrichment, but which they were pleased to ascribe to a generous desire of propagating the blessings of religion and civility in a barbarous land. An application, couched in these terms, having been presented to the king by eight of the most eminent persons, whose fidelity he had experienced in his exile, or whose treachery had contributed to his restoration,† easily procured for them a grant of that extensive region, situated on the Atlantic ocean, between the thirty-sixth degree of North latitude and the river Saint Matheu. [1663] This territory was accordingly erected into a province, by the name of Carolina, and conferred on the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, Monk Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury), Sir George Carteret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia; "who (as the charter set forth), being excited with a laudible and pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God." The territory was bestowed on these personages, and their heirs and assigns, as absolute lord proprietaries for ever, saving the sovereign allegiance due to the crown; and they were invested with as ample rights and jurisdictions within their American palatinate, as any bishop of Durham enjoyed within his diocese. This charter, doubtless, composed by the parties themselves who received it, seems to have been copied from the prior charter of Maryland, the most liberal in the communication of privileges and powers that had ever yet been granted.

A meeting of such of the proprietaries as were in England having been held soon after, for the purpose of concerting measures for carrying the purposes of their charter into effect, a joint stock was formed by general contribution for transporting emigrants, and defraying other necessary expenses. At the desire of the New England settlers, who already inhabited the province, and had stationed themselves in the vicinity of Cape Fear, they published, at the same time, a docu-

ment on a projected town (see ante, B. C. cap. I.) was revived and bestowed upon an actual city, more than two hundred years after; when, by an ordinance of the legislature of North Carolina, the name of Raleigh was given to the seat of government of this province.

* Cox's Description of Carolina, Append. 109—112. Hutcheson's Hist. of Massachusetts, i. 226. Oldmixon, i. 329. Chalmers, 515. Heath had previously sold his patent to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who is said to have made expensive preparations for founding a colony, but was diverted from his design by a domestic calamity. Daniel Cox, a physician in London, who, at the close of the seventeenth century, became an extensive purchaser of proprietary rights in North America, contrived, among other acquisitions, to obtain an assignment to Sir Robert Heath's patent; and maintained, with the approbation of King William's ministers, that this patent was still a valid and subsisting title, in so far as it embraced territory occupied by the Spaniards, and not included in any posterior English patent. His son (the author of the Description) resumed his father's claims, and made various unsuccessful attempts to colonize the territory which he persisted in denominating Carolina. Cox, Preface, p. 30, and Append. p. 113—121.

† The two persons to whom this least reputable claim of merit chiefly belonged were Shaftesbury and Monk. It proved more available to them than the more honorable services of the others. Much more than his due share of it has been ascribed to Monk, whose great service was not that he contributed signally to effect the Restoration (which, in truth, he withstood as long as he could,) but that, by his artifices, the Restoration was effected without the constitutional precaution of imposing conditions on the king.

ment under the title of "Proposals to all that will plant in Carolina." They proclaimed that all persons settling on Charles river to the southward of Cape Fear, and consenting to take the oath of allegiance to the king, and to recognise the proprietary government, should be entitled to continue the occupation they had assumed, and to fortify their settlement; that the settlers should present to the proprietaries a list of thirteen persons, in order that they might select from them a governor and council of six, to be appointed for three years; that an assembly, composed of the governor, council, and delegates of the freemen, should be called as soon as the circumstances of the colony would allow, with power to make laws which should be neither contrary to the laws of England, nor of any validity after the publication of the dissent of the proprietaries; that every person should enjoy the most perfect freedom in religion; that during five years every freeman should be allowed an hundred acres of land for himself and fifty for a servant, paying only a half-penny for every acre; and that the same freedom from customs which had been conferred by the royal charter should be extended to all classes of the inhabitants. Such were the original conditions on which Carolina was planted; and surely it must strike every reflecting mind with surprise, to behold a regular system of civil and religious freedom thus enacted as the basis of the colonial institutions by the same statesmen, who, in the parent country, had framed the intolerant act of uniformity, and were enforcing it with the most relentless severity. While they silenced such teachers as John Owen, and filled the prisons of England with such victims as Baxter, Bunyan, and Alleine, they offered freedom and encouragement to every variety of opinion in Carolina; thus forcibly impeaching the wisdom and good faith of their domestic administration by the avowal which their colonial policy manifestly implies, that diversities of opinion and worship may peaceably co-exist in the same society, and that implicit toleration is the surest political means of making a commonwealth flourish, and a country appear desirable to its inhabitants. It is humiliating to observe a man like Lord Clarendon realize, in conformity with his private interest, the truth which his large experience and powerful understanding were insufficient to induce him, as an English statesman, to embrace.

Besides the settlers from New England who were seated at Cape Fear, there was another small body of inhabitants already established in a different quarter of the proprietary domains. In the history of Virginia, we have seen that, as early as the year 1603 Captain Smith judged it expedient, for political reasons, to remove a portion of the Virginian colonists to a distance from the main body at James Town. With this view he despatched a small party to form a plantation at Nansemond, the most southern settlement of Virginia, where, notwithstanding the formidable obstructions they encountered from the hostility of the natives, they succeeded in maintaining and extending their establishment. As the Indians receded from the vicinity of these intruders, the planters naturally followed their tracks, extending their plantations into the bosom of the wilderness, and as their numbers increased, and the most eligible situations were occupied, they traversed the forests in quest of others, till they reached the streams, which, instead of discharging their waters into the Chesapeake, pursued a south-eastern course, and flowed into the ocean. Their numbers are said to have been augmented, and their progress impelled by the intolerant laws that were enacted in Virginia against sectarians of every denomination. At the epoch of the Carolina charter of 1663, a small plantation had been accordingly for some years established within its boundaries, on the north-eastern shores of the river Chowan, which now received the name of Albemarle, in compliment to the title by which General Monk's services had been rewarded. Notwithstanding the opinion of an intelligent historian of North Carolina, I can see no reason to believe that the planters of Albemarle were composed entirely or even generally of exiles for conscience sake: yet that a number of conscientious men had mingled with them may be inferred from the fact, that they purchased their lands at an equitable price from the aboriginal inhabitants. Remote from the seat of the Virginian government, they yielded little obedience to its authority, and for some time had lived without any perceivable rule; when at length the governor of Virginia assumed, in a new capacity, a stricter and more legitimate superintendence of their affairs. In September, 1663, Sir William Berkeley was empowered by the other proprietaries to nominate a governor and a council of six, who were authorised to rule this

little community according to the powers granted by the royal charter; to confirm former possessions, and to grant lands to every one, allowing them three years to pay the quit rents; to make laws, with the consent of the delegates of the freemen, transmitting them for the approbation of the proprietaries. Berkeley was requested to visit the colony, and to employ skilful persons to explore its bays, rivers, and shores; a duty which he performed in the following year. [1661.] Having confirmed and granted lands to the settlers, in conformity with his instructions, he appointed Drummond, a man of sufficient prudence and abilities, their first governor, and then returned to Virginia, leaving them all to follow their various pursuits in peace. The colonists for some time continued perfectly satisfied with an arrangement that seemed rather to secure than impair the advantages of their former condition; but as the day approached when the payment of quit-rents was to commence, they began to manifest no small dissatisfaction with the tenures by which they held their lands. In the year 1666 they constituted an assembly, probably the first that was ever held in Carolina, and from this body a petition was transmitted to the proprietaries, desiring that the people of Albemarle might hold their possessions on the same terms that were enjoyed by the people of Virginia. The proprietaries, who were exceedingly solicitous to promote the population of the province, and to avoid every proceeding that might discourage the resort of settlers, readily acceded to this request, and commanded the governor in future to grant the lands on the terms that had been prescribed by the colonists themselves. Notwithstanding the apostolical views which the proprietaries had professed, not the slightest attempt was made to provide for the spiritual instruction of the colonists, or the conversion of the Indians; and the colony continued for a series of years to be conducted without even the semblance of religious worship.

The proprietaries having thus endeavored to rear and organise the feeble settlement of Albemarle, directed their chief regard to the finer region that extends along the more southerly coast. Having caused a survey to be made of these shores, by a vessel which they despatched from Virginia, for the purpose of ascertaining what rivers and countries were the most proper for habitation, they proposed, among other projected settlements, to establish a new colony to the southward of Cape Fear, along the banks of the river Charles, in the district which was now denominated the county of Clarendon. Several gentlemen of Barbadoes, dissatisfied with their present condition, and desiring to become the heads of a less considerable establishment, had for some time projected to remove themselves to this region, and now submitted a proposition to that effect to the proprietaries: and though their first demands of being invested with a district thirty-two miles square, and all the powers of a corporation within themselves, were refused by the proprietaries, their application, on the whole received so much encouragement as determined them to undertake the migration. [1635.] In furtherance of a project so agreeable to their wishes, the proprietaries bestowed on John Yeamans, a respectable planter of Barbadoes, and the son of a man who had lost his life in the king's service during the civil wars, the appointment of commander-in-chief of Clarendon county, stretching from Cape Fear to the river Saint Matheo, and obtained for him, at the same time, the rank of a baronet, and partly in recompense of the loyalty of his family, and partly in order to give weight to his station, and some appearance of splendor to the colonial establishment. The same powers were now conferred, and the same constitution established, as those which had given contentment to the inhabitants of Albemarle: and Yeamans was particularly directed to "make every thing easy to the people of New England," from which the proprietaries declared that they expected more copious emigrations to Carolina than from any of the other colonies. This expectation, more creditable to their discernment than to their integrity, was obviously derived from the intolerance which yet lingered in New England, and the effects of which were thus distinctly recognised, and deliberately anticipated, by the same persons who indulged in it so unreservedly in the parent state. An order was made at the same time by the proprietaries, that the commission of Yeamans should not prevent the appointment of another governor, for a new settlement which was projected in a district to the southward of Cape Roanoke, and which acquired soon after the name of Carteret. The policy which the proprietaries were thus pursuing, in the establishment of a variety of separate and independent colonies in Carolina, each of which

had its own distinct assembly, customs, and laws, supplied them at a future period with ample cause of regret, and contributed to the prolonged feebleness and distractions by which this province was unhappily distinguished. Meanwhile, however, their proceedings were regarded with approbation by the king, who presented them with twelve pieces of ordnance, which were despatched to Charles River, along with a considerable quantity of military stores.

Having now obtained the most minute information of the whole coast of Carolina, and discovered, on both extremes of their territory, considerable tracts of land that would form very desirable accessions to it, the proprietaries easily obtained from their sovereign a gift of these additional possessions. A second charter, which was accordingly executed in their favor, recited and confirmed the former grant, and gave renewed assurance and commendation of "the pious and noble purpose" under which these insatiable courtiers judged it decent to cloak their ambition or rapacity. It granted, to the same patentees, that province situated within the king's dominions in America extending north-eastward to Carahutke-inlet, and thence in a straight line to Wyonoke, which lies under the 36th degree and 30th minute of north latitude, south-westward to the 29th degree; and from the ocean to the South Seas. They were vested with all the rights, jurisdictions, and royalties, which the bishop of Durham ever possessed, and were to hold the territory as a feudal dependance of the manor of East Greenwich, paying a rent of twenty marks, and one-fourth of the gold and silver that should be found within it. All persons, except those who should be specially forbidden, were allowed to transport themselves to Carolina; and they and their children were declared to be denizens of England, who should always be considered as the same people, and possess the same privileges, as those dwelling within the realm. They were empowered to trade in all commodities which were not prohibited by the statutes of England. They were authorised to lade the productions of the province, and to bring them into England, Scotland, or Ireland; paying the same duties as other subjects: And they were exempted, for seven years, from the payment of customs, on the importation, into any of the dominions of the crown, of wines and other enumerated products of the colony. The proprietaries were enabled to make laws for the province, with the consent of the freemen or their delegates; under the general condition that they should be reasonable, and as nearly conformed as might be to the jurisprudence of England. They were empowered to erect ports for the convenience of commerce, and to appropriate such customs as should be imposed by the assembly. They were allowed to create an order of nobility, by conferring titles of honor, differing, however, in style, from the titles conferred on the people of England. Carolina was declared independent of any other province, but subject immediately to the crown; and the inhabitants were not compellable to answer to any cause or suit in any other part of his majesty's dominions, except within the realm. The proprietaries were authorised to grant indulgences to those who might be prevented by conscientious scruples from conforming to the Church of England; to the end that all persons might have liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province.* Such is the tenor of the last of the Carolina charters, which conferred on the noble grantees a territory of vast extent, and rights which it is not easy to discriminate from royalty. By a strange anomaly, the king, in divesting himself, as it were, of a part of his dominions, in behalf of a junto of his ministers, was wile to recommend to their observance a system of ecclesiastical policy diametrically opposite to the intolerance which, at the very time, the counsels of these persons were breathing into his own administration. As Clarendon still held the office of Lord Chancellor, this charter, as well as the former, in favor of himself and his colleagues, was sealed by his own hands; and when we consider how liberally it endowed the proprietaries with privileges, at the expense of the prerogative of the crown, it seems the less surprising that he should not have suggested a similar objection to the charters which Connecticut and Rhode

* Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, 239—254. Williamson, i. 230, &c. The second charter of Carolina is printed in both these works at full length. Of the first, the only complete transcript I have seen occurs in a small collection of Carolina papers printed at London, without any date, but apparently about the end of the seventeenth century. There are copies of it in the British Museum, in the library of Gottingen, and in the library of the late George Chalmers.

Island obtained while the great seal was in his keeping. The arbitrary commission for Massachusetts, which we have seen him defend, shows that he entertained no general design of abridging the royal prerogative in the colonial dominions.

Animated by this fresh acquisition, the proprietaries exerted themselves, for several years, to attract adventurers from Scotland, Ireland, the West Indies, and the northern colonies; but notwithstanding all their endeavors, their province, partly from the unhealthiness of the climate, but chiefly from the state of dispersion in which the settlers chose to live, advanced but slowly in population and power. In the autumn of this year, the emigrants from Barbadoes, conducted by Sir John Yeomans, arrived at length at their place of destination, on the southern bank of the river of Cape Fear, where they had previously fortified their legal title from the proprietaries by an equitable purchase of the territory from the neighboring Indians. While they were employed in the first rude toils that were requisite for their establishment in the wilderness which they had undertaken to subdue, their leader ruled them with the gentleness of a parent, and cultivated the good will of the aborigines so successfully, that for some years they were enabled to prosecute their labors without danger or distraction. While the planters opened the forest, to make room for the operations of tillage, they necessarily prepared timber for the uses of the cooper and builder, which they transmitted to the colony whence they had emigrated; a commencement of a commerce which, however feeble, served to kindle their hopes and sustain their industry.

The inhabitants of Albemarle continued, meanwhile, to pursue their original employments in peace, and from the cultivation of tobacco and Indian corn, obtained the materials of an inconsiderable traffic with the merchant vessels of New England. About two years after the acquisition of their second charter, [1667.] the proprietaries appointed Samuel Stevens, a man whose virtues and abilities were judged equal to the trust, to succeed Drummond as governor of Albemarle; and at the same time bestowed on this settlement a constitution which, had it been faithfully maintained, would have greatly promoted the contentment and prosperity of the people. Stevens was commanded to act altogether by the advice of a council of twelve, the one half of which he was himself to appoint, and the other six to be chosen by the assembly. This was an approach to a principle disallowed entirely in Virginia and Maryland, but realized still more perfectly in the New England governments, and by which the democracy were admitted to a share in composing and controlling that body, which in the colonial constitutions formed equally the senatorial or aristocratical branch of the legislature, the privy council of the supreme magistrate, and the court of appeals. The assembly was to be composed of the governor, the council, and a body of delegates, annually chosen by the free-holders. The legislature, in which democratic interests were admitted thus strongly to preponderate, was invested not only with the power of making laws, but with a considerable share of the executive authority; with the right of convoking and adjourning itself, of appointing officers, and of presenting to churches. Various regulations provided for the security of property; and in particular it was announced that no taxes should be imposed without the consent of the assembly; and the lands were confirmed and granted as now holden by the free tenure of socage. Perfect freedom in religion was offered to a people who were very willing to accept the freedom without concerning themselves in any way about religion; and all men were declared to be entitled to equal privileges, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the king, and of fidelity to the proprietaries. As we have but too much reason to suppose that the proprietaries had no sincere intention of preserving the constitution which they thus offered to establish, it is due to the character of Lord Clarendon to remark, that he had no share whatever in this transaction; his impeachment and exile having previously sequestered him from all farther concern with the government of Carolina. The system, however, which was now tendered to their acceptance, was received by the inhabitants of Albemarle with perfect satisfaction: gratitude, perhaps, it would have been unreasonable to expect towards proprietaries who had no way contributed to their establishment in the province, but had followed them into the desert with the obvious intent of reaping where they had not sown, and congregating a scattered flock in order to shear it the more effectually. It was not till two years after, [1669.] that an assembly constituted on this new model was convened to

enact laws for men, who being yet few in number seem to have been governed chiefly by the customs they had brought with them from their ancient establishment. Their first efforts in legislation were strongly marked with the character of persons who had been long accustomed to live remote from the energy of government, and to shift their residence whenever it became disagreeable, instead of seeking to alter and improve its circumstances. From the numbers of persons of broken fortunes who resorted to the colonies, and from the conviction that was early and most justly entertained by the colonists, that their industry was fettered, and their profits impaired, by the legislature of England, for the benefit of her own resident subjects, a defensive, or perhaps retributory spirit, was too readily adopted by the colonial legislatures; and if not an universal, it was at least a general principle of their policy to obstruct the recovery of debts. Of this disposition we have already seen some traces, about this period of time, in the legislation of Virginia. By the assembly that was now convened at Albemarle, it was declared that sufficient encouragement had not yet been afforded to the resort of settlers and the peopling of the province; and to supply this defect it was now enacted that none should be sued during five years after his arrival in the country for any cause of action arising beyond its limits; and that none of the inhabitants should accept a power of attorney to recover debts contracted abroad.* These complaints of fewness of people continued long to be reiterated by the settlers of Carolina; though it was afterwards very justly re-cremated upon them by the proprietaries, that the inconvenience they complained of was promoted by their own aversion to settle in towns, and by the lazy rapacity with which each desired to surround himself with a large expanse of property, over the greater part of which he could exercise no other set of ownership than that of excluding the occupants by whom it might be advantageously cultivated. The remedy, too, seems to be defective in policy, no less than in justice. If industry might be expected to derive some encouragement, from the assurance that its gains were not to be carried off by former creditors in a distant country, the nature of this encouragement, as well as its temporary endurance, tended to attract neither a respectable nor a staple population: and accordingly this colony was long considered as the refuge of the criminal and the asylum of the fugitive debtor. But a more proper and natural mode of promoting population was at the same time established, by an act concerning marriage; by which it was provided that as people might wish to marry, and as yet there were no ministers in the colony, in order that none might be hindered from a work so necessary to the preservation of mankind, any two persons carrying before the governor and council a few of their neighbors, and declaring their mutual purpose to unite in matrimony, should be deemed husband and wife. The circumstances indicated by this law forcibly suggest the wide distinction between the sentiments and habits of the northern and the southern colonists of America. While all the colonial establishments of New England were conducted by clergymen, who long directed with almost equal authority in temporal and in spiritual concerns; not a trace of the existence of such an order of men is to be found in the laws of Carolina, during the first twenty years of its history; and it was not till the dissenters had emigrated thither in considerable numbers, that we hear of religious controversy, or indeed of any thing connected with religion in the province. Other regulations besides those which we have already noticed were adopted by this assembly. New settlers were exempted from taxes for a year; and every one was restrained from transferring his lands for two years. The first of these laws was intended to invite settlers; the second appears to have been a politic device to detain them. A duty of thirty pounds of tobacco was imposed on every lawsuit,† in order to

* The same policy was pursued to a much greater extent by the ancient Romans, of whom Plutarch informs us that "not long after the first foundation of the city, they opened a sanctuary of refuge for all fugitives, which they called the temple of the god Asylæus, where they received and protected all, delivering back neither the servant to his master, the debtor to his creditors, nor the murderer into the hands of the magistrate." *Life of Romulus*.

† It is remarkable that the Carolinians, who thus obstructed by a tax the legal adjustment of disputes, have always been more addicted to duelling than the inhabitants of any of the other states. In Connecticut, according to the representation of Dr. Morse, there is more litigation than in any other quarter of North America: but a duel was never known to occur in Connecticut. *Warden*, vol. ii. p. 11. In most of the provinces, legal controversy was promoted by the uncertainty of the law: for although a substantial conformity was prescribed between the colonial jurisprudence, and the common

provide the funds requisite for the expenses of the governor and council during the sitting of assemblies; no course having yet been taken (says the act) for defraying their charges. These laws, which proclaim the weakness, and illustrate the early policy of this inconsiderable settlement, were ratified in the following year by the proprietaries. As the colonists received little augmentation from abroad, their numbers increased but slowly; and it was not till sometime after this period, that they extended their plantations to the southern bank of the river Albemarle.

But although the proprietaries were willing to tender every concession, and encourage every hope that seemed calculated to fix or augment the inhabitants of Carolina, it was not for the purpose of founding and superintending institutions so homely and popular, that they had solicited the extraordinary privileges which their charters conferred. Their ambition aimed at making Carolina a theatre for the exercise of all that grandeur, and the display of all those distinctions, that have ever been known to co-exist with the forms of liberty; and the plumage which they had stripped from the royal prerogative, it was their intention to employ for the illustration of their own dignity, and the decoration of their provincial organs and institutions. With this view, about a year before they ratified the enactments of the assembly of Albemarle, [March 1st] they had subscribed that memorable instrument which bears the name of "the fundamental constitutions of Carolina," and the preamble of which assigns as the reason for its adoption, "that the government of this province may be made most agreeable to the monarchy under which we live; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous democracy." The task of composing this political frame was devolved upon Shaftesbury by the unanimous consent of his colleagues, all of whom were strongly impressed with the resources of his capacity and the depth of his penetration, and some of whom had experienced, in the intrigues that preceded the Restoration, with what consummate dexterity he could effect his own purpose, and appropriate the instrumentality even of those who were not less able than interested to resist it. The instrument, indeed, was at first believed to have been actually the production of Shaftesbury,† but is now recognised as the composition of the illustrious John Locke, whom he had had the sagacity to appreciate and the honor to patronize, and who was united to him by a friendship more creditable than beneficial to the statesman, and in no way advantageous either to the character or the fortunes of the philosopher. [15] The constitutions of Carolina contain a mixture as discordant as the characters of these men; though in what proportions they represent the peculiar sentiments of either, it is not easy to guess, or possible to determine. It has been said (whether conjecturally or authoritatively) that Shaftesbury, smitten alike with reverence for antiquity and admiration of Locke, desired to revive in his person the alliance that once subsisted between philosophy and legislation; to restore the practice of that age when communities accepted their constitutions more willingly from the disciples of Pythagoras than from the descendants of kings. It is certain, however, that Shaftesbury, along with a very high value for the genius and talents of Locke, entertained implicit confidence in his own ability to excite the full vigor of Locke's understanding, and yet inject into it regulating views that would enable himself securely to anticipate and define the results of its application. What instructions were communicated to Locke by his patron, cannot now be known: but it must be admitted that the philosopher was indulged with so much liberty that he afterwards represented the constitution as his own performance, and himself as a competitor with William Penn in the science of legis-

and statute law of England, the ascertainment of the precise extent of this conformity in every case was committed to the discretion of the Judges. *Smith's New York*, p. 316 317.

* This is the date assigned to the instrument by Oldmixon, by Williamson, and by the anonymous author of the *History of the British Dominions in North America*. It is the date also attached to the 130th article of the constitutions in the copy of them inserted in Locke's works. Chalmers dates the instrument in July of the same year; but it appears from the illustrations appended to this portion of his work, that there were two editions of the instrument; and I suppose he has referred, in his notation of the date, to the second edition, in which the proprietaries are reproached with having introduced some changes derogatory to the liberties defined in the first.

† It is so represented by Oldmixon, whose history was published in 1798, i. 332. But it was afterwards inserted in the collection published in 1719 by Des Maiseaux, of the anonymous and unprinted pieces of Locke, from a copy corrected by his own hand, and which he had presented to a friend as one of his own works. *Locke, folio edit.* iil. 652

lation; and hence this instrument, whatever may be thought of its intrinsic merits, must ever be regarded with interest, as the link that connects the genius of Locke with the history of America.

By these constitutions it was declared that the eldest of the eight proprietaries should be palatine of the province during his life, and that his successor should always be the eldest of the survivors. Seven other of the chief offices of state, namely, the offices of admiral, chamberlain,* chancellor, constable,† chief-justice, high steward, and treasurer, were appropriated exclusively to the other seven proprietaries; and these, as well as the office of palatine, might be executed by deputies within the province. Corresponding to these offices there were to be (besides the ordinary courts of every county) eight supreme courts, to each of which was annexed a college of twelve assistants. The palatine was to preside in the palatine court, of which he and three others of the proprietaries made a quorum; and this court represented the king, ratified or negatived the enactments of the legislature, and, in general, was vested with the administration of all the powers conferred by the royal charter, except in so far as limited by these fundamental constitutions. By a complicated framework of counties, signories, baronies, precincts, and colonies, the whole land of the province was divided into five equal portions, one of which was assigned to the proprietaries, another to the nobility, and the remaining three were left to the people. Two classes of hereditary nobility, with possessions proportioned to their respective dignities, and for ever unalienable and indivisible, were to be created by the proprietaries, under the titles of landgraves and caciques; and these, together with the deputies of the proprietaries, and representatives chosen by the freemen, constituted the parliament of the province, which was appointed to be biennially convoked, and when assembled, to form one deliberative body, and occupy the same chamber. No matter or measure could be proposed to the parliament that had not been previously prepared and approved by the grand council of the province, a body resembling the lords of the articles in the ancient constitution of Scotland and consisting almost entirely of the proprietaries' officers and the nobility. No man was eligible to any office unless he possessed a certain definite extent of land, larger or smaller according to the dignity or meanness of the office. Trial by jury was established in each of the courts throughout the whole of the lengthened ramifications of jurisdiction; but the office of hired or professional pleaders was denounced as a base and sordid occupation; and no man was allowed to plead the cause of another without previously deposing on oath that he neither had received nor would accept the slightest remuneration for his services. To avoid the confusion arising from a multiplicity of laws, all acts of the parliament were appointed to endure only one hundred years, after which they ceased and determined of themselves without the formality of an express repeal; and to avoid the perplexity created by a multiplicity of commentators, all comments whatever on the fundamental constitutions, or on any part of the common or statute law of Carolina were absolutely prohibited. Every freeholder was required to pay a yearly rent of a penny for each acre of his land to the proprietaries; and all the inhabitants above seventeen and under sixty years of age were obliged to bear arms, and serve as soldiers, whenever they should receive a summons to that effect from the grand council. Every freeman of Carolina was declared to possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever.† The policy that most readily suggests itself for such a regulation, is

excluded by the fact, that at this time, and long after, there were no negroes in the province, except a very small number whom Sir John Yeamans and his followers had brought with them from Barbadoes.

A series of regulations that not only import the most ample toleration in religion, but manifestly infer the political equality of all religious sects and systems whatever, was ushered by this remarkable article:—"Since the natives of the place who will be concerned in our plantation are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance or mistake, gives us no right to expel or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed; violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the true religion which we profess; and also that Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of christian religion, may not be scared and kept at a distance from it, but by having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly receive the truth; therefore any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others." In the terms of communion of every such church or profession it was required that the three following articles should expressly appear; that there is a God; that God is publicly to be worshipped; and that it is the duty of every man when called upon by the magistrate, to give evidence to the truth, with some ceremonial or form of words, indicating a recognition of the presence of God. No person who was not joined as a member to some church or profession of this description was to be permitted to be a freeman of Carolina, or to have any estate or habitation within the province; and all persons were forbidden to revile, disturb, or in any way persecute the members of any of the religious associations thus recognised by law. What was enjoined upon freemen was permitted to slaves, by an article which declared that, "since charity obliges us to wish well to the souls of all men, and religion ought to alter nothing in any man's civil estate or right, it shall be lawful for slaves as well as others, to enter themselves, and be of what church or profession any of them shall think best, and thereof be as fully members as any freemen." But the hope of political equality that sectarians might derive from these provisions was completely subverted, and even the security of a naked tolerance was menaced by an article, which, though introduced into these constitutions was neither composed nor approved by Locke, and by which it was provided, that when the country should have been sufficiently peopled and planted, it should belong to the colonial parliament to take care for the building of churches and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the canons of the church of England; "which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive public maintenance by grant of parliament." Finally, it was declared that these fundamental constitutions (consisting of an hundred and twenty articles, and forming a vast labyrinth of perplexing regulations) should be the sacred and unalterable form and rule of government of Carolina for ever.

The defects of this system are so numerous, that to particularize them would be a tedious labor; and they are at the same time so gross and palpable, that they must readily manifest themselves to every reader without any auxiliary indication. It may be remarked, however, in general, that the author of it, in collecting materials for his composition, seems to have looked every where but to the actual situation and habits of

the people for whom he legislated. Legislators, who derive their office from any other source than the appointment of the people, are so little accustomed in the exercise of it to consider themselves obliged to do to others as they would have others do to them, that the partiality and illiberality of these institutions would scarcely merit notice if Locke had not been their author. It was a reproach more exclusively due to the proprietaries, that good faith was violated, and existing rights disregarded. For a number of inhabitants had already settled in the province, on conditions which their rulers had no longer the power to qualify or abrogate; and forms of government having been actually established, the people had acquired an interest in them, which, without their own consent, could not be sacrificed to these innovating regulations. The proprietaries might perhaps have been led to doubt the soundness of their expectations, if not the equity of their purposes, had they fairly considered the motives which retained themselves in England and anticipated the probable operation of similar sentiments on the minds of the inhabitants of Carolina. It is reported of some ancient legislators, that they sacrificed their own lives in order to secure the reception or the perpetuity of their constitutions. But while these proprietaries could not prevail on themselves to resign the comforts and luxuries of England, and even deliberately anticipated their non-residence, by providing for the vicarious discharge of their functions, they expected that an infant colony of independent woodsmen and rough tobacco-growers should at once renounce their manners and their habits of life, enchain their liberties, abridge their gains, and nearly metamorphose themselves into a new order of beings, for the sake of accumulating dignity on persons whom even the enjoyment of such dignity could not induce to live in the country. It is hard to say whether there was a greater injustice or absurdity in projecting a state of society where such overweening concern was admitted in the rulers, and such utter disregard supposed in the people, of their own respective interests; where the multitude were expected to sacrifice their liberty and prosperity, in order to enhance the advantages of certain conspicuous stations, which those for whom they were reserved judged unworthy of their occupation. It is remarkable that Shaftesbury was at the head of the anti-catholic party in England, and that Locke assisted with his pen to propagate the suspicions which his patron professed to entertain of the designs of the catholics against religion and political freedom. Yet if we compare the constitutions of Maryland and Carolina, we cannot hesitate to prefer the labors of the catholic legislator to those of the protestant philosopher and politician; and to acknowledge that the best interests of mankind were far more wisely and effectually promoted by the plain unvaunted capacity of Lord Baltimore, than by the united labors of Locke's elevated and comprehensive mind, and of Shaftesbury's vigorous, sagacious, and experienced understanding.

The proprietaries, however, were so highly satisfied with the fundamental constitutions, that they resolved, without delay, to attempt their realization; and, as a preliminary step, exerted themselves to the utmost of their ability to promote the transportation of additional inhabitants to the province. The Duke of Albemarle was installed into the office of palatine, and the sum of twelve thousand pounds expended on the equipment of a fleet, which set sail in the beginning of the following year [1670.] with a considerable body of emigrants. This expedition, which was destined to found a colony at Port Royal, was conducted by Colonel William Sayle, an experienced officer, who received the appointment of governor of that part of the coast lying south-westward of Cape Carteret. As these emigrants appear to have consisted chiefly of dissenters, it is probable that religious toleration was the object they had principally in view; and that they had not been made acquainted with that article of the constitutions by which the security of this important blessing was so seriously endangered. Indeed at a subsequent period the colonists bitterly complained that the fundamental constitutions had been interpolated, and some of their provisions disingenuously warped to the prejudice of public liberty. Sayle was accompanied by Joseph West, who for upwards of twenty years bore the chief sway in Carolina, and was now intrusted with the management of the commercial affairs of the proprietaries, on whom the colonists continued for several years to depend exclusively for their foreign supplies. On the arrival of the settlers at their place of destination, they prepared with more good faith than good sense to realise the political system to which

* Art. 96. "This article was not drawn up by Mr. Locke but inserted by some of the chief of the proprietors, against his judgment; as Mr. Locke himself informed one of his friends to whom he presented a copy of these constitutions." Locke, vol. iii. p. 676. note. It was probably devised by Lord Cornbury (Clarendon's sons,) who inherited his father's bigotry for the church of England, and appears to have signed the fundamental constitutions. Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 332.

The Chamberlain's court had the care of "all ceremonies, precedence, heraldry, and pedigrees," &c. and also "power to regulate all fashions, habits, haizes, games, and sports." Art. 45. If the functions of this body resemble the ceremonial academy of China, the title at least of another body of functionaries recalls the institutions of old Rome. The assistants of the admiral bore the title of proconsuls. Art. 41.

† This was a military office, and the members of its relative college of assistants were termed lieutenant-generals. Art. 39.

‡ It is humiliating to reflect that this regulation was composed by the hand that wrote the Essay on the Human Understanding. At a later period of his life, when the English Revolution and the controversies it engendered had enlightened Locke's ideas of the rights of men, we find him thus pronouncing his own condemnation, while he exposes, and confutes the servile sophistry of Sir Robert Filmer. "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that 'tis hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it." "The perfect condition of slavery," he afterwards defines to be, "the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive." Locke, i. 106, 173.

they were required to conform; but, to their great surprise, the first glance at their actual situation convinced them that this design was perfectly impracticable; and that the offices which were appointed to be established were no less unsuitable to the numbers than to the occupations of the people. A wide scene of rough labor lay before them, and it was obvious that for many years a pressing demand for laborers must be experienced; a state of things totally incompatible with the vocations of official dignitaries, and the pompous idleness of an order of nobility. Neither landgraves nor caciques had yet been appointed by the proprietaries; and to have peopled even the subordinate institutions, would have been to employ all the inhabitants of the colony in performing a political drama, instead of providing the means of subsistence. Yet although the colonists found themselves constrained at once to declare that it was impossible to execute the grand model, they steadily persisted in their adherence to it and expressed their determination to come as nigh to it as possible. Writs were therefore immediately issued, requiring the freeholders to elect five persons, who with five others chosen by the proprietaries, were to form the grand council, without whose assent the governor could not perform the functions of his office. A parliament, composed of these functionaries, and of twenty delegates, chosen by the same electors, was invested with legislative power. So great were the difficulties attending the first occupation of the settlement, that, only a few months after their arrival, the colonists were relieved from the extremities of distress by a seasonable supply of provisions, transmitted to them by the proprietaries. Along with this supply, there were forwarded to the governor twenty-three articles of instruction, called *temporary agrarian laws*, relative to the distribution of land, and the plan of a magnificent town, which he was desired to build with all convenient despatch, and to denominate Charles-town, in honor of the king. To encourage the resort of settlers to Port-Royal, an hundred and fifty acres of land were allotted to every emigrant, at a small quit-rent, and clothes and provisions were distributed, from the store of the proprietaries, to those who were unable to provide for themselves. The good will of the neighboring Indians was purchased by considerable presents to the native caciques, who thus performed the only service which that description of dignitaries was destined ever to render to the colony. While the colonists were toiling to lay the foundation of civil society in the province, the proprietaries were proceeding very unreasonably to erect the superstructure of those aristocratical institutions which they designed to establish. The Duke of Albemarle having died in the course of this year, was succeeded in the dignity of palatine by Lord Craven; and shortly afterwards John Locke was created a landgrave, in recompense of his services; and the same elevation was bestowed on Sir John Yeomans, and on James Carteret, a relative of one of the proprietaries. Perhaps it may excite some elation in the mind of an American citizen, that while the order of nobility, thus imported into his country, continued to enjoy, even a nominal subsistence, John Locke was one of its members; and that when he was expelled from Oxford, and a fugitive from England, he continued to be acknowledged as a nobleman in Carolina. But it is disagreeable to behold this distinguished philosopher, and truly estimable man, accept a title of nobility to himself in the society where he had contributed to sanction and introduce the degrading institution of negro slavery. Happily for the country with which he was thus connected, and for his own credit with mankind, the race of Carolinian nobles was exceedingly short-lived; and the attempt to engraft feudal nobility on the institutions of North America proved utterly abortive.

Sayle had scarcely established the people in their new settlement when he fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate. On his death, Sir John Yeomans claimed the administration of the vacant authority, as due to the rank of landgrave, which no other inhabitant of the province, except himself, enjoyed. But the council, who were empowered to elect a governor in such circumstances, preferred to appoint Joseph West, a popular man much esteemed among the colonists for his activity, courage, and prudence, until a special commission should arrive from England. West's administration was but short-lived; for, notwithstanding this indication of his acceptableness to the colonists, the proprietaries, desirous of promoting the respectability of their nobles, and highly satisfied with the prudence and propriety that had characterised Yeomans' government of the plantation around Cape Fear, [1671,]

judged it expedient to extend his command over the new settlement lying south-westward of Cape Carteret. The shores, the streams, and the interior of the country, being now perfectly well known, in consequence of the accurate surveys they had undergone, the planters from Chreudon on the north, and from Port Royal on the south, began about this period to resort to the convenient banks of Ashley-river: And here was laid, during the same year, the foundation of *Old Charles-town*, which became, for some time, the capital of the southern settlements. The proprietaries, meanwhile, with the spirit that had characterised their former proceedings, promulgated *temporary laws* which they appointed to be observed, till by a sufficient increase of inhabitants, the government could be administered according to the fundamental constitutions. One of these laws, with equal policy and humanity, enjoined the colonists to observe the utmost equity and courtesy in their intercourse with the Indians: to afford them prompt and ample redress of any wrongs they might happen to sustain; and on no pretence whatever to enslave or send any of them out of the country. The object of this regulation was unfortunately defeated, very soon after, by the intrigues of the Spaniards: and the other temporary laws received very little attention or respect from the colonists, who were by no means disposed to acquiesce in such arbitrary and irregular government; and who very justly thought, that if the establishment of permanent laws was obstructed by the circumstances of their present condition, the temporary arrangements by which such laws were to be supplied ought to originate with themselves, to whom alone the exact nature of the circumstances which were to be consulted was experimentally known.

The proprietaries were more successful in their efforts to increase the numbers of the colonists of Ashley-river, than in their experiments in the science of legislation. To the puritans, persecuted in England by the existing laws, and ridiculed and insulted by the cavaliers, they offered a secure asylum and ample grants of land in Carolina, on condition of their transporting themselves and their families to this province. Even the most bigoted churchmen in the king's council are reported to have co-operated with great eagerness to promote this project; considering severe labor a powerful remedy for enthusiasm, and enthusiasm an excellent stimulus to novel and hazardous undertakings; and judging it expedient to diminish, by every means, the farther accumulation of puritan sentiments and habits in Massachusetts. And although it was to this favourite scene that the strictest and the most numerous portion of the puritan emigrants still resorted, yet a considerable number were tempted by the flattering offers of the proprietaries to try their fortunes in Carolina. Unfortunately for the peace of the province, the invitations and encouragements to emigrate thither were tendered indiscriminately to men of the most discordant characters and principles. Rakes and gamblers, who had wasted their substance in riot and vice, and cavaliers who had been ruined by the civil wars, were sent out in considerable numbers, to associate with disgusted puritans, and to a scene where only severe labor, and the strictest temperance and frugality, could save them from perishing with hunger. To the impoverished officers, and other unfortunate adherents of the royalist party, for whom no recompense was provided in England, the proprietaries and the other ministers of the king offered estates in Carolina, which many of them were fain to embrace as a refuge from beggary. The conjunction between these cavaliers, who ascribed their ruin to the puritans, and the puritan emigrants, who imputed their exile to the cavaliers, could not reasonably be expected to produce harmony or tranquility; and the feuds and distractions that afterwards sprang up from the seeds of division thus unreasonably imported into the infant province, inflicted a merited retribution on the proprietaries for the senselessness and absurdity of the policy they had pursued. The dangers and hardships, indeed, in which the emigrants found themselves involved on their arrival in the province, contributed for a time to repress the growth of civil and religious dissension: but, on the other hand, the same circumstances tended to develop the evil consequences of so long worthless men, whose habits were already completely fixed and corrupted, to a scene where only vigorous virtue was calculated to thrive. Accordingly, it was the effects of this part of their policy that afforded to the proprietaries the earliest matter of repentance. Of the extent to which disappointment and discontent prevailed among the settlers, we may judge from this circumstance, that one of their earliest laws was an ordinance that no per-

son should be permitted to abandon the colony. [1762] The distress which unavoidably attended the first efforts of the colonists was severely aggravated by the hostile intrigues and assaults of the Spaniards, who had established a garrison at Augustine, in the territory to which the appellation of Florida was now restricted from its original comprehensiveness. These proceedings of the Spaniards, which even their original pretensions would by no means have warranted, were adopted in manifest violation of a treaty by which such pretensions had been expressly renounced. Prior to the year 1667, no mention had been made of America in any treaty between Spain and England; the former being contented to retain her ancient claims to the whole country, and the other careful to preserve and improve the footing she had already attained in it. At that epoch, however, which was but a few years posterior to the occupation of Carolina, Sir William Godolphin, concluded a treaty with Spain, in which, among other articles, it was agreed, "That the king of Great Britain should always possess in full right of sovereignty and property, all the countries, islands, and colonies, lying and situated in the West Indies, or any part of America, which he and his subjects then held and possessed, inasmuch that they neither can nor ought to be contested on any account whatsoever. It was stipulated at the same time, that the British government should withdraw its protection from the buccanniers, who had for many years infested the Spanish dominions in America; and accordingly all the commissions that had been formerly granted to these pirates were recalled and annulled. By the same treaty, the right of both nations to navigate the American seas was formally recognised; and it was declared that all ships in distress, whether from storms, or the pursuit of enemies and pirates, and taking refuge in places belonging either to Britain or Spain, should receive protection and assistance and be permitted to depart without molestation.

But notwithstanding this treaty, a certain religious society in Spain continued to assert a claim to the whole territory to which the name of Florida had been originally applied, not only on the footing of prior discovery, but by virtue of a special grant from the pope; and the garrison that was maintained at Augustine, regarding the British settlement as an encroachment on their possessions, endeavored by every act of insidious, and even violent molestation, to compel the colonists to relinquish the country. They sent emissaries among the settlers at Ashley river, in the hope of moving them to revolt; they encouraged indentured servants to abandon their masters, and fly to the Spanish territory; and they labored so successfully to instil into the savage tribes the most unfavorable notions of British heretics, that these deluded Indians, at the instigation of a people, whose treachery and injustice they had so sensibly experienced, took arms to extirpate a race who had never injured them, and whose whole demeanor, as well as the express instructions of their rulers, indicated a desire to cultivate friendly relations with them. The colonists were now involved in a scene of labor, danger, and misery, which it is impossible to contemplate without admiring the energy and endurance which human beings are capable of exerting. Except a very few negroes, who had been imported by Yeomans and his followers from Barbadoes, there were no other laborers but Europeans in the colony; the brute creation could not partake or supply human labor till the ground had been disencumbered of wood; and the weak arm of man alone had to encounter the hardship of clearing a forest, whose thickness seemed to bid defiance to his utmost strength. The toil of felling the large and lofty trees, by which they were surrounded, was performed by the colonists under the dissolving heat of a climate to which their bodies were totally accustomed, and amidst the terrors of barbarous enemies, whose silent approaches and abrupt assaults they could not otherwise repel, than by keeping a part of their own number under arms, to protect the remainder who were working in the forest, or cultivating the spaces that had been cleared. The

* Hewitt, i. 54—56. 60. Hewitt's work was published without his name, which some writers have spelt Hewit, and others Howat. Others have concluded, from this variation, that there were two writers whose names were nearly the same, and both of whom wrote histories of South Carolina. Warden carries this mistake still further, and in his catalogue of works relative to this state, enumerates three histories bearing the same title, one by Hewitt, one by Howat, and a third by an anonymous author. Nor is this a solitary, or even a rare specimen of the macramé of his literary catalogues. Indeed nothing can be more slovenly or perplexing than the manner in which authorities have been cited in almost all the works of that treat of American history. Even the most scrupulous of them never scruple to cite the same author, in one passage by his name, and in another by the title which his work shares with a host of other performances.

provisions obtained by dint of such hardships were frequently devoured or destroyed by their enemies; and the recompense of a whole year's toil defeated in one night by the vigor and celerity of Indian depredation. These distresses were aggravated by the ferbleness, helplessness, and ill-humor, of some of the recently arrived emigrants, and by the mistakes and disappointments arising from ignorance of the peculiar culture and produce appropriate to the soil of Carolina, to which European grain and tillage proved utterly unsuitable. So much discontent and insubordination was produced by these calamities, that it was with the utmost difficulty that the governor could prevent the people from abandoning the settlement. An insurrection was even excited by Culpepper, one of the provincial officers, but it was easily suppressed by the governor; and the guilty were either mildly punished or humanely forgiven in consideration of the misery to which their violence was imputed. While Yeamans was exerting himself to compose these disorders, the Spanish garrison at Augustine, receiving information from some fugitive servants of the colonists, of the state of their affairs, judged this a proper opportunity to strike a decisive blow; and accordingly despatched a party, who advanced as far as the island of St. Helena, with the purpose of dislodging or destroying the inhabitants of Ashley river. But either their courage was disproportioned to their animosity, or they had overrated the divisions among the English colonists; for being joined by only one traitor of the name of Fitzpatrick, and learning that Yeamans was not only prepared to receive them, but had sent Colonel Godfrey with a party of fifty volunteers to attack them in St. Helena, they did not wait the encounter, but evacuating the island retreated to their quarters at Augustine. The more formidable hostilities of the Indians were quelled for a time, partly by the address and conciliation of Yeamans, but chiefly by a war which broke out between two of their own principal tribes, the Westoes and the Serenas, and which was carried on with such destructive fury, that in the end it proved fatal to both.

[1673.] During the administration of Sir John Yeamans, the colony received a great addition to its strength from the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, which had been conquered by Colonel Nichols, and made subject to England. Charles the Second bestowed it on his brother James, who changed its name to New York; and by the prudence and mildness of the first governor whom he appointed, succeeded for a while in reconciling the inhabitants to the change of empire. But various circumstances had subsequently occurred to render the Dutch discontented with their altered situation, and many of them had formed the intention of removing to some other province; when the proprietaries of Carolina, understanding, or anticipating their design, and ever on the watch to promote emigration to their own palatinate, prevailed with them by encouraging offers to direct their course thither, and sent two of their own vessels, which conveyed a number of Dutch families to Charlestown. Stephen Eull, the surveyor-general of the colony, had instructions to allocate lands on the south-west side of Ashley-river for their accommodation; and there the Dutch emigrants, having drawn lots for their possessions, formed a town, which was called Jamestown. This first resort of Dutch settlers to Carolina, opened a copious flow of emigration to the province; for, having surmounted incredible hardships by their patience and industry, the successful establishment which they obtained, induced many of their countrymen in ancient Belgia, at a subsequent period, to follow them to the western world. The inhabitants of Jamestown, at length finding its precincts too narrow for their growing numbers, began to spread themselves over the province, till the town by degrees was entirely deserted.

The proprietaries had hitherto supplied the wants of the colonists with an unsparing hand; inasmuch that it was by their ample and seasonable consignments of provisions and other stores, that the settlement had more than once been snatched from the brink of destruction. But their patience was not proportioned to their liberality; in the expectations they formed, of speedy emolument and grateful regard, they omitted to consider the circumstances for which they had so liberally provided; and totally forgetting the injustice and imprudence with which they had hurried off great numbers of helpless shiftless men, to a scene where they could only encounter, disturb, and encourage the more useful members of the community, they were strongly and exclusively impressed with the largeness of their own pecuniary sacrifices, which seemed to give them full assurance that the colonists had no

cause whatever of complaint against them. Before the end of the year 1673, a debt of many thousand pounds had been incurred in this manner, by the colonists to the proprietaries; and yet they solicited fresh supplies, without being able to show how the late or the future expenses were ever to be reimbursed; and in alluding to the severity of the hardships they had undergone, they complained of neglect, and insinuated reproach. The proprietaries were exceedingly provoked and disgusted with this result; and their disappointment, concurring with the Dutch war, rendered their correspondence with the colony much less frequent than before. Willing however to encourage the settlers who had lately emigrated from New York, [1674.] they sent another supply, and promised an annual one; but withal warned the planters to consider how these advances were to be repaid, since they were now determined, they declared, to make no more desperate debts. "It must be a bad soil," they observed, "that will not maintain industrious men, or we must be very silly that would maintain the idle." They transmitted at the same time a large assortment of vines and other useful plants, and sent out a number of men who were acquainted with the management of them; but they refused an application for a stock of cattle, observing that they wished not to encourage graziers but planters; and they strongly recommended the cultivation of tobacco, till more beneficial staples could be introduced. Mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction began now to arise between the proprietaries and the colonists, and embittered the whole of their future intercourse. But a useful lesson was conveyed to the people by the circumstances which thus diminished their reliance on foreign support, and enforced their dependence on their own unassisted exertions. The proprietaries ascribed the unproductiveness of the colony, and the poverty of its inhabitants, to the misgovernment of Sir John Yeamans, who in the commencement of this year had been forced by ill health to resign his command, and try to repair his constitution in Barbadoes, where he quickly found a grave. The factions and confusion in which the colony was shortly after involved, have rendered the annals of this period extremely perplexing and inconsistent, and obscured, with an almost impenetrable cloud, the real characters of men, and the connection of events. Yet amidst conflicting testimonies, I am strongly inclined to believe that these charges of the proprietaries against Sir John Yeamans were unjust, and either the effusions of spleen and disappointment, or (more probably) the artful suggestion of an apology for the body of the colonists, with whom it was not convenient for them to quarrel irreconcilably. The real offence of Yeamans seems to have been his eagerness to procure ample supplies from the proprietaries to the colonists; a policy which, while the proprietaries were determined to discourage, they were naturally interested to view and represent as the consequence of his own mis-administration. When he abdicated his office, the council again appointed Joseph West his successor; and on this occasion the palatine thought proper to confirm the popular choice, with many compliments to the object of it, which, however gratuitous at the time, were amply justified by the prudence and success of his administration.

From the affairs of the southern colony, we must now transfer our attention for a little to the northern settlement of Albemarle. The same instructions which had been communicated to Sayle, in the year 1679, were transmitted to Stevens, the governor of Albemarle, at the same period; but a system, pregnant with innovations so unfavorable to the interests of freedom, was received with disgust and even derision, by a people who were no more disposed to give their consent to the fundamental constitutions than the proprietaries had been to demand it. The promulgation of this instrument produced no other effect than to excite the most inveterate jealousy of the designs of the proprietaries; till, in process of time, it came to be reported and believed, that they had formed the purpose of partitioning the province, and bestowing Albemarle on Sir William Berkeley as his portion of the whole. This apprehension, though perfectly groundless, prevailed so strongly, [1675.] that at length the assembly of Albemarle presented a remonstrance to the proprietaries against a measure which they declared to be no less injurious to individuals than degrading to the country. Though this remonstrance was answered in a conciliating manner by the proprietaries, who graciously confessed that they had been wanting in attention to the people of Albemarle, and solemnly promised to preserve the integrity of the province, the discontents of the colonists were too deeply rooted to be thus easily

removed. Little satisfaction was derived from the expectation of more frequent attentions from those whose policy had become the object of incurable suspicion; and a jealous and refractory spirit, taking possession of the minds of the people, was at length exasperated into sentiments as hostile to subordination, as the policy of the proprietaries was repugnant to liberty. From this period the history of the northern province, for a series of years, is involved in such confusion and contradiction, that it is impossible to render it interesting, and difficult to make it even intelligible. Chalmers, the most accurate of its historians, has been enabled, by his access to the most authentic sources of information, to rectify the mistakes of other writers respecting the nature and orders of the following events; but has found it utterly impracticable to account for them. Unhappily they have been involved in the deeper confusion, from being connected in some degree, with the violent but unsteady and mysterious politics of Lord Shaftesbury.

Shortly after the remonstrance by the assembly of Albemarle, Miller, a person of some consideration in the province, was accused of sedition; and having been acquitted, notwithstanding the grossest irregularity and injustice in conducting his trial, he proceeded to England to complain to the proprietaries of the treatment he had undergone. Stephens the governor died soon after; and the assembly made choice of Cartwright to succeed him till orders should be received from England; but this man, after a short attempt to conduct the administration, was so disgusted with the distractions that prevailed around him, that he abandoned the colony altogether and returned to England, [1676.] whither he was accompanied by Eastchurch, a man whose address and abilities had raised him to the dignity of speaker of the assembly, and who was deputed to represent to the proprietaries the existing state of the province. The proprietaries conceiving a favourable opinion of Eastchurch, appointed him governor of Albemarle; and strongly disapproving the treatment that Miller had received, gave him as a compensation the office of secretary, to which Lord Shaftesbury added a deputation of his proprietary functions. The commissioners of the customs appointed Miller, at the same time, the first collector of these duties in the province. The proprietaries had observed with dissatisfaction how little their designs had been promoted, or their instructions respected by the provincial government. They had signified their desire to have settlements formed to the southward of Albemarle sound, and a communication by land established with the southern colony. But this scheme had been obstructed by the governor and council of Albemarle, who had engrossed nearly the whole of the trade with the neighboring Indians, and justly apprehended that the extension of the settlements would divert this profitable traffic into other hands. The proprietaries had no less vainly endeavored to alter the channel of the foreign trade of the colonists, and to substitute a direct intercourse with Britain for the disadvantageous commerce to which they had restricted themselves with New England, whose traders, penetrating into the interior of the province, and bringing their goods to every man's door, had obtained a monopoly of the produce of Albemarle, and habituated the planters to a traffic which they preferred, on account of its ease and simplicity, to the superior emolument of more distant commercial transactions. It was hoped by the proprietaries that an important alteration in both these particulars would be effected by the instructions which they now communicated to Eastchurch and Miller. [1677.] These officers departed to take possession of their respective offices; but Eastchurch, finding an opportunity of making a wealthy marriage in the West Indies, thought it prudent to remain there till his object was accomplished, and despatched his companion with directions to govern the colony as president till he himself should arrive.

As chief magistrate and collector of the royal customs, Miller was received with a hollow civility and treacherous acquiescence, of which he became the dupe and the victim. Not aware how unaccountable his authority was to a considerable party among the settlers,

* "Such," says this writer, "is the early history of North Carolina, which is probably as important and instructive as the annals of the most renowned states of antiquity, if we deduct from them the agreeable fables with which their eloquent authors have adorned them." P. 520. Hewitt declares that the transactions of commonwealths in their infancy are as interesting to the moralist as the vegetation of plants in spring is to the natural philosopher; a sentiment which, whatever justice it may be thought to possess, is totally inapplicable to the annals of a period disturbed by civil commotions, destitute of letters, and obscured by inconsistent traditions, the offspring of contending factions and reciprocal rancor.

he at once promulgated purposes and commenced innovations that gave offence and alarm to all. He found the colony to consist of a few insignificant plantations dispersed along the north-eastern bank of the river Albemarle, and divided into four districts. The colonists were yet but an inconsiderable body; the *tithables*, under which description were comprehended all the working hands from sixteen to sixty years of age, amounting only to fourteen hundred; and one third of these being composed of Indians, negroes, and women. Exclusive of the cattle and Indian corn, eight hundred thousand pounds of tobacco was the annual produce of their labor, and formed the basis of an inconsiderable commerce, which was carried on almost entirely by the traders from New England, who enjoyed unbounded influence in the colony. Remote from society, and utterly destitute of instructions, the planters were remarkable for ignorance and credulity, and were implicitly directed by the counsels of these traders, who regarded with the utmost jealousy the commercial designs which Miller had been instructed by the proprietaries to pursue. Unsupported by any effectual power, and possessing neither the reputation of eminent ability nor the advantage of popularity, this man commenced the work of reformation with a headlong and impetuous zeal that provoked universal displeasure. He was reproached, and perhaps justly, with some arbitrary exertions of power; but the rock on which his authority finally split was an attempt to promote a more direct trade with Britain and with the other colonies,* in order to destroy the monopoly enjoyed by the traders of New England, whom the proprietaries regarded as insidious rivals, and dangerous associates of the people of Carolina. At length, on the arrestment of a New England trader who was accused of smuggling, an insurrection† broke forth among the settlers of Pasquetanke, one of the districts of Albemarle; and the flame quickly spread through the whole colony. The insurgents were chiefly conducted by Culpepper, who had formerly excited commotions in the settlement of Ashley-river, and whose experience, in some enterprises, seems to have formed his sole recommendation to the regards of his present associates. As the government possessed no power capable of withstanding them, they soon acquired undisputed possession of the country; and having deposed the president, who was the chief object of their indignation, they committed him and seven of the proprietary deputies to prison. They seized the royal revenue, amounting to three thousand pounds, which they appropriated to the support of the revolt; they established courts of justice, appointed officers, convoked a parliament, inflicted punishments on all who presumed to oppose them, and, for several years, exercised the authority of an independent government. As there had been no example of a revolt unaccompanied by a manifesto, the inhabitants of Pasquetanke, in conformity with this usage, had commenced their insurrectionary proceedings, by publishing a feeble frivolous composition, entitled *A remonstrance to the people of Albemarle*, in which they complained of many oppressions, which they imputed to Miller, and declared the object they had in view to be the assembling of a free parliament, through whose instrumentality the grievances of the country might be represented to the proprietaries. The subsequent conduct of the insurgents, however, demonstrated very clearly, how little of real deference the proprietaries enjoyed with them; for, on the arrival of Eastchurch, [1678,] to whose commission and conduct no objection could be made, they derided his authority, and denied him obedience. He applied for assistance to the government of Virginia; but died of vexation before a force sufficient for his purpose could be assembled.

After two years of successful revolt, the insurgents apprehensive of an invasion from Virginia, despatched Culpepper and Holden to England, [1679,] to offer submission to the proprietaries, on condition of their past proceedings being ratified, and Miller declared and treated as a delinquent. This unfortunate president,

* Virginia, from her situation, might have absorbed the whole of this traffic of which she then enjoyed only a very inconsiderable portion. But so narrow were the commercial views by which she was governed, that two years after this period she passed an act prohibiting "the importation of tobacco from Carolina; as it had been found very prejudicial." *Laws of Virginia*, p. 127. In the year 1681, the governor of Virginia, writing to the English committee of colonies, declares that "Carolina (I mean the north part of it) always was and is the sink of America, the refuge of our renegadoes, and till in better order, dangerous to us." *State Papers*, apud Chalmers, 356.

† This insurrection, it will be remarked, broke out but a few months after the suppression of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia. But no connection has been ever supposed between these two events.

the and other officers, who had languished, meanwhile, in imprisonment, having found means to escape, appeared in England at the same time, [1680,] and filed the courts and the nation with complaints of their own sufferings, and accusations of their persecutors. If the proprietaries could have ventured to act with decision, and in conformity with their own notions of right, it was the complaint of this latter party that would doubtless have prevailed with them. But while they hesitated to embroil themselves irreconcilably with the colonists, their perplexity was increased by the encouragement which Shaftesbury thought proper to extend, in the most open manner, to Culpepper. This enterprising politician, who was now deeply engaged in his last revolutionary projects, and whose resentful espousal of the popular cause in England had placed him at variance with some of the brother proprietaries, plainly saw that Culpepper, possessing the confidence of the people of Albemarle, was capable of becoming an useful instrument in the province, and that Miller, his ancient deputy, was utterly unfit to lend him any assistance. Culpepper, thus powerfully countenanced, seemed to have prevailed over his opponents, and was preparing to return to Carolina, when he was accused by the commissioners of the customs (at the private instigation, most probably, of the palatine, and others of the proprietaries,) of the offences of acting as collector without their authority, and of embezzling the king's revenue. He was seized on board a vessel in the Downs, under a warrant from the privy council; and his case being referred to the committee of plantations, the proprietaries no longer scrupled, nor indeed could in decency refuse, to come forward as his accusers; in consequence of which, the report of the committee impeached him not only of embezzlement of the customs, but of having promoted a rebellion in the province. It was in vain for him to acknowledge the facts, and beg for mercy, or at least that he might be sent for trial to Carolina, where the offences had been committed; his powerful accusers were determined to wreak the uttermost vengeance on so daring an opponent of legitimate authority; and by virtue of a statute of Henry the Eighth, which enacted that foreign treasons might be tried in England, he was brought to trial in the court of King's Bench, on an indictment of high treason committed without the realm. There is no defect of justice in requiring a colonial governor or other public officer delegated by the parent state, to answer before her domestic tribunals, for betraying the trust, or perverting the power which he derived from her appointment. But Culpepper had not been an officer of the British government; and, however consonant with the statute law of Henry the Eighth, it was plainly repugnant to the spirit of the English common law, as well as to the principles of equity, to compel him to take his trial at such a distance from his witnesses, and in a community where the witnesses on both sides were unknown, and conflicting testimony could not probably be adjusted. It must be confessed, however, that from the actual state of the province, the British government was reduced to the alternative of either trying him in England, or not trying him at all. His destruction at first appeared inevitable; for the judges pronounced, that to take up arms against the proprietary government was treason against the king; and the amplest evidence was produced of every circumstance requisite to constitute the crime. But Shaftesbury, who was then in the meridian of his popularity, appearing in behalf of the prisoner, and representing, contrary to the most undoubted facts, that there had never been any regular government in Albemarle, and that its disorders were mere feuds between the planters, which at worst could amount to no higher offence than a riot easily prevailed with the jury to return a verdict of acquittal. This was the last act by which Shaftesbury signalled his participation in the government of Carolina. His attention, thenceforward, was absorbed by the daring cabals that preceded his exile; and, about three years afterwards, having ruined or dishonored every party with which he had been connected, he was obliged to fly from England, and implore the hospitality and protection of the Dutch, whom he had formerly exhorted the English parliament to extirpate from the face of the earth. The ruin of this ablest of the proprietaries extended its influence to the fortunes of the most distinguished of the landgraves. Locke had been so intimately connected with Shaftesbury, that he deemed it prudent to abandon England at the same time; but so remote was he from any accession to the guilt of his patron, that when William Penn afterwards prevailed on James the Second to consent to the pardon and recall of Locke, the philosopher resolutely refused to accept a pardon,

declaring that he had done nothing that required it.* Meanwhile the palatine, and the majority of the proprietaries, reduced to their former perplexity by the acquittal of Culpepper, pursued a temporising policy, that degraded their own authority; and cherished the factions and ferments of the colonists. Fluctuating between their resentments and their apprehensions, they alternately threatened the insurgents and blamed their own partisans. The inevitable consequences of this policy was, that they further exasperated all parties in the colony against each other, without attaching any to themselves, and at length found it too late either to overawe the insurgents by vigor, or to conciliate them by lenity. [1681] They are said to have resolved at last to abandon a hopeless vindication of their insulted authority, and to govern in future according to whatever portion of obedience the colonists might be disposed to yield to them. Having established a temporary administration, at the head of which they placed one Harvey as president, they announced, immediately after, their intention to send out Seth Sothel, who had purchased Lord Clarendon's share of the province, and whose interest and authority, they hoped, would powerfully conduce to the restitution of good order and tranquillity. These measures, however, were productive only of additional disappointment. Little regard was paid to the rule of Harvey, by men who were already apprised that his government would have but a short duration; and the proprietaries, along with the tidings of his inefficiency, received intelligence of the capture of Sothel on his voyage by the Algerines. Undismayed by so many disappointments, the proprietaries, having now resolutely adopted a lenient and conciliating policy, pursued it with a commendable perseverance; and Henry Wilkinson, a man from whose prudence the most happy results were expected, was appointed governor of the whole of that portion of Carolina stretching from Virginia to the river Pemlico, and five miles beyond it. The most earnest endeavors were now employed by the proprietaries to heal the former disorders. To the governor and council, they recommended, in persuasive language, the enforcement and exemplification of mutual forbearance and indulgence; and, in compliance with their desire, an act of oblivion was passed by the assembly of Albemarle in favor of the late insurgents, on condition of their restoring the money of which they had plundered the royal revenue. But it was found easier to enforce topics of conciliation on the parties who had suffered wrong, than on those who had done the injury; and the late insurgents, who were still the strongest party, not only condemned the conditions of an act which they felt to be quite unnecessary to their security, but, acquiring the command of the assembly, proceeded, with triumphant insolence and injustice, to denounce and punish the party which had so far mistaken its situation, as to proffer terms of pardon and forbearance to them. They inflicted heavy fines, and severe imprisonment on their opponents, who were forced to fly to Virginia for protection; and with whom every trace of justice and freedom took a long leave of this unhappy colony. The lamentable scene of violence and anarchy that thus ensued was no way changed, nor was the condition of the colony in any degree meliorated, by the arrival of Sothel, the governor, in the year 1683. The dangerous character of this man was displayed in the first acts of his administration. Though required by the proprietaries to expel from the council all those who had been concerned in the late disorders; to establish a court of the most impartial of the inhabitants, for the redress of wrongs committed during the distraction of the times; and to assist the officers of the customs in collecting the royal revenue, and executing the acts of navigation, he declined to comply with any of these mandates; and, seeking only his own immediate enrichment, he disregarded equally the happiness of the people, the interest of his colleagues, and the deep stake which he himself possessed in the future welfare of the colony. Newly escaped from captivity on the coast of Barbary, he was so far from enlarging his own humanity, or fortifying his sense of equity, by the experience of hardship and injustice, that he seemed to have adopted the policy of his late captors as the model of his own government; nor have the annals of colonial oppression recorded a name that deserves to be transmitted to posterity with

* Life of Locke. Clarkson's Life of Penn. Though Locke refused to avail himself of Penn's good offices, he was not regardless or unmindful of them; and after the Revolution in Eng. and found an opportunity of amply repaying them. Post. B. VII. cap. 2.

† Some of these unfortunate persons appear to have transmitted addresses and complaints to Charles the Second, and vainly implored his protection. Chalmers, p. 563.

greater infamy than his. Rapacity, cruelty, and treachery, appear to have been the prominent traits of his administration, which, after afflicting the colony for a period of five years, at length exhausted the patience of all parties, and produced at least one good effect, in uniting the divided people by a sense of common suffering and danger. Driven almost to despair, the inhabitants universally took arms against the government in 1684, and having deposed and imprisoned him, were preparing to send him to England for trial, when, descending to the most abject supplications, he entreated to be judged rather by the provincial assembly, whose sentence he declared himself willing to abide. If the colonists, in granting this request, arrogated a power that did not constitutionally belong to them, they at least exercised it with a moderation that reflects honor on themselves, and aggravates the guilt of the tyrannical governor. The assembly declared him guilty of all the crimes laid to his charge, and ordained that he should abjure the country for twelve months, and the government for ever. When the proprietaries received intelligence of these proceedings, they deemed it proper to signify that they did not altogether approve the irregular justice of the colonists; but they expressed the deepest regret for their sufferings, and the utmost astonishment and indignation at the conduct of the governor. They summoned him still to answer for his crimes before the palatine's court in England; and they protested to the people, that, if they would render a dutiful obedience to legal authority, no governor should in future be suffered to enrich himself with their spoils.* Such was the condition to which North Carolina was reduced at the epoch of the British Revolution.

CHAPTER II.

Affairs of South Carolina.—Indian War.—Practice of kidnapping Indians.—Emigrants from Ireland—Scotland—and England.—Pirates entertained in the colony.—Emigration of French Protestants to Carolina.—Disputes created by the Navigation Laws.—Progress of Discontent in the Colony.—Sothel usurps the government.—Endeavors of the Proprietaries to restore good order.—Naturalization of French Refugees resisted by the Colonists.—The Fundamental Constitutions abolished.—Wise Administration of Archdale.—Restoration of general Tranquility.—Ecclesiastical Condition of the Province.—Intolerant Proceedings of the Proprietaries.—State of the People.—Manners, Trade, &c.

WE now resume the progress of the southern province of Carolina, which, under the prudent administration of Joseph West, whom we have seen appointed governor in 1674, enjoyed a much larger share of prosperity than fell to the lot of the settlers of Albemarle. The governor has been highly celebrated for his courage, wisdom, and moderation: and the state of the province over which he was called to preside, gave ample occasion to the exercise of these qualities. Strong symptoms of mutual jealousy and dislike began to manifest themselves between the dissenters and puritans, who were the most numerous party in the colony, and the cavaliers and episcopals who were favored by the proprietaries in the distribution of property and appointment to offices of trust: and although the firmness and good sense of West prevented the discord of these parties from ripening into strife and confusion, it was beyond his power to eradicate the evil, or to prevent his own council, which was composed of the leading cavaliers, from treating the puritans with insolence and contempt. The cavalier party was reinforced by all those persons whom loose manners and dissipated habits had carried to the province, [1674—1677] not for a cure but a shelter for their vices, and who regarded the rigid manners of the puritans with as much dislike as the cavaliers entertained for their political principles. The adversaries of the puritans, finding that it was in their power to shock and offend them by exhibition of manners opposed to their own, affected an extreme of gay license and jollity. Each party considering its manners as the test of

its principles, emulously exaggerated the distinctive features of the demeanor it embraced; and a competition of manners and habits ensued, in which the ruling party gave countenance and encouragement to practices very unfavourable to the prevalence of industry and acquisition of wealth. The proprietaries, whose imprudence had begotten these divisions, were the first sufferers from their evil consequences, and found all their efforts unavailing to obtain repayment of the large advances which they had made for the settlement. The colonists who had undertaken to pay the small salary of 100*l.* a year allotted to the governor, found themselves unable to discharge even this obligation; and the proprietaries found it necessary, in April, 1677, to assign to him the whole stock of their merchandises and debts in Carolina, in liquidation of his claims. This transaction gave rise to the remark that West was perhaps the only factor, who, at the end of ten years of confessedly prudent management, received, without any impeachment of his morals, the whole product of his traffic as the reward of his services. Meanwhile the population of the province received considerable accessions from the continued resort of English dissenters, and of protestant emigrants from the catholic states of Europe. In the year 1679, the king, willing to gratify the proprietaries, and hoping, perhaps, to divert the tide of emigration from Massachusetts, ordered two small vessels to be provided at his own expense, to convey a detachment of foreign protestants to Carolina, who proposed to add wine, oil, and silk, to the other produce of the territory; and he granted to the colonists an exemption for a limited time from the payment of taxes on these commodities, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the commissioners of customs, who represented that England would be ruined and depopulated if the colonies were rendered a more desirable residence. Although these new settlers were not able to enrich the province with the valuable commodities which they had so confidently promised, they preserved their settlement in it, and formed a useful and respectable addition to its population. The proprietaries having learned that the agreeable district called Oyster-point, formed by the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, enjoyed greater convenience than the station that the first settlers had chosen, encouraged the inclination of the people, who began to remove thither about this time: and here, in 1680, was laid the foundation of the modern Charlestown, a city which in the next century claimed the highest consideration for the elegance of its streets, the extent of its commerce, and the refinement of its society. It was instantly declared the port of the province for the various purposes of trade, and the capital for the general administration of government. For sometime, however, it proved extremely unhealthful; inasmuch that from the month of June till October, the courts of justice were annually shut; and during that interval no public business was transacted; and men fled from the pestilential atmosphere of the place. The inconvenience at length was found to be so great, that orders were given to inquire for situations more friendly to health. But happily (in consequence, it has been supposed, of the purification of the noxious vapor by the smoke of numerous culinary fires) the climate gradually underwent a favorable change, and finally evinced so complete a revolution, that Charlestown was considered to enjoy the most salubrious air of Carolina.

Notwithstanding the earnest desire of the proprietaries, that the colonists should cultivate the good will of the Indians, a war that proved very detrimental to the settlement broke out in the year 1680, with a powerful tribe that inhabited the southern boundary. The war seems to have originated, partly from the insolence with which the idle and licentious emigrants behaved to the Indians, and partly from the depredations of straggling parties of Indians, who being accustomed to the practice of killing whatever animals they found at large, accounted the planters' hogs, turkeys, and geese, lawful game, and freely preyed upon them. The planters as freely made use of their arms in defence of their property, and several Indians having been killed, the vengeance of their kindred tribe burst forth abruptly in general hostilities, which for some time threatened the most serious consequences to the colony. So divided were the colonists among themselves, that the governor found it difficult to unite them in measures requisite even for their common safety, or to persuade any to undertake an effort that did not promise to be attended with advantage immediately and exclusively their own. That he might address himself effectually to their selfish disposition, he offered a price for every Indian who should be taken prisoner and brought to Charlestown;

and raised the necessary funds by disposing of the captives to the traders who frequented the colonies, and who sold them for slaves in the West Indies. This policy was productive of so much profit, and of enterprises so agreeable to the temper and habits of some of the planters, that the war was carried on with a vigor that soon enabled the government to dictate a treaty of peace with the Indians.* [1681.] The proprietaries, desiring that this pacification should rest on a lasting and equitable basis, appointed commissioners who were empowered to decide all complaints between the contending parties in future, and declared that all the tribes within four hundred miles of Charlestown were under their protection. But the practices that had been introduced during the war had established themselves too strongly to be thus easily eradicated. Many of the colonists found it more profitable, as well as more agreeable, to traffic in the persons of the Indians, than to clear the forests or till the ground: and not only the principal inhabitants, but the officers of government, fomented the spirit of discord that prevailed among the savage tribes and promoted their mutual wars, with the design of procuring to themselves the captives whom they purchased as slaves. It was in vain for the governor and council to plead in justification of this inhuman policy, that by occupying the tribes, and causing them to expend their force in mutual hostilities, they secured the colony against their attacks; and that humanity sanctioned the purchase of prisoners who would otherwise have been put to death. The proprietaries were by no means satisfied with these reasons; and strongly declaring their conviction that it was a sordid thirst for private gain, and not a generous concern for the public safety, that engendered a policy so dastardly and dishonest, they ceased not to insist for its entire abandonment. But their humane interference was long unavailing; and it was not till after the most persevering and vehement remonstrances, that they were able to procure the enactment of a law to regulate, and at length utterly prohibit, this profligate and ignoble practice. Its continuance was attended with consequences both immediately and lastingly injurious. The traders who carried the captives to the West Indies imported rum in exchange for them; and a destructive habit of indulging to excess in this beverage depraved the manners and relaxed the industry of many of the colonists. A deep and mutual dislike was formed between them and the victims of their injustice, which the lapse of many years was unable to allay; and in after times the Indians inflicted a severe retribution on the posterity of those who had been the authors of their wrongs and the insidious abettors of their ferocity.

Governor West held a parliament at Charlestown in the close of the following year; [1682.] when laws were enacted for settling a militia, which the late war had shown to be necessary; for making ways through the boundless forest that every where surrounded the capital; for repressing drunkenness and profanity, and otherwise promoting the morality of a people who did not enjoy the instruction of a public ministry. [1683.] Shortly after this proceeding, West, who had incurred the displeasure of the proprietaries by introducing the traffic in Indians, and by curbing the excesses of the cavaliers, who were accounted the proprietary party, was removed from his command; and the government of the colony was committed, by Lord Craven, to Joseph Moreton, who had been recently created a landgrave of Carolina. This was the commencement of a course of rapid succession of governors, and all the other public officers in the colony: a system arising partly from unexpected casualties, and partly from defective policy; and which did not fail to produce the consequences with which it has been invariably attended, in the degradation of government, and the promotion of party spirit and cabals. But, however much the policy of the proprietaries might fluctuate in other respects, it continued long to be steadily and strenuously directed to the encouragement of emigration. At the desire of several wealthy persons, who proposed to emigrate to the province, they once more revised their fundamental constitutions, which, at the time of their first enactment, had been declared unalterable; now again promulgating a similar declaration of their future inviolability. The object of the present alteration was to relax somewhat in favor of liberty, the rigor of the original constitutions: but it is the less necessary to particularize them, as they were never acknowledged or received by the people of Carolina, who were more jealous of the power assumed to introduce such alterations, than gratified with the particular advantages now tendered to their acceptance. The alterations, however, proving satisfactory to the parties who had soli-

* Williamson, i. 136—141. Chalmers, 538—540. Hewitt, i. 103, 104. Hewitt has related these proceedings against Sotherel, as having occurred in South Carolina. Nor is this the only error with which he is chargeable. He perpetually combines events that are totally unconnected with each other. His notation of dates is extremely scanty, and sometimes very inaccurate. While he abstains from the difficult task of relating the history of North Carolina, he selects the most interesting features of its annals, and transfers them to the history of the southern province. His errors, though hardly honest, were probably not the fruit of deliberate misrepresentation. Almost all the prior historians of America have been betrayed into similar inaccuracies with respect to the provinces of Carolina. Even that laborious and generally accurate writer Jedediah Morse has been so far misled by defective materials as to assert (American Gazetteer, second edit. 1795, p. 351) that the first permanent settlement in North Carolina was effected by certain German refugees in 1710.

cited them, one Ferguson soon after conducted to the colony an emigration from Ireland, which instantly mingled with the mass of the inhabitants. Lord Cardross, a Scottish nobleman, also led out a colony from his native country (then groaning under the barbarous administration of the Duke of Lauderdale,) which settled on Port Royal island, and in pursuance of some agreement or understanding with the proprietaries, claimed for itself co-ordinate authority with the governor and grand council of Charlestown. This claim, however, was disallowed by the colonial government; and the new occupants of Port Royal having been compelled to acknowledge submission, Lord Cardross, whether disappointed with this result, or satisfied with what he had already accomplished, forsook the settlement and returned to Britain. The settlers whom he left behind, were sometime after dislodged from their advantageous situation by an expedition despatched against them by the Spaniards at Augustine, whom they had wantonly provoked by inciting the Indians to make an irruption into the Spanish territory. But the most valuable addition to its numbers which the colony at this time received, arose from the emigration of a considerable body of pious and respectable dissenters, from Somersetshire in England. This body was conducted by Joseph Blake, the brother and heir of the renowned Admiral Blake, and who now devoted the moderate fortune which his disinterested brother had bequeathed to him, to facilitate the retirement of a number of dissenters, with whom he was connected, from the persecutions they endured in England, and the greater calamities they apprehended under the reign of the popish successor of the king. Several persons of similar principles, and considerable substance, united themselves to this emigration; and the arrival of these people served to strengthen the hands of the puritan or sober party in the colony, and to counteract, in a salutary manner, the influence of circumstances unfavorable to the character and manners of the planters. From the exertions of the proprietaries, and the condition of England at this period, there is little doubt that the colony would have received a much larger accession to its inhabitants, if the recent colonization of Pennsylvania had not presented an asylum more generally attractive to mankind. The liberality of William Penn's institutions; the friendly sentiments with which the Indians returned his kind and pacific demeanor; the greater salubrity of the climate of Pennsylvania, and superior adaptation of its soil to the cultivation of British grain, powerfully enforced the claim of this province to the preference of emigrants; and such multitudes resorted to it, both from England and the other states of Europe, as soon enabled it to outstrip the older settlement of Carolina, both in wealth and in population.

A few months after his elevation to the office of governor, Moreton assembled a parliament, which established a great variety of regulations, for the remedy of those little inconveniences that are incidental to the infancy of all colonial settlements. A law that was now enacted for raising the value of foreign coins gave rise to the currency of Carolina, which, in after times, incurred an extreme depreciation. In imitation of the early policy of the settlement of Albemarle, all prosecutions for foreign debts were suspended. But the proprietaries, now regarding with displeasure what they had formerly confirmed without animadversion, interposed to negative this enactment, declaring that it was contrary to the king's honor, since it obstructed the course of justice, and that the colonial parliament had no power to frame a law so inconsistent with the jurisprudence of England; and the more sensibly to manifest their displeasure, they issued orders that all officers who had promoted this enactment should be displaced. Another cause of dispute between the proprietaries and the province, arose from the manner in which this parliament had been constituted. The province at this time was divided into the three counties of Berkeley, Craven (including the district formerly called Clarendon), and Colleton. The proprietaries had desired, that of the twenty members of whom the lower house of parliament was composed, ten should be elected by each of the counties of Berkeley and Colleton; the third being reckoned as yet too inconsiderable to merit a share of parliamentary representation. Berkeley, which contained the metropolis, was the only one of the counties which as yet possessed a county court; and the provincial government having appointed the election to be held at Charlestown, the inhabitants of Berkeley had combined to prevent the people of Colleton from voting at all, and had themselves returned the whole twenty members. They maintained that this

advantage was due to their own superiority in number of people; a circumstance which at least enabled them to realize the pretension it suggested. The proprietaries, however, were highly displeased with this contempt of their instructions, which they were no sooner informed of, than they gave orders that the parliament should be dissolved, and none other assembled in so irregular a manner. But their commands were unavailing; and this signal injustice, after maintaining its ground for some time, obtained the countenance and assent of the proprietaries themselves, and continued to subsist, till, at a later period, its abettors were compelled to yield to the indignant and unanimous voice of the people whom they had disfranchised. The proprietaries, meanwhile, were exceedingly displeased with the reiterated disobedience of their deputies, and, in a remonstrance which they addressed to the governor and council, they reminded them, in language which at least expresses good intentions, "that the power of magistracy is put into your hands for the good of the people, who ought not to be turned into prey, as we doubt hath been too much practised." It was remarked, that the greatest dealers in Indian slaves were the keenest opponents of the claim of Colleton county to share in the exercise of the elective franchise; exemplifying how the indulgence of selfishness and oppression in any one relation tends entirely to pervert or extinguish in men's minds the sense of what is due to the rights of others. The proprietaries, though at times they expressed themselves, as on this last occasion, with vigor and wisdom, seem to have been quite incapacitated, by ignorance or irresolution, from pursuing or enforcing a consistent course of policy. It was found that some of the councillors, and even the commissioners that had been appointed to watch over the interests of the Indians, encouraged the traffic in Indian slaves; and though Moreton was able to remove these delinquents from office, they succeeded in rendering his own situation so disagreeable to him, that he was constrained to resign his authority, which was immediately conferred on West, who suffered the people to continue the practice of inveigling and kidnapping the Indians without restraint. The proprietaries then intrusted the government to Sir Richard Kyrle, an Irishman, who died soon after his arrival in the province. [1634.] West, thereupon, was again chosen interim governor by the council, whose appointment, on this occasion, the proprietaries thought proper to confirm. He was, however, shortly after superseded by Colonel Quarry, who retained the office only till the following year, [1635.] when, in consequence of the countenance he was found to have given to piracy, he, in his turn, was dismissed, and Joseph Moreton reinstated in the government.*

The American seas had long been infested by a race of daring adventurers, privateers in time of war, pirates in time of peace, whose martial exploits, and successful depredations on the rich colonies and commerce of Spain, enabled them to conciliate the regard or purchase the connivance of many of the inhabitants of the British settlements, and even of the authorities supreme as well as subordinate, of the British empire. The king himself, for several years after his restoration, had extended to them his patronage, and even granted the honor of knighthood to one of their number, Henry Morgan, a Welshman, who had plundered Portobello and Panama, and acquired a vast booty by his achievements. Thus recommended by the king to the favorable regards of his subjects, these freebooters found it no less easy than advantageous to cultivate a friendly connexion with the people of Carolina, who willingly opened their ports, and furnished supplies of provisions to guests who lavishly spent their golden spoils in the colony. The treaty of 1637, together with the increasingly lawless character of the adventurers, had withdrawn the king's protection from them; but they continued, nevertheless, to maintain, and even extend, their intercourse with the planters and authorities of Carolina. The governor, the proprietary deputies, and the principal inhabitants, degraded themselves to a level with the vilest of mankind, by abetting the crimes of pirates, and becoming receivers of their nefarious acquisitions. The proprietaries strongly remonstrated against practices that degraded the character of the province, and dispraved the manners of all who participated

in them; and their orders, backed by a proclamation from the king, prevailed so far as to restrain the colonists from indulging an inclination which they had begun to demonstrate of sharing in the enterprises as well as the gains of their piratical associates. But they obstinately continued to retain their connection with these adventurers, which, diffusing among them the infectious desire of sudden wealth and the spirit of dissipation, contributed to the formation of habits pernicious to every community, but more particularly injurious to the prosperity of an infant settlement. Traces of these habits have continued long to be discernible in the character and manners of the inhabitants of Carolina. The king at length aroused by the complaints of his allies, and sensible how much the trade of his own subjects had been injured by these lawless proceedings, transmitted to the colony in April, 1634, "a law against pirates," which the proprietaries required their parliament to enact, and their executive officers rigorously to enforce. The first part of this requisition was readily complied with; but the evil had become so inveterate, that the law, instead of being carried into effect, was openly violated even by those by whom it had been enacted. It was not till three years after this period, that the evil received an effectual check, from an expedition which James the Second despatched under Sir Robert Holmes, for the suppression of piracy in the West Indies. Of this expedition the proprietaries sent intimation to the governor and council of Charlestown, and recommended to them a prompt submission to the authority, and co-operation in the designs and proceedings of Holmes; and their mandates being now supported by a force sufficient to overawe all opposition, these disgraceful proceedings sustained a complete, though unfortunately only a temporary interruption.

Meanwhile the obloquy and dispute which the province of South Carolina thus deservedly incurred, was not the only inconvenience that resulted from its connexion with the pirates. The Spaniards at St. Augustine had always regarded the southern settlements of the English with jealousy and dislike; they respected, and not without reason, that the Scotch planters at Port Royal influenced the Indians against them; and they beheld with indignation the plunderers of their commerce openly encouraged at Charlestown. [1636.] After threatening to avenge themselves by hostilities, they at length invaded the southern frontiers of the province, and laid waste the settlements of Port Royal. The Carolinians finding themselves unable to defend a wide extended boundary, resolved to carry their arms into the heart of their enemy's territory; and accounting themselves authorised by the terms of the provincial charter to levy war on their neighbours, they made preparations for an expedition against St. Augustine. The proprietaries, informed of this project, hastened to withstand it by their remonstrance and prohibition. Every rational being, they declared, must have foreseen that the Spaniards, provoked by such injuries as the colonists had wantonly inflicted on them, would assuredly retaliate. The clause of the charter which was relied on by the colonists to justify their projected invasion meant no more (they maintained) than a pursuit in the heat of victory, and never could authorise a deliberate prosecution of war against the king of Spain's subjects within his own territories. "We ourselves," they protested, "claim no such power; nor can any man believe that the dependencies of England can have liberty to make war upon the king's allies, without his knowledge or consent." They intimated, at the same time, their dissent from a law which had been passed for raising men and money for the projected expedition against the Spaniards; and the inhabitants, either convinced by their reasonings, or disabled from raising the necessary supplies, abandoned the enterprise. On learning this result, the proprietaries congratulated the governor and council on their timely retraction of a measure which, had it been carried into effect, the promoters of it, they declared, might have answered with their lives. They instructed them to address a civil letter to the governor of St. Augustine,

* There can be little doubt, I apprehend, that if the proprietaries had transferred their own residence to the colonies, or had been able to realize the magnificent scheme contained in their fundamental constitutions, they would have put a much freer interpretation on the belligerent privilege conferred by the charter; and would have made war as largely and independently as the English East India Company have ever done. The accomplishment of their original views would have effected all the mischief that in a later age was justly or erroneously anticipated from the India bill of Mr. Fox; and disturbed the balance of the English constitution by the vast endowment of power and influence which it would have bestowed on a junta of the Aristocracy.

* Oldmixon, i. 331, 310. Hewitt, i. 91, 93. Chalmers, 515, 547. From Oldmixon's Lists, it appears that Colonel Quarry held official situations under the crown in several of the provinces at the same time. On his return to England in the year 1703, he presented to the lords of trade a memorial on the state of the American colonies, which is preserved among the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. Some notice of it occurs in Oldmixon's account of Virginia.

to inquire by what authority he had acted; and, in the mean time, to put the province in the best position of defence. From this period, mutual dread and animosity rarely ceased to prevail between the Spanish and English colonists in Florida and Carolina.

When the governor and council received intelligence of the death of Charles the Second, they proclaimed his successor with expressions of loyalty and joy, apparently the effusions of mere levity and love of change, but which gave so much satisfaction to James, that he conveyed to them, in return, the assurance of his favor and protection. His sincerity herein was on a par with their own; for he already meditated the revocation of the colonial charter, and the annihilation of all their privileges. He was prevented, however, from completing this intention, and his reign was productive of events that proved highly advantageous to the colony. Many of his English subjects, apprehending, from his arbitrary principles and his bigotry to the church of Rome, the subversion of their religion and liberties, fled beyond the Atlantic, from the approaching rigors of persecution: being determined rather to endure the severest hardships abroad, than to witness the establishment of popery and tyranny in England. The population of America, recruited by these emigrations, derived even a larger acquisition from the persecution of the protestants in France, that followed the revocation, in 1685, of the edict of Nantz. Above half a million of her most useful and industrious subjects, expelled from France, carried with them into England, Holland, and other European states, the arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich their native country. James, affecting to participate the indignation that was expressed by his own subjects at the persecution exercised by the French monarch, hastened to tender the most friendly assistance to the distressed Hugonots, who sought shelter in his dominions; and besides those who established themselves in England, considerable numbers were enabled to transport themselves to the British settlements in America. Many, also, who needed not his assistance, and who dreaded his designs, purchased colonial property with their own money, and retreated to the same distant region. Among the other colonies which thus reaped advantage from the oppressions exercised in France, and the apprehensions entertained in England, Carolina derived a considerable acquisition of people. Many of the protestant refugees, in particular, having purchased lands from the proprietaries, who were ever on the watch to encourage emigration to their territories, embarked with their families for this colony, and made a valuable addition to its industry, prosperity, and population.

Although the colonists had as yet made but small progress in cultivating their territory, and still found their efforts impeded, and their numbers abridged, by the obstructions of the forest and the ravages of disease, they were obviously beginning to surmount the first difficulties and disadvantages of their situation. Their cattle, requiring neither edifices nor attendance, found sufficient shelter, and ample nourishment, in the woods, and increased in an amazing degree. They traded to the West Indies for rum and sugar, in return for their lumber and provisions; and England supplied them with clothes, arms, ammunition, and utensils for building and cultivation, in exchange for their deer-skins, furs, and naval stores. This commerce, inconsiderable as it was, having begun to attract attention, a collector of the customs was established at Charlestown, soon after the accession of James to the throne. The proprietaries, on this occasion, transmitted their orders to the governor and council, to show a becoming forwardness in assisting the collection of the duty on tobacco transported to other colonies, and in seizing ships that presumed to trade contrary to the acts of navigation. But, although the proprietaries enjoyed in theory the most absolute authority within the province, and seemed, indeed, to have engrossed the whole powers of government, they had long been sensible of the practical inefficiency of every one of their mandates that was opposed to the opinions or favorite practices of the people. This last injunction was not only disobeyed but openly and argumentatively disputed by the colonists and the colonial judges and magistrates, who insisted that they were exempted from the operation of the navigation acts by the terms of the provincial charter, against which, they plainly informed the collector, that "they held an act of parliament to be of no force whatever." As the charter was posterior in date to the navigation act, this was in effect to contend for the dispensing power of the crown; and to maintain against the king himself, the very doctrine which he forfeited his throne by attempting to realize. Illegal and dan-

gerous, as a plea involving such doctrines may at first sight appear it will be found, in proportion as we examine it, that it is very far from being destitute of support, either from natural reason or legal principle. It was the charter alone that had added the colonial territory to the British empire; and it was to the execution and existence of that charter alone, that Great Britain could refer for legal evidence of the connexion between herself and the colonial people. The planters, possessing the power of transferring their labors to any region where they might please to settle, and the benefit of their allegiance to any sovereign whose stipulations in their favor might appear satisfactory to them, had, on the faith of this charter, and of its due observance in all points, formed and reared, at great expense, their present colonial settlement; and in all the courts of Great Britain the charter was undoubtedly held a valid paction in so far as it imposed obligations on the colonists. There appears, then, to have been no want of justice or equity in the claim of the planters, that a charter which had formed their original paction and bond of union with the mother country, on the faith of which their subjection had been yielded and their settlement created, and which was, on all hands, acknowledged to be strictly valid in so far as it imposed obligations upon them, should be held no less sacred in respect of the privileges which it conceded to them. While it was allowed to remain unannulled, it seemed to be entitled to entire and equal operation: and if it were to be set aside, the grantees should have been left at liberty to attach themselves to some other dominion, if they could not arrange with Britain new terms of a prorogated connexion with her. It must be acknowledged, however, that the legal force, if not the natural equity of this plea, is considerably abated by the consideration, that it was disclaimed by the proprietaries, and preferred exclusively by the resident colonial population. The proprietaries vainly disputed the reasonableness of the colonial plea, and as vainly prohibited the continuance of the relative practices. Neither awed by their authority, nor convinced by their reasonings, nor yet deterred by the frequent seizures of their own vessels and merchandize, the colonists continued to defend the legality and persist in the practice of trading wheresoever and in whatsoever commodities they pleased. While the proprietaries were laboring to prevail in this disagreeable controversy, they received a new and more painful addition to their embarrassments, from the alarming intelligence, that the king, having adopted the resolution of annihilating all proprietary governments, had directed a writ of *quo warranto* to be issued against the patent of Carolina. Thus, neither their submission to every royal mandate, nor their readiness to aid, with their feeble power, in the collection of the royal revenue, and the execution of the acts of navigation, could protect the chartered rights of the proprietaries from the enmity and injustice of the king. Yet prudently bending under the violence which they were unable to resist, they eluded the force of an attack which proved fatal to the charter of Massachusetts; and by proposing a treaty for surrender of their patent, they gained such delay as left them in possession of it, at the period of the British Revolution.

Governor Moreton, after his second appointment to the presidency of the colony, was allowed to retain it little more than a year. Though endowed with a considerable share of wisdom and ability, and connected with several respectable families in the colony, so inconsistent were his instructions from England with the prevailing views and interests of the people, that he found it difficult to execute the duties of his office at all, and impossible to discharge them satisfactorily. He had been described as a man of sober and religious temper; and having married the sister of Blake, it was hoped by the friends of piety and good morals, that the hands of government would be strengthened by this alliance, and an effectual check imposed on the more licentious and irregular party of the people. But the majority of his council entertained opinions very different from his, with respect to the conduct of the provincial administration, and claimed greater indulgences for the people than he had authority to grant. Hence there arose in the colony two political parties; the one attached to the prerogative and authority of the proprietaries, the other devoted to the liberties of the people. By the one it was contended that the laws and regulations transmitted from England, should be strictly and implicitly obeyed: by the other, more exclusive regard was had to the local circumstances of the colony; and it was maintained that the freemen were obliged to observe the injunctions of the proprietaries, only in so far as they were consistent with the interest of the resi-

dent population, and the prosperity of the settlement. In this situation of affairs, no governor could long maintain his authority among a number of bold and restless adventurers, averse to all restraint, and active in improving every opportunity to advance their own interest; for whenever he attempted to control any of their designs, by the exercise of his authority, they insulted his person, and complained of his administration, till they prevailed in having him removed from his office. The proprietaries finding that Moreton had become obnoxious to a considerable party among the people, now resolved with their usual feeble policy to sacrifice him to the enmity which his integrity had provoked; and having accordingly dispatched him, they appointed as his successor, James Colleton, a brother of one of their own number, and on whose attachment to the proprietary interest they thought themselves entitled to rely. His fortune and connections, it was hoped, would add influence to his office; and to lend him the greater weight as he was created a landgrave of the colony, with the appropriate endowment of forty-eight thousand acres of land. A high opinion had been entertained by his constituents of his good sense and ability; but either it was very ill-founded, or he was deprived of discretion and self-possession by the confusions and cabals in which he found himself involved. To his great mortification, he was quickly made sensible that the proprietary government had acquired very little stability, and was continually declining in the respect of its subjects. His own imprudence contributed materially to increase the weakness and discredit into which it had fallen.

The commencement of Colleton's administration gave universal satisfaction. But his instructions requiring him to attempt what his authority was unable to effect, the punishment of almost all the other colonial officers for various instances of disobedience to the proprietaries, and to execute with vigor the law against pirates, very soon embroiled him with a great body of the inhabitants. The form of the constitution, composed of a variety of jurisdictions, and investing the parliament with the choice of members for the grand council, gave rise to perpetual intrigue; and a diversity of factions sprung up, "as rampant," says Oldmixon, "as if the people had been made wanton by many ages of prosperity." A parliament having been summoned by Colleton, the majority of the members openly expressed their disapprobation of the fundamental constitutions; and having appointed a committee to revise and amend them, this body proceeded without delay to frame a new and very different scheme of government, which they distinguished by the name of the *standing laws of Carolina*, and transmitted to England for the approbation of the proprietaries. The reception of such a communication might have been easily foreseen. The proprietaries hesitated not a moment to reject these standing laws, and to issue the most positive orders for the due observance of the fundamental constitutions which had been so irreverently handled. But men who had deliberately undertaken so bold a measure, were not to be deterred from the prosecution of it by a consequence so obvious as the displeasure of the proprietaries; and a majority of the assembly still obstinately refused to acknowledge the authority of the fundamental constitutions. They were thereupon expelled from the house by the governor: and protesting against the validity of any laws that might be enacted by a minority of the commons, they retired into the country, and eagerly endeavored to instil their own principles and discontents into the minds of the people. So successful were their exertions for this purpose, that when a new parliament was convoked, [1687,] the undisguised and unanimous purpose of the members was to thwart and contradict the governor in whatsoever proceedings he might embrace, recommend, or be supposed to approve. So pertinaciously did they adhere to this line of policy, as to refuse to settle a militia act, though the safety of the province, endangered by the Spaniards and their Indian allies, seemed urgently to demand such a measure: and, in fine, to make sure of giving sanction to nothing that could be agreeable to the Governor, they flatly declined to pass any laws at all. A dispute in which they engaged with him about the payment of quit rents, afforded them an additional opportunity of indulging their spleen, and increasing their popularity. Colleton had attempted to enforce payment of the arrears of the

* Their protest, which is preserved in the archives of the Plantation Office, at London, is subscribed by one of the protestors with his mark, in respect of his inability to write. Chalmers, p. 566—a significant indication, it must be confessed, of the extent of his political knowledge and legislative qualifications.

quit rents due by the people, which though inconsiderable in amount, were reckoned extremely burdensome, as not one were among a thousand for which quit rents were demanded yielded as yet any profit to the holders. Finding it impossible to accomplish a measure so unpopular, while he was destitute of support from the other provincial officers, he wrote to the proprietaries, requesting them to appoint as deputies, certain persons, whom he knew to be favorably disposed towards their government, and from whom he might expect assistance in the execution of his office. Apprised of this measure, the adverse party scrupled no violence or injustice to defeat or counteract it. Letters from England, containing deputations to persons obnoxious to the people, they seized and suppressed; and themselves appointed other men better affected to the popular cause. Advancing in this course of resolute usurpation, the leaders of the popular party proceeded to issue writs in their own name, [1685] and held assemblies in opposition to the governor, and in utter disregard of the authority of the proprietaries. Having imprisoned the secretary of the province, they took forcible possession of the public records; and without appearing to have any fixed or definite object in view, they effected a complete subversion of legitimate authority. Only a determined and active usurper was wanting to possess himself of the power which they seemed to be more eager to suspend or overthrow, than permanently to appropriate; and a personage altogether fitted to take advantage of the opportunity did not fail shortly after to present himself. During this scene of confusion, the tidings of the birth of a Prince of Wales were received in the colony, and celebrated by all parties with appearances of cordial sympathy and congratulation; and yet so numbing were these expressions, or so absorbed were the colonists with their own internal cabals, and so regardless of all changes beyond their own immediate sphere, that the intelligence of the revolution in England, though following the other event so closely, excited no emotion whatever. [1689.] and William and Mary were proclaimed with the most mechanical regularity and indifference.

Colleton mortified by the insignificance to which he was reduced, and alarmed by the bold and seditious spirit of the people, vainly perplexed himself with a variety of ineffectual schemes for recalling them to the recognition of legal authority. His conduct had been far from blameless, and had even attracted censure from the quarter whence he principally relied for countenance and protection. Among other irregularities into which he had been betrayed, he had imposed an arbitrary fine of one hundred pounds on the minister, for preaching what he accounted a seditious sermon; and the proprietaries had remitted the fine, not on account of the illegality of its infliction, but of the extravagance of its amount. It was at length suggested to him, whether by imprudent partisans or insidious counsellors, that to proclaim martial law was the only means that remained of inducing the people to return to his government, and yield obedience to the person, who under such a state of things would alone have the power to punish mutiny and sedition. Actuated no doubt by this purpose, though professing to apprehend an invasion of the Spaniards and Indians, he published an ordinance declaratory of martial law, and requiring every one to appear in arms for the defence of the province. However constitutional, however consistent with the provisions of the charter, this measure was imprudent in the extreme because the colonists, thus summoned to arms, were far more inclined to turn their weapons against their ruler than against the public enemy. The designs of the governor were easily seen through, and not less easily defeated. The assembly having convoked themselves, and taken this measure into their consideration, resolved at once that it was a daring encroachment on their liberties, and an unwarrantable exertion of power at a time when the colony was in no danger from without. Colleton, however, driven to the extremity of his resources, persisted in his proclamation of martial law, and vainly attempted to enforce the articles of war. But he was very soon taught to feel that the disaffection was too general to admit of such a remedy, and that all his efforts served but to unite the body of the people more firmly in opposition to his government. It was given out by some of his opponents, that the sole object of his present proceedings was to acquire to himself the monopoly of the Indian trade; and this surmise, with every other imputation, however groundless or inconsistent, was readily credited by a people to whom for years he had been an object of suspicion and dislike.

During the ferment that ensued upon these proceed-

ings [1690.] Seth Sothel, whom we have seen banished from Albemarle, and recalled by the proprietaries to justify his conduct, suddenly presented himself at Charles-town, and in the double capacity of a proprietary of the province, and a champion of popular rights against proprietary pretensions, laid claim to the possession of supreme authority. Hailed at once with the acclamation of a numerous faction, he succeeded without difficulty in prevailing over the opposition of the governor and the more respectable inhabitants, and in possessing himself of the reins of government, which had long awaited and invited the grasp of some vigorous hand. With a gracious semblance of respect to petitions which had been suggested by himself, he consented to convene a parliament; and during the distractions of the times, it was easy to procure the return of members who were ready to sanction, by their votes, whatever measures he might dictate to them. Colleton was, by this assembly, impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, and not only disabled from holding any office in the government, but banished from the province. Others who were accused of having abetted his misgovernment, were subjected to fine, imprisonment, and exile. Having now obtained possession of the supreme authority, and under pretence of gratifying the resentments of the people, enriched himself by forfeitures, and disengaged himself of rival candidates for office, Sothel proceeded to exercise his power with a tyranny that effectually rebuked and punished the folly of those who had permitted him to obtain it, and soon united the southern colony against him in the same unanimous hatred which he had excited among their brethren in North Carolina. He is said to have trampled under foot every restraint of justice and equity, and ruled the colonists with a rod of iron. The replenishment of his coffers was the sole object of his government, and his financial operations were varied only by varieties of rapine. The fur traders from Barbadoes and Bermuda were seized by his orders, under the pretended charge of piracy, and compelled to purchase their ransom from imprisonment by enormous fines; bribes were accepted from real felons to favor their escape from justice; and the property of individuals was seized and confiscated on the most unjust and frivolous pretences. The proprietaries hearing with astonishment of these outrageous proceedings, [1691.] transmitted letters of recall to Sothel, and threatened, in case of his disobedience, to procure a mandamus from the king to compel his appearance in England; and their orders being now seconded by a hearty concurrence of the people, the usurper was constrained to vacate his functions, and abandon the province. [1692.] He retired, however, no further than to North Carolina, where he died in the year 1694.*

The revolution of the British government had excited very little attention in either of the colonies of Carolina, which were too remotely connected with the higher institutions of the empire, to be sensibly affected by the changes they had undergone. It was from the proprietaries alone that they could expect the interposition of a superior power to arrest or repair the misrule, oppression and exultation, that had so long composed the chief part of the history, both of the northern and the southern settlements. In the hope of accomplishing this desirable object, the proprietaries, on the deposition of Sothel, intrusted the government of the whole of their settlements to Colonel Philip Ludwell, a person totally unconnected with the province, and with any of the parties it contained, and who had been sent by his countrymen in Virginia to England, to present the complaints of this province against Lord Ellingham. The proprietaries directed their new governor to publish to the inhabitants a general pardon for all crimes that had been formerly committed; to inquire into the grievances they might complain of; and to report to themselves the measures he should judge best calculated to preserve order and restore happiness. He was accompanied by Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had been general of the Leeward Islands in the preceding reign, and who, having now adopted the resolution of retiring to Carolina, was appointed a cazique of the province, and a member of council. Ludwell, who was a man of sense and humanity, and possessed considerable expe-

rience of colonial affairs, commenced his administration in a manner that gave general satisfaction, and seemed to have completely allayed the prevailing ferment of the people. But this tranquility was of short duration; the minds of men had been too long and too violently agitated to relapse at once into a settled composure; and a circumstance that at first promised to produce the happiest effects on the prosperity of the province, proved the immediate occasion of the revival of public discontent. In the year 1690, a great body of French protestant exiles had taken refuge in England, whence a considerable number of them had been conveyed, at the expense of the British government, to the colony of Virginia. Others, who were less indigent, purchased lands in South Carolina, and having transported themselves and their families to this province, brought a valuable accession to the numerical strength, as well as to the industry and morality of its people. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and promised fidelity to the proprietaries; and were disposed to regard the colonists whom they had joined in the friendly light of brethren and fellow-citizens. But, unhappily, these older colonists were very far from regarding their new associates with corresponding good-will. The numbers of the strangers, and the wealth by which some of them were distinguished, excited their suspicion and national antipathy; and when Ludwell, in compliance with the instructions of the proprietaries, prepared to admit the refugees to a participation in all the franchises and immunities of the other planters, the English and native inhabitants refused to acquiesce in this measure, and resolutely opposed its execution. They insisted that it was contrary to the laws of England, and therefore beyond the power of the proprietaries, who were subject to these laws; and that no power but that of the British parliament could dispense with the legal inability of aliens to purchase lands within the empire, or incorporate them into the British community, and make them partakers of the rights and privileges of natural-born Englishmen. They even maintained, that the marriages of the refugees, performed by the clergy-men who had accompanied them, were unlawful, as being celebrated by men who had not obtained episcopal ordination; and, for themselves, they declared that they could not brook the thoughts of sitting in the same assembly with the rivals of the English nation, or of receiving laws from Frenchmen, the pupils of a system of slavery and arbitrary government. The unfortunate refugees, alarmed by these menacing resolutions, implored the protection of the proprietaries; and Ludwell found it necessary to suspend the measure he had begun, and to apply to the same quarter for further directions. The proprietaries returned a friendly but indecisive answer to the application of the refugees, who continued in a state of the most disagreeable solicitude, and entire privation of civil rights, for several years after; when at length their humane and patient demeanor prevailed over the antipathy of their former adversaries who then became the advocates of the pretensions they had so vehemently opposed, and passed a law of naturalization in favor of the aliens, without being disturbed by any scruples about invading the functions of the British parliament. In the meanwhile, the dispute that had arisen on this subject was productive of a great deal of irritation in the province, which was increased by the arrival of a crew of pirates, whom Ludwell caused to be apprehended and brought to trial for their crimes. The people exclaimed against the severity of this proceeding, and interested themselves so effectually in behalf of the pirates, who, previous to their apprehension, had spent a great deal of money very freely in the province, that on their trials they were all acquitted,* and the government was even compelled to grant them an indemnity. It was not till more than twenty years after this period, that Carolina was delivered from the resort of pirates, and not till after a series of bloody executions, at the last of which no fewer than forty of these naval robbers were put to death at once. Further disputes now arose between the government and the inhabitants about the arrears of the quit rents that were due to the proprietaries, who at length becoming impatient of this untoward issue of Ludwell's administration, and suspecting him of bending too readily to the popular will, deprived him of office, and conferred it, together with the dignity of landgrave, upon Thomas Smith, a

* Hewitt, 1 103. Chalmers, 551, 552. Williamson, 1, 142, 143. Sothel left an ample estate, which, however, sustained no small diminution after his death from numerous decrees in favor of parties whom he had pillaged or defrauded. But the other proprietaries, in suing for a large amount of rents which he had recovered and embezzled, were nonsuited on the absurd existing maxim of the English law, that tenants in common could not bring actions of account against each other. It was not till the reign of Queen Anne that this iniquitous regulation was repealed.

* A few years after this period, some of the citizens of London appeared to have been infected with a similar favor for pirates. In the year 1696, several of those freebooters were acquitted at the Old Bailey, by a verdict which Chief Justice Holt declared was "a dishonor to the justice of the nation." State Trials, xiii. 460.

wealthy planter, and a prudent, upright, and popular man."

[1693.] It was in the midst of these disputes, and with the hope of appeasing them, that the proprietaries at length determined to surrender to the general dislike of the people, the fundamental constitutions which had been originally declared sacred and unalterable, but which an experience of twenty-three years had proved to be utterly worthless and impracticable. Apprised of the ineradicable aversion with which this instrument was now regarded by all classes of the colonists, and despairing of ever establishing a stable or acceptable government among them without making some considerable sacrifice to their inclinations, they accordingly enacted the following resolution; "That, as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." Thus perished the legislative labors of John Locke. Their abolition was unregretted by any party; for they had neither insured obedience to the government, nor afforded happiness to the people. What is still more singular, they seem to have perished unheeded; not being even noticed in any public act or order within the province. The convocations that were formerly termed parliaments, were now called assemblies; and this was all the visible change that took place. So perfectly impracticable had the great body of these celebrated constitutions been found. All that remained of them was the titles of nobility, which continued to drag on a sickly existence for a few years longer.

This important measure, which had been deferred till the constitutions which it repealed had been practically abrogated by their own inefficacy, and sunk into utter contempt, failed to produce any sensible effect in tranquillizing or conciliating the inhabitants of Carolina. Governor Smith, though he exerted himself with a zeal and prudence that have not been impeached by any party, to promote the peace and prosperity of the settlements intrusted to his care, found his endeavors so unsuccessful, and his situation so irksome, that he was constrained to solicit his dismission from the proprietaries. [1694] whom he strongly urged, as the only means of restoring order and tranquility, to send over as governor one of their own body, invested with full power to hear and finally determine on the most effectual complaints and controversies by which the province was distracted. The short administration of Smith was signalized by an occurrence that produced lasting and extensive effects on the prosperity of Carolina. A vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charlestown, the captain, in acknowledgment of the civilities of Smith, presented him with a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent

* Archdale, 11. Oldmixon, i. 342. Chalmers, 552. Hewit, i. 108-112, 139, 140. Williamson, i. 150, 1. In the account of the succession of governors, the annals of this period are involved in mutual, frequently in self-contradiction, and confusion. Williamson says that Ludwell retained the government for four years; but this is impossible; as Archdale, the successor of Smith, was appointed in 1694. Oldmixon renders confusion more confounded by his attempt to reconcile contradictory accounts, and to explain satisfactorily the sequence of governors. The historian of the British dominions in North America delivers his account of the matter in the following terms: "Thomas Smith, Esq. succeeded Mr. Cotton as governor, although Colonel Quarry, Mr. Southwell, and Colonel Ludwell, were intermediate for a short time."

† The repeal of the fundamental constitutions is noticed in a very slight and ambiguous manner by Hewit (i. 103); it is not noticed at all either by Wynne or by the historian of the British Dominions in North America; and Oldmixon, who wrote in 1688, says "The fundamental constitutions keep their ground to this day." i. 342. Yet Oldmixon's work, as it is the earliest, is also, next to the Political Annals of Chalmers, the most elaborate, as well as ingenious and interesting, of the general histories of the North American Settlements. A remarkable instance of the ignorance that prevails respecting Locke's connexion with America occurs in the work of a traveller who visited the United States in 1734, and who asserts (on the authority of the American General Gates,) that Locke was the legislator of Connecticut. Wansley's Journal, p. 58.

‡ The operation and fate of Locke's system strikingly exemplify the observation of an eminent American statesman, that "A man may defend the principles of liberty, and the rights of mankind, with great abilities and success, and yet after all, when called upon to produce a plan of legislation, he may astonish the world with a signal absurdity." Adams's Defence of the American Constitution, p. 365. Yet some writers (and among others the author of a valuable little biographical work lately published at Edinburgh) have not scrupled to pronounce the constitutions of Carolina a model of legislative wisdom. So dangerous is it to judge works without reading them, and to assume their merit from the general character of their authors.

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food and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it between several of his friends, who agreed to make the experiment; and planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this inconsiderable beginning, Carolina dates the rise of her staple commodity, the chief support of her people, and the main source of her opulence.

The proprietaries, disappointed in so many attempts to establish a satisfactory administration in the province, determined the more readily to adopt the suggestion of Smith. Their first choice for this purpose fell upon Lord Ashley, the grandson of the notorious Shaftesbury, and afterwards the author of *The Characteristics*. It was supposed that his shining talents, agreeable manners, and elevated rank, would powerfully conduce to the pacification of the colony. Happily, however, for all parties, his lordship, either having little inclination for the voyage, or being detained, as he alleged, by the state of his private affairs in England, declined the appointment, which was then conferred on a far more estimable person, John Archdale, another of the proprietaries, a quaker, and a man of great prudence and sagacity, and endowed with admirable patience and command of temper. Accepting the office, he was vested with authority so absolute and extensive, that the proprietaries thought fit to have it recorded in his commission, that such powers were not to be claimed in virtue of this precedent by future governors. Archdale proved himself worthy of the distinguished trust that had been reposed in him. He arrived first in South Carolina, [August, 1695,] where he formed a new council of moderate men; and in a short time, by remitting some arrears of rent, and by other conciliatory measures, aided by a firmness and mild composure that was neither to be disturbed nor overcome, he prevailed so far in quieting the public discontents, that he ventured to call a meeting of the general assembly. An address of grateful thanks voted by this body to the proprietaries (the first expression of such sentiments that had ever been uttered in Carolina) attests the wisdom of Archdale's administration, and justifies the opinion that notwithstanding the inflammable materials of which the colonial society was composed, only a good domestic government had been hitherto wanting to render the colony flourishing and happy. Moreton, Ludwell, and Smith, were, doubtless, meritorious governors; but they had been denied the power that was requisite to give efficacy to their wisdom, and could never grant the slightest indulgence to the people without assuming the dangerous liberty of violating their commission, or abiding the tedious intervention of a correspondence with England. Though Archdale was a quaker, and therefore opposed to military operations and the shedding of blood, yet he adapted his regulations to the sentiments of the people whose affairs he had undertaken to administer; and considering that a small colony surrounded by savage enemies, and exposed to the attacks of the Spaniards, should hold itself in a state of constant defence, he promoted a militia law, which, however, exempted all persons restrained by religious principles from bearing arms.* He was, at the same time, more desirous of preserving peace than of ensuring victory; and to this purpose exerted himself so successfully, by the exercise of courtesy and liberality, to cultivate the good will both of the civilized and savage neighbors of the province, that the Spaniards at St. Augustine expressed a cordial desire to maintain a good correspondence with the English; and various tribes of Indians embraced their friendship, and placed themselves under the protection of the government of Carolina. The Indians around Cape Fear in particular, who had long pursued the practice of plundering shipwrecked vessels,* and murdering their

* The following clause, by which this exemption was expressed, strongly attests the confidence that Archdale enjoyed, with the colonists. "And whereas there be several inhabitants called quakers, who, upon a conscientious principle of religion cannot bear arms, and because in all other civil matters they have been persons obedient to government, and ever ready to discharge their monies in other necessary and public duties; Be it therefore enacted, that all such whom the present governor John Archdale, Esq. shall judge that they refuse to bear arms on a conscientious principle of religion only, shall, by a certificate from him, be excused." Archdale's Preface, p. 3. Williamson, i. Append. 272.

† It is remarked by a statistical writer (Warden ii. 373,) that notwithstanding the temptations presented by the frequency of shipwreck on the coast of Carolina, no instance has ever occurred of the plunder of a wreck by the colonists. In this respect they have been distinguished, not indeed from the people of the other provinces, but from the inhabitants of the parent state, in which this inhumanity obtained so long and unapproved a prevalence, that in the middle of the eighteenth century, Pope represents the "enrichment" of a citizen of "his or her fame" as originating in two rich shipwrecks on his lands in Cornwall.

crews, renounced, this inhumanity, and evinced the favorable change of their disposition by mitigating with friendly assistance, the numerous disasters by which the navigation of that coast was then unhappily signalized.

In North Carolina, the administration of Archdale was attended with equal success, and conducted with greater facility by the concurrence of a number of quakers who inhabited the northern province, and with whom he enjoyed a large share of personal influence. The esteem in which he was held by all ranks of men may be inferred from the elation with which the historian of North Carolina has recorded, as a circumstance redounding to the honour of this province, that Archdale purchased an estate at Albemarle, and gave one of his daughters in marriage to a planter at Pasquotank. But it was not his intention to remain longer in Carolina than was necessary for the adjustment of the existing controversies; and having effected this object in a degree that had surpassed the expectations of all parties, he returned to England in the close of the year 1696, loaded with the grateful benedictions of a people to whose peace and prosperity he had been so highly instrumental. The only portion of the inhabitants to whom he had been unable to give complete satisfaction, where the French refugees, against whom the jealous antipathy of the English settlers had not yet subsided. But while he soothed the public jealousy by withholding civil rights from the refugees, he awakened public generosity by an impressive recommendation of these unfortunate strangers to the hospitality and compassion of his countrymen; and to the refugees themselves, he recommended a patient perseverance in those virtues that tend to disarm human enmity, and by the exercise of which they were enabled shortly after to overcome the aversion, and even to conciliate the hearty friendship of their fellow colonists.*

It was in this year that a regular administration of the ordinances of religion was first introduced into Carolina by the friendly aid of the colonists of New England. Intelligence of the destitute state of the province, in this respect, seconded by the earnest applications of some of the more religious planters, had induced the New Englanders, in the preceding year, to form an association at Dorchester in Massachusetts, which was designed to be removed to Carolina, "to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations." The persons thus associated, having placed at their head a distinguished minister of the New England churches, arrived in the beginning of this year in Carolina, which now for the first time beheld the celebration of the rites of the Lord's supper. Proceeding to a spot on the north-east bank of Ashley river, about eighteen miles from Charlestown, the pious emigrants founded there a settlement, to which in commemoration of the place they had left, they gave the name of Dorchester.

Among other extraordinary privileges, there had been granted to Archdale the power of nominating his successor; and in the exercise of this power he propagated the benefit of his own administration, by conferring the office of governor on Joseph Blake (nephew of the English admiral, a man of virtue, prudence, and moderation, acceptable to the people, and a proprietary of the province. Blake governed the colony wisely and happily for a period of four years. Shortly after his elevation to office, there was sent out to Carolina a new code of fundamental constitutions, subscribed by the Earl of Bath, who was then palatine, and the other proprietaries in England; but it was never recognised or confirmed by the provincial assembly. Blake appears to have exerted the most laudable endeavors to promote the religious instruction of the people, and to facilitate the exercise of worship to all denominations of christian professors. In the year 1698, he had the satisfaction to see John Cotton, a son of the celebrated minister of Boston, remove from Plymouth, in New England, to Charlestown, in South Carolina, where he gathered a church, and enjoyed a short, but happy and successful ministry. Though Blake was himself a dissenter, yet from regard to the spiritual interests of the episcopalian portion of the inhabitants of Charlestown, he caused a bill to be introduced into the assembly for

† Archdale, 17. 21, 22. Oldmixon, i. 342-345. Hewit, i. 123-137. Williamson, i. 152-158, and Append. 270. Some years after his return to England, Archdale published his Statistical and Historical Description of Carolina, a work replete with so much good sense, benevolence, and piety, that it is surprising it should never have been reprinted. One or two very interesting volumes might be composed by republication of Jewell's and Denton's Travels in New England, Archdale's Carolina, Denton's New York, part of Smith's Virginia, Aslop's Maryland, Wesley's Journal in Georgia, and other tracts relative to the early history of America.

setting a perpetual provision of 150*l.* a year, with a house and other advantages, on the episcopal minister of that city. Marshall, the person who then occupied this ministerial situation, had gained universal regard by his piety and prudence; and the dissenters in the house acquiescing in the measure, from regard to this individual, the bill was passed into a law. Those who think that the dissenters acted amiss, and stretched their liberality beyond the proper confines of this virtue, in thus promoting the national establishment of a church from which they dissented, will regard the persecution they soon after sustained from the episcopal party as a merited retribution for their practical negation of dissenting principles. Those who judge more leniently, an error (if it be such) which there is little reason to suppose will ever be frequent in the world, will regret and condemn the ungrateful return which the dissenters experienced from a party for whose advantage they had incurred so great a sacrifice.

[1700.] With the administration of Blake; who died in the year 1700, ended the short interval of tranquility which had originated with the government of Archdale. Under the rule of his immediate successors, James Moore and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the colony was harrassed with Indian wars, involved in a heavy debt by an ill conducted and fruitless expedition against the Spaniards at Augustine, and agitated by religious disputes originating in a series of persecuting laws against the dissenters. Henceforward the proprietary government continued (with the exception of one returning gleam of success and popularity which it derived from the administration of Charles Craven in 1712) to afflict the province with every variety of misrule, and to fluctuate between the aversion and contempt of its subjects, till they were relieved by its dissolution in the year 1729, when the chief part of the chartered interest was sold to the crown.

The first Indian war by which this period was signalized, broke out in the year [1703.] and was occasioned by the influence of the Spaniards over the tribes that inhabited the region of Apalachia. Exasperated by the insults and injuries which these savages were instigated by the Spaniards to commit, Governor Moore determined by one vigorous effort to break their power, and by a sanguinary example to impress on all the Indian tribes the terror of the English name. At the head of a strong detachment of the colonial militia, reinforced by a body of Indian allies, he marched into the hostile settlements; defeated the enemy with the loss of eight hundred men, who were either killed or taken prisoners; laid waste all the Indian towns between the rivers Altamaha and Savannah; and compelled the whole district of Apalachia to submit to the English government. To effectuate his conquest, he transported fourteen hundred of the Apalachian Indians to the territory which is now denominated Georgia, where they were compelled to dwell in a state of dependence on his government—a measure which appears to have paved the way to the settlement of the English colony which arose about thirty years after in that region.

When the proprietaries of Carolina first undertook their colonial project, they solemnly declared, and caused it to be recorded in their charters, that they were moved to embrace this great design by zeal for the christian faith, and especially for its propagation among the Indian tribes of America. Yet a general provision in favor of toleration, which they permitted Locke to insert as an article of the fundamental constitutions, and which they took care to nullify by another article adjoined to that instrument by themselves, constituted the whole amount of their ecclesiastical operation during the first forty years of the proprietary government. They never at any time made the slightest attempt to fulfil their pledge of communicating instruction to the Indians; and this important field of christian labor was completely unoccupied till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when a few missionaries were sent to Carolina by the society incorporated in England for the propagation of the gospel in foreign countries. No visible fruits of the labors of those missionaries have ever been mentioned. Prior to this, the only European instructions that the Indians received under the auspices of the proprietary government, were communicated by a French dancing master, who settled in Craven county, and acquired a large estate by teaching the savages to dance and play on the flute.*

At the close of the seventeenth century, there were

only three edifices for divine worship erected within the southern province; containing respectively an episcopal, a presbyterian, and a quaker congregation; and all of them situated in the town of Charlestown. Throughout all the rest of the province, there were neither institutions of public worship nor schools for education. The first attempts that were made to supply these defects proceeded not from the proprietaries, but from Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, Compton, Bishop of London, and the society for the propagation of the gospel; but as in most of these attempts the paramount object was plainly to multiply adherents to the institutions of the church of England, they were the less successful among a people of whom many had personally experienced the persecution of this church, and more entertained a hereditary dislike to it. In the year 1707, the society for propagation of the gospel maintained six episcopal ministers in Carolina, and had sent two thousand volumes of books to be distributed gratuitously among the people. In the northern province, which was thinly peopled by colonists professing a great diversity of religious opinions, there was as yet no church at all. An act was passed by its assembly in the year 1702, imposing an assessment of 30*l.* per annum on every precinct, for the maintenance of a minister; and in 1705 and 1706 the first two religious edifices of North Carolina were erected. This northern province had for many years received from the proprietaries the appellation of the *county of Albemarle in Carolina*, and was sometimes, but not always, included in the commission of the governor of the southern settlement. It now came to be termed the colony of North Carolina; and at the dissolution of the proprietary government, was made a separate province with a distinct jurisdiction.

At length, after having so long disregarded the ecclesiastical concerns of the colony, the proprietaries in the beginning of the eighteenth century, turned their attention to this object with a spirit that caused the cessation of their prior indifference to be deeply regretted; and they made their first and last effort to signalize their boasted zeal for christianity, by the demonstration of a temper and the adoption of measures in the highest degree unchristian and tyrannical. The office of palatine was now in the hands of Lord Granville, who entertained the utmost aversion and contempt for dissenters of all descriptions, and had already signalized his bigotry to the church of England, by the zealous and vehement support he had given in parliament to the bill against occasional conformity.* His acquisition of the office of palatine presented him with an opportunity of indulging his favorite sentiments in the regulation of the ecclesiastical polity of Carolina. Contemning the remonstrances, and overruling the opposition of Archdale, he eagerly laid hold of so fair an occasion to exercise his bigotry; and in Moore and Johnson, on whom he successively bestowed the government of the province, he found able and willing instruments for the execution of his arbitrary purpose. These men, notwithstanding the great numerical superiority of the dissenters, by a series of illegal and violent proceedings acquired for themselves and a party of the episcopalian persuasion, a complete ascendancy over the provincial assemblies, which they exercised in the enactment of laws for the advancement of the church of England, and the oppression of every other christian association. After various preparatory measures, which under the impudent pretence of promoting the glory of God, had the effect of banishing every vestige of peace and goodwill from a numerous community of his rational creatures, the episcopal faction at length, in the year 1704, enacted two laws, by one of which the dissenters were deprived of every civil right, and by the other an arbitrary court of high commission (a name of evil import to Englishmen) was erected for the trial of ecclesiastical matters and the preservation of religious uniformity in Carolina. The society for propagation of the gospel, on receiving intelligence of the latter of these enactments, declared their resolution to send no more missionaries to Carolina till it should be repealed. Both the acts, however, having been ratified by the proprietaries, and the complaints of the dissenters treated with derision, these oppressed and insulted men were advised by the merchants of London who traded to the province, to seek redress of their grievances from the supreme power of the state. A petition for this purpose was accordingly presented to the House of Lords, who were struck with surprise and indignation

at the tyrannical insolence of these despotic proprietaries and their provincial officers; and forthwith presented an address to Queen Anne, praying her royal repeal of the obnoxious laws, and recommending that the authors of them should be brought to condign punishment. The lords commissioners of trade, to whom the matter was referred by the queen, reported to her majesty, "that the making such laws was an abuse of the power granted by the charter, and inferred a forfeiture of the same;" adding their humble advice that judicial steps should be adopted for having the forfeiture legally declared, and the government resumed by the crown.* The queen, thereupon, issued an order, declaring the laws that had been complained of null and void, and promised to institute a *quo warranto* against the charter; but this promise was never fulfilled.† It was alleged that the forfeiture of the charter was obstructed by legal difficulties arising from the minority of some of the proprietaries, who could not be made responsible for the acts of the rest; as if the inability of these hereditary rulers of mankind to afford protection to their subjects, had not been the strongest reason why they should be deprived of the power of exacting obedience from them. While incessant attempts were made by the British government to deprive the New England states of the charters by which popular rights were preserved, this fair and legitimate occasion was neglected, of emancipating the people of Carolina from a patent which had confessedly been made subservient to the most odious oppression and intolerance; and even after the proprietaries had publicly declared (as they were soon after constrained to do) that it was not in their power to defend the province against the Indians by whose attacks it was menaced, the proprietary government was suffered to subsist, perhaps with the view of bringing colonial charters into discredit, until it sunk under the weight of its own weakness and incapacity. It was in the year 1706, that the intolerable policy of Lord Granville received this signal check: and, from this period, the dissenters were permitted to enjoy, not indeed the equality, which they had originally been encouraged to expect, but a simple toleration. In the following year, an act of assembly was passed in South Carolina for the establishment of religious worship according to the forms of the church of England; by this act the province was divided into ten parishes, and provision made for building a church in each parish, and for the endowment of its minister. The churches were soon after built, and supplied with ministers by the English Society for the propagation of the gospel.

The progress of population is, if not the most certain, one of the most interesting tests of the prosperity of a state; but it is a test not easily applicable to communities subject, like all the American colonies, to a continual but irregular influx and efflux of people. The population of North Carolina appears to have sustained a severe check from the troubles and confusions that attended Culpepper's insurrection and Sethel's tyranny; inasmuch that, in the year 1691, the list of taxable inhabitants was found to contain only seven hundred and eighty seven names, about half the number that had been in the colony at the commencement of Miller's administration. Frequent emigrations were made from the northern to the southern province; and we must conclude that the diminution of inhabitants ascertained in 1694 had been effected in this manner; since prior to the year 1704, only two persons (a Turk for murder, and an old woman for witchcraft) had been executed in North Carolina—a fact which, considering the violent convulsions that the province had undergone, appears highly creditable to the humanity of the people. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, North Carolina received an accession to its inhabitants, first from a body of French refugees, who removed to it from Virginia, and afterwards from a colony of Germans, who, many years before, had been expelled from their homes by the desolation of the palatinate, and since experienced a great variety of wretchedness and exile. In the year 1710, its whole population amounted to 6000 persons, but of these not 2000 were taxables. There was no court-house in North Carolina before the year 1722; the assemblies and general courts till then being convened in private houses. Printing was unknown in either of the provinces, and the laws were

* This report, among other signatures has that of Prior the poet who was one of the commissioners of trade at the time.

† Oldmixon, i. 347—364. Hewitt, i. 163—177. Preparatory to their address to the queen, the House of Lords passed a resolution containing these remarkable expressions, that the law for enforcing conformity to the church of England in the colony "is an encouragement to atheism and irreligion, destructive to trade, and tends to ruin and depopulation of the province."

* Hewitt, i. 227. Oldmixon, i. 379. Oldmixon was struck with the singularity of French dancing masters and musicians being admitted, caressed, and enriched at the same time by the nobility and gentry of London and the savage aborigines of America.

* This was a bill imposing severe penalties on any person, who having conformed so far to the church of England as to entitle him to hold a civil office, should ever after attend a dissenting place of worship. It did not pass into a law.

published by oral proclamation. Debts and rents were generally made payable in hides, tallow, furs, or other productions of the country. In the year 1705, it was enacted by law that marriages should be celebrated by the ministers of religion; but magistrates were permitted to perform this office in parishes unprovided with ministers. The executive power within the province was feeble and inefficient; partly in consequence of the state of dispersion and the lazy plenty in which the bulk of the inhabitants lived, and partly from the worthless or insignificant characters of many of the executive officers.* In the year 1709, Cary, the collector of the proprietary quit-rents, resolving to appropriate the amount of his collections, found it easy, with the aid of a few idle and dissolute partisans, to maintain himself in a state of opposition to the proprietary government, and suspend the operations of justice. The people, though they neither approved nor abetted his lawless proceeding, offered no resistance to it; and the governor, unable to reduce him to obedience, made application for assistance from Virginia, where some regular troops were quartered at the time. On the approach of a small party of these forces, Cary fled the colony, and his partisans dispersed. In the year 1712, this province sustained a severe and dangerous blow from a conspiracy of the Coree and Tuscorora tribes of Indians, who, resenting a real or supposed encroachment on their hunting lands, formed an alliance and project, with amazing secrecy and guile, for the total destruction of the European settlement. A general attack, in which a hundred and thirty-seven of the colonists were massacred in one night,† gave the first intelligence of their hostility. Happily, the alarm was given before the work of destruction had proceeded farther; and, after an obstinate resistance, the colonists were able to keep the enemy in check till a powerful force was despatched to their assistance by the governor and assembly of the southern province. An expedition was then undertaken by the combined forces of the two provinces against the hostile Indians, who were defeated with great slaughter, and compelled to abandon the country. The assembly of South Carolina voted 4000*l.* for the service of this war; and, during the continuance of it, the assembly of the northern province was compelled to issue 8000*l.* in bills of credit. A few months after its termination, North Carolina showed her willingness to repay the reasonable aid she had derived from the sister province, and despatched a body of troops to her assistance against a hostile movement of the Indians in that quarter. During the war in North Carolina, the people fled from the province in such numbers, that to prevent its total desertion, a law was passed, prohibiting any one from quitting its territory without a passport from the governor. In confirmation of this edict, the governor of Virginia issued a proclamation, commanding that all fugitives from Carolina without a passport should be apprehended and compelled to return.

The population of South Carolina, in the year 1700, is said to have amounted to no more than 5500 persons, a computation probably short of the truth. In the year 1723, it amounted to 32000, including 18000 slaves. For several years after the colonization of the territory, there were very few negro slaves in Carolina; but the demand for them was increased by the increasing cultivation of rice, which was thought too unhealthy and laborious for European constitutions; and the slave ships of Great Britain, encouraged the demand by the readiness with which they supplied it. At the close of the seventeenth century, Charlestown was already a flourishing town, containing several handsome edifices, a public library, and a population of 3000 souls—more than half of the total population of

* In 1701, Porter indicted a man for calling him "a cheating rogue." The defendant justified the words, and, proving that they were properly applied, was acquitted, and allowed his costs from the prosecutor. Yet, a few years after, Porter was appointed a proprietary deputy and member of council. Williamson, i. 203, 210. In 1726, Burrington, who had previously held the office of governor, and afterwards held it again, was indicted for defamation, in saying of the existing governor, Sir Richard Everard, that "he was no more fit for a governor than Sanchez Panza," and for seriously threatening to scalp "his d—d thick skull." *Ib.* ii. 228. Two years after, the grand jury present Sir Richard the governor for having with his cane twice or thrice struck George Allen." *Ib.* 241.

† The Indians took a number of prisoners on this occasion, among whom were John Lawson, author of a descriptive account, which has been improperly termed a History of Carolina, and who had been appointed surveyor-general of the province, and Baron Graffenried, the leader of the palatine emigrants. Lawson was murdered at leisure by the savages; but Graffenried extorted himself from the same fate, for which he had been deigned, by declaring that he was the king of a distinct tribe, lately arrived in the province, and totally unconnected with the English.

the province. No printing press was established in Carolina till thirty years after.

When the difficulties attending the establishment of the first settlers in Carolina had been in some degree overcome, the fertility of the soil, the cheapness of provisions, and the agreeableness and general salubrity of the climate, afforded the highest encouragement to national increase. Families of ten and twelve children were frequently seen in the houses of the colonists at the close of the seventeenth century; and though some parts of both the provinces were for a time infected with severe epidemical diseases, and others still continue to be unfavorable to health at particular seasons, yet the statistical accounts and the registers of mortality amply demonstrate that the climate of the whole region is in the main highly conducive to the preservation, as well as the production of life. The salubrity of these, as well as of the other colonial settlements, has been greatly promoted by the progress of industry, in opening the woods, draining the marshes, and confining the streams within a certain channel. Yet the influence of cultivation has been by no means uniformly favorable to health in the Carolinas; and much of the disease with which they are afflicted at certain seasons is ascribed to the periodical inundations which the culture of the rice lands requires.*

During the infant state of the colony, the proprietaries sold the land at twenty shillings for every hundred acres, and sixpence of quit rent. They raised the price in the year 1634 to thirty shillings; and in 1711, to forty shillings for every hundred acres, and one shilling of quit rent. Lawson, who travelled through Carolina in the year 1700, celebrates the courtesy and hospitality of the planters; but represents an aversion to labor, and a negligent contentment with present advantages, as qualities very prevalent among them. Fruit, he says, was so plentiful that the hogs were fed with peaches.† The Carolinians have always been characterized by a taste for idleness, and a strong predilection for the sports of the field. The disposition that was evinced at a very early period of the history of these provinces, to treat insolvent debtors with extreme indulgence, has continued ever since to be a feature in their legislation, and has been thought to encourage a loose and improvident aptitude to contract debts. The most serious evils with which the two provinces have been afflicted have arisen from the abuse of spirituous liquors, the neglect of education, and the existence of negro slavery. It was long before institutions for the education of youth were generally established in Carolina; the benefits of knowledge were confined entirely to the sons of wealthy planters, who were sent to the colleges of Europe, or to the seminaries in the more northern states; and the consequent ignorance of the great bulk of the people, together with the influence of a warm climate, and the prevalent aversion to industry (increased by the pride which the possession of slaves inspires, and the discredit which slavery brings on labor), promoted an intemperate use of ardent spirits, which contributed additionally to deprave their sentiments, habits, and manners. It was in North Carolina that all the evils which I have enumerated (except those arising from negro slavery, and which are more deplorable perhaps than all the rest) prevailed longest and most extensively.‡ The improvement that after times have witnessed in all these respects, has been considerable in both the provinces; and the inhabitants of South Carolina, in particular, have long been distinguished for the cultivation of literature, the elegance of their manner, and their polite hospitality.

In every community where slavery exists, the treatment which the slaves experience will be regulated in no small degree by the proportion which they bear to the numbers of the free, and the apprehensions which they may consequently be capable of inspiring. No passion has a more dreadful or insatiable appetite, or prompts to more unrelenting cruelty, than fear; and no

* Warden, ii. 374, 415. Dr. Williamson (vol. ii. cap. 13) has clearly proved that the immediate effects of the extirpation of wood in Carolina have always been unfriendly to health, "from the exposure to the sun of a surface of fresh land covered with vegetable produce in a state of decay."

† Lawson, p. 63, 83, 184. Archibald (p. 7.) speaks in nearly the same terms of the fertility of Carolina. Bloomer (p. 133) states, that the province, in 1636, contained many wealthy persons, who had retired to it in a state of great indigence.

‡ In March, 1730, the grand jury of Albemarle presented thirty-six persons, viz. seven for drunkenness, eight for profane swearing, seven for breaking the sabbath, four for adultery, five for stealing or misappropriating hogs, three for breaking the peace, and two for selling liquor without license." Williamson, i. 211. It was an unfortunate supposition (whether well or ill founded) that was at one time entertained, that the water of Carolina possessed deleterious qualities which an infusion of rum was necessary to counteract.

apprehension can be more selfish or more provocative of inhumanity, than that which is inspired in men's bosoms by the danger of retaliation for the injustice which they are continuing to inflict. In South Carolina, for a very considerable period, the number of the slaves bore a greater proportion to that of the whole population than in any other of the North American colonies. From the year 1720 till the year 1765, the slaves in this state continued greatly and increasingly to outnumber the white inhabitants.* The consequence of this state of things was, that the slaves of the South Carolina planters were treated with extreme severity; and, in the year 1739, they formed a conspiracy for a general massacre of their masters, and proceeded to carry their design into effect by a dangerous insurrection, which was suppressed with the utmost difficulty, and punished by an exacerbation of the cruelty that had provoked it. The discontents of the slaves in this state proved a formidable auxiliary to the hostile designs of the neighbouring Spaniards, who were not wanting in endeavors to turn it to their advantage. After the American revolution the further importation of slaves into South Carolina was forbidden by law;† and the proportion between the freemen and the slaves underwent a change highly promotive of the security and humanity of the one, and of the comfort and consideration enjoyed by the other.‡ Neither here nor in any other country with whose history I am acquainted, have the protestant episcopal clergy ever distinguished themselves by exertions to mitigate the evils of slavery. Wherever a protestant episcopal church has been established by law, the only ministers of the gospel who have shown themselves the friends of the outcasts of the human race, have been methodists, Moravians, or dissenters of some other denomination. It has not been so in countries where the catholic church has prevailed. The priests of this persuasion have always constituted themselves the defenders and patrons of Indians and negro slaves. Perhaps this has arisen in part from the peculiarities of sentiment and habit by which the catholic priests are separated from the rest of mankind, and which may lessen in their estimation the differences of temporal condition by which the laity are distinguished.

It does not appear from the earlier annals of Carolina in what manner the provincial assemblies were constituted, or to what amount of property political franchises were attached. All the executive officers were nominated by the proprietaries, who specified the amount of the salaries in the warrants of appointment. Such was the difficulty of collecting money or produce, especially in the northern colony, that the proprietaries were frequently obliged to grant assignments of lands or quit rents to their officers in order to secure the performance of their duties. Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who was appointed governor of Carolina in the year 1702, received a warrant for a salary of 200*l.* a year. The other cotemporary officers had salaries of which the highest was 60*l.*, and the lowest 40*l.* a year. The governor's salary was doubled in the year 1717.

Carolina, by its amazing fertility in animal and vegetable produce, was enabled, from an early period, to carry on a considerable trade with Jamaica, Barbadoes, and the leeward islands, which, at the close of the seventeenth century, are said to have depended in a great measure on this colony for their means of sub-

* From Warden's population tables, it appears that, in the year 1734, they outnumbered the freemen in the proportion of 4 to 1; a relative proportion never at any other time known in an American province, though far short of what prevails in many of the British West India settlements.

† Indeed, a law to the same effect had been enacted by the assembly of South Carolina several years before the revolution; but it was disallowed by the royal governor as contrary to the policy, and injurious to the trade of Great Britain.

‡ Wynne, ii. 541.—543. Hewitt, ii. 14, 72—74, 93—97. Warden, ii. 413, 436. Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province and the manners of its inhabitants. Slaves are, or till very lately were, burned alive for murder, burglary, or fire raising. In the year 1809, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market place in Charlestown. Bristed's "America and her Resources," p. 155. "The grand jury of Charlestown, for the term of January, 1816, reported, as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control as masters and mistresses indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves, &c. &c." and thereby bringing on the community, the state, and the city the contumely and reproach of the civilized world." Warden, ii. 437. They who entertain such a sense of the evil, will, it may be hoped, in time find a cure for it.

What strange inconsistencies may coexist with even the worst evils of slavery, is strikingly evinced in the life of that distinguished Roman who united all the abstractions and refinements of Pithagorean philosophy with the most odious inhumanity to his slaves. Plutarch's Life of Marcus Cato.

sistance. Its staple commodities were rice, tar, and, afterwards, indigo. Oldmixon, whose history was published in the year 1708, observes, that the trade of the colony with England had of late obtained a great increase; "for notwithstanding all the discouragements the people lie under," he adds, "seventeen ships came last year laden from Carolina with rice, skins, pitch, and tar, in the Virginia fleet, besides straggling ships."

By an act that was passed in the year 1715, every planter of Carolina was ordered to purchase and enclose a burial ground for all persons dying on his estate; and, before interment of any corpse, to call in at least three or four of his neighbours to view it, for the purpose of further enquiry in case of any suspicious appearance. It has been noted, from an early period, as a peculiarity in the manners of many of the American provinces, that funerals are conducted with a degree of pomp and expense unknown to the usages of Europe. In some of the states, laws were enacted from time to time to restrain this vain and ill-timed prodigality. In none of them has it been carried to a greater extreme than in South Carolina, where the interment of the dead has been generally combined with a luxurious entertainment and a profusion of good cheer to the living.*

BOOK V. NEW YORK. CHAPTER I.

Hudson's Voyage of Discovery—First Settlement of the Dutch at Albany—The Province granted by the States-General to the West India Company of Holland—The Dutch Colonists extend their Settlements into Connecticut—Disputes with the New England Colonies—De'aware first colonized by the Swedes—War between the Dutch and Indians—Further disputes with New England—Designs of Charles the Second—Alarm and Efforts of the Dutch Governor—The Province granted by Charter to the Duke of York—Invaded by an English Fleet—Surrounders—Wise Government of Colonel Nichols—Holland cedes New York to England—recaptures it—finally cedes it again—New Charter granted to the Duke of York—Arbitrary Government of Andros—Discontent of the Colonists—The Duke consents to give New York a Free Constitution.

NEW YORK is distinguished from the other colonial settlements whose history we have already considered, both by the race of its first European settlers, and the mode of its annexation to the dominion of Britain. In all the other provinces, the first colonists were Englishmen, and the several occupations of American territory and corresponding extensions of the British empire, were the enterprises of English subjects, impelled by the spirit of commercial adventure, inflamed with religious zeal, or allured by ambitious expectation. The people of England had derived, in all these instances, an increase of their commercial resources, and the crown an enlargement of its dominion, from the acts of private individuals, sanctioned no doubt by the appropriation of public authority, but wholly unaided by the funds or forces of the community. But the territory of New York was originally colonized, not from England, but from Holland; and the incorporation of it with the rest of the British dominions was effected, not by settlement, but by conquest; not by the enterprise of individuals, but by the forces of the state. It is a singularity still more worthy of remark, and illustrative of the slender influence of human views and purposes in the pre-adjustment and connection of events, that this military conquest proved the means of establishing a colony of quakers in America; and the sword of Charles the Second, in conquering an appanage for his bigot brother, prepared a tranquil establishment in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, for the votaries of peace, toleration, and philanthropy.

The pretensions of the Dutch to this territory were certainly, from the first, more consistent with natural justice than with the law of nations, and the privilege which it attaches to priority of discovery. For if, on the one hand, the voyage of Cabot, and his general and indefinite visitation of the North American continent, preceded by more than a century the occurrence from which the Dutch occupation originated, there seems, on the other hand, a monstrous disregard of the rights of human nature, in maintaining that a claim, so precariously constituted, could subsist so long unexercised, and that a navigator, by casually approaching North America, in a vain and erroneous search of a passage to the Indies, should acquire, for his countrymen, a right to prevent the whole continent from being inhabited for more than an hundred years.

The prior right of England (yet unrecognized by the rest of the world) had produced no other permanent occupation than a feeble settlement on the distant territory of James River in Virginia; which had now subsisted for two years, when Henry Hudson, an Englishman, employed by the East India Company of Holland, set sail [1609] from the Texel for the discovery of a north-west passage to India. Having attempted in vain to accomplish the object of his voyage, he steered for Cape Cod, and entered the bay of Chesapeake, where he remarked the infant settlement of the English. He afterwards anchored his vessel off the Delaware, and proceeding thence to Long Island, sailed up the river Manhattan, on whose banks the chief fruit of his enterprise were destined to grow. Some authors have asserted that he sold his right to this territory to the Dutch; but the assertion is equally unproved and improbable; as he could convey to them no right which the voyage did not vest by a much better title in themselves. Several voyages were afterwards made from Holland to the river Manhattan, which, at first, was called the North River, but, in process of time, received the name of the able and enterprising navigator, by whom, if not originally discovered, it had been introduced for the first time to the acquaintance of the Dutch. This people now conceived that they had acquired a sufficient title to the adjacent territory, which they distinguished by the name of Nova Belgia, or New Netherlands.* The depending or recent conflicts of rival provinces, and even rival nations, lent at one time to all the circumstances attending the first occupation of this territory, an interest which they have long ceased to possess, except in the estimation of antiquarians.

The favorable report that Hudson had given of the country having been confirmed by subsequent voyages, a body of Dutch merchants embraced the resolution of establishing a trading settlement within its confines; [1614] and the States General promoted the enterprise by granting them a patent for the exclusive trade of Hudson's river. Encouraged by this act of favor they proceeded, in the course of the same year, to appropriate a small portion of ground on the western bank of the river near Albany, where they erected a fort, and intrusted the government of the place to one Henry Christiaens. This feeble settlement had scarcely been established, when it was invaded by a Virginian squadron, commanded by Captain Argal, and returning from the conquest of the French possessions in the bay of Fundy. Argal claimed the territory occupied by the Dutch, as appertaining of right to the British dominion in America; and the governor was compelled to obey a summons of surrender, and to stipulate allegiance to England, and tribute and subordination to the government of Virginia. The states of Holland had too recently established an independence promoted by the aid, and recognised by the mediation of Great Britain, to make this outrage the cause of quarrel with a powerful ally, whose assistance they could not yet deem themselves strong enough to dispense with. They forbore, therefore, to take any notice of Argal's hostile proceedings: and it is even asserted by some

* Purchas, iii. 351, &c. Charlevoix, Hist. of New France, i. 221. Oldmixon, i. 117. Stith's Virginia, 75. Douglass's Summary, i. 231. Smith's History of New York, p. 2, 3. All these writers, except the first two, represent Hudson's Voyage as having been performed in 1609, and under the authority of a British commission. But they are all mistaken. They seem not to have been aware of the existence of any other authority, for the account which I have preferred, but that of Charlevoix; and Smith's opinion is obviously not a little influenced by the circumstance of Charlevoix being a French Jesuit, while Stith, who contradicts him, was an English, or at least a Virginian protestant minister. But the journals of all the voyages of Hudson are preserved in Purchas's collection; and they confirm Charlevoix, and contain the account I have adopted. From these journals also we may discover the cause of the error committed originally by Oldmixon, and from him transmitted to Stith and the others. Hudson's second Voyage, in which he visited Nova Zembla, was made from London in 1608, and with an English commission. This has evidently been confounded with his third voyage in 1609 from the Texel. The employment of Hudson, and the date of his voyage, are correctly represented in a new work, of which the first part has been very recently published.—The History of New York, by John Yates and Joseph Moulton, vol. i. part i. 202, 203.

This point has been the more eagerly contested, that some timid or servile civilians have doubted, if Holland, whose independence was not acknowledged by Spain till the beginning of 1603, could be regarded as previously admitted into the community of sovereign states, and capable of deriving rights from the laws of nations. Sounder jurists, and more manly thinkers, have adjudged, indeed, that this privilege accrues to a people from the time when they publicly assert a claim to independence, which, though partially denied for a while, they finally succeed in causing to be generally recognized. But this doctrine is not necessary to the support of the interest of the Dutch in Hudson's discovery, which was some months posterior to the treaty with Spain.

writers, that, in answer to a complaint by the British courts, of their intrusion into America, they denied that the settlement had been established by their authority, and represented it as the private act of a company of merchants. The same writers have alleged, that the Dutch, at the same time, besought the king to permit a few trading houses to be erected within his territories on Hudson's river, and that a permission to this extent was actually obtained. Whatever truth or falsehood there may be in these statements, it is certain that, in the year following [1615] Argal's invasion, a new governor, Jacob Elkin, having arrived at the fort with an additional complement of settlers, the claim of the English to the stipulated dependence was forthwith defied, and the payment of tribute successfully resisted. For the better protection of their independence, the colonists now erected another fort on the south-west point of Long Island: and two others were afterwards built at Good Hope, on Connecticut river, and at Nassau, on the east side of Delaware Bay. They continued for a series of years, in unmolested tranquility, to mature their settlement, enlarge their numbers, and, by the exercise of their national virtues of patience and industry, to subdue the first difficulties and hardships of an infant colony.*

The states of Holland finding their commerce enlarge with the continuance of freedom and the enjoyment of peace, and observing that their subjects had succeeded in preserving the footing they had gained on Hudson's river, began to form the project of improving this settlement, and rendering it the basis of more general and extended colonization in America. With this purpose was combined the scheme of their celebrated West India Company, which was established in the year 1620, and to which, in pursuance to their invariable policy, of colonizing by the agency of exclusive companies, it was determined to commit the administration of New Netherlands. They seemed to have watched, with an attentive eye, the proceedings of the English puritan exiles at Leyden, and viewed with alarm their projected migration to the banks of Hudson's river. [16] Unable or unwilling to obstruct the design by an opposition which would have involved an immediate collision with the pretensions of Britain, they defeated it by bribing the Dutch captain, with whom the emigrants sailed, to convey them so far to the northward, that their plantation was finally formed in the territory of Massachusetts. This fraudulent proceeding, though it prevented a rival settlement from being established on Hudson's river discredited their own title to this territory, and proportionably enforced the title of Great Britain, which, in the same year, was again distinctly asserted and exercised by the grant of king James's patent to the grand council of Plymouth. The Plymouth patent, however, which was declared void in the following year by the English House of Commons, and surrendered a few years after by the patentees, seemed as little entitled to respect abroad as to favor at home; for, even if its disregard of the Dutch occupation should not be supposed to infringe the law of nations, it unquestionably merited this reproach by appropriating territories where the French, in virtue of previous charters from their sovereign, had already established the settlements of Acadia and Canada. The nullity of the Plymouth patent, in this last particular, was tacitly acknowledged by Charles the First, in 1630, when, at the treaty of St. Germain, he restored the French provinces which his arms had conquered in the preceding year. Whether the States of Holland considered the patent equally unavailing against their rights or not, they appear to have made a grant of the country which was now called New Netherlands to their West India Company, in the following year, [1621]—the very year in which the English House of Commons protested against a similar patent of the same territory by their own monarch, as inconsistent with the general rights of their countrymen, and the true interests of trade. If the States General, or the colonists of Hudson's river, were acquainted with this parliamentary proceeding, they made more account of the benefit that might accrue from it to their territorial claim, than of the rebuke it might be thought to convey to their commercial policy. Under the management of the West India Company, the settlement was soon both consolidated and extended. The city of New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York, was built on York Island,

* Winterbottom, iii. 255. "In short, the scripture observation, It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting, is inimitable, and wholly inapplicable here, as it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other."

* Oldmixon, i. 118. Stith, 133. Wynne, i. 170. Smith, 2, 3. See Note 16, at the end of the volume. In the year 1634, the exports from New Netherlands were "four thousand beavers and seven hundred otters estimated at 27,150 guilders." Hazard, i. 397.

then known by the name of Manhattan; and at the distance of a hundred and fifty miles higher up the Hudson, was laid the foundation of the city of Albany.*

What was the precise extent of territory claimed by the Dutch, as comprehended within their colony of New Netherlands, has been differently represented even by their own writers, some of whom have not scrupled to maintain that it embraced the whole country from Virginia to Canada. Whatever was its titular extent, which was probably unknown to the colonists themselves, they proceeded to enlarge their occupation far beyond their immediate use, and, by their intrusion into the Connecticut and Delaware territories, laid the foundation of their future disputes with the colonies of New England. While these powerful neighbours as yet possessed no other establishment but the small settlement of Plymouth, to which the artifice of the Dutch had consigned the English emigrants from Leyden, the local authorities of New Amsterdam attempted to cultivate a friendly, or at least a commercial correspondence with the English colony; and for this purpose despatched their secretary Rosier with a congratulatory communication to the governor of Plymouth. [1627.] The English, from whose memory the fraud that had deprived them of a settlement at Hudson's river had not banished the recollection of Dutch hospitality at Leyden, received with much courtesy the felicitations of their successful rivals on the courageous struggle they had maintained with the difficulties of their situation; and as some years had yet to relapse before Massachusetts became populous, and before the English establishments in Connecticut were begun, the Dutch colonists were enabled to flatter themselves that their stratagem would not be resented, nor their settlements disturbed. They seem to have been aware of the reluctance of their government to exhibit publicly a title derogatory to the pretensions of Britain, and to have endeavoured to counteract the restraint which this policy might impose on their future acquisitions by the energy of their immediate occupation. Their first settlement was effected, apparently, without any equitable remuneration to the Indian proprietors of the land; and hence perhaps arose those dissensions with the Indians which afterwards produced a great deal of bloodshed. But when they extended their appropriations to Connecticut and Delaware, they were careful to facilitate their admission by purchasing the territory from its savage owners.† If their policy really was (as we may reasonably suppose, though we cannot positively assert), to supply a defective, or at least non-apparent title, by extent and priority of occupation, it was completely disappointed by the event; and when New England and Maryland began to be filled with inhabitants, the Dutch at length discovered that the early and immediate extent of their occupation only served to bring their rights the sooner into collision with the pretensions of neighbours more powerful than themselves; and to direct a severer scrutiny into a title which they were unable to produce, which their detected stratagem had contributed to discredit, and which the length of their possession was yet unable to supply. These disagreeable results were not experienced till after the lapse of several years of uninterrupted peace; and during the administration of Wouter Van Twiller, [1629] who arrived at Fort Amsterdam as the first governor appointed by the West India Company,‡ the Dutch colonists appear to have enjoyed a state of calm and mono-

tonous ease. This state afforded no materials for history, and served but indifferently to prepare them for their impending contentions with men whose frames and spirits had undergone the discipline of those severe trials that befel the first settlers in New England.*

[1634] It was near the close of Van Twiller's administration, that the English colonists extended their settlements beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts into the territory of Connecticut: an intrusion which the Dutch governor resented no farther than by causing his commissary, Van Culet, to intimate a harmless protest against it. He was succeeded in the following year [1637] by William Kieft, a man of enterprise and ability, but choleric and imperious in temper, unfortunate in conduct, and more fitted to encounter with spirit than to stem with prudence the sea of troubles that now began on all sides to invade the possessions of the Dutch. These colonists now experienced a total change in the complexion of their fortune; and their history for many subsequent years is little else than a chronicle of their struggles and contentions with the English, the Swedes, and the Indians. [1635] Kieft's administration commenced, as his predecessor's had concluded, with a protest against the advancing settlements of Connecticut and New Haven, accompanied by a prohibition of the trade which the English were carrying on in the neighbourhood of the fort of Good Hope. His reputation for ability, and the vigor of his remonstrance, excited at first some alarm in the English inhabitants of Connecticut, who had originally made their advances into this territory in equal ignorance of the proximity and the pretensions of the Dutch; but, quickly convinced that their imperious rival had no title to the country from which he pretended to exclude them, and encouraged by promises of assistance from the other New England colonies, they disregarded his remonstrance, and not only retained their settlements, but two years after [1640] compelled the Dutch garrison to evacuate the fort of Good Hope, and appropriated this plantation to themselves. This aggression, though passively endured, was loudly lamented by the Dutch, who, notwithstanding the increase of their numbers, and the spirit of their governor, displayed a helplessness in their contentions with the English, which if partly occasioned by the enervating influence of a long period of tranquility, seems also to have been promoted by secret distrust of the validity of their claim to the territories they had most recently occupied. It is certain, at least, that the Dutch were not always so forbearing; and an encroachment which their title enabled them more conscientiously to resist, was soon after repelled by Kieft, with a vigor and success which he was not often enabled to display. Lord Stirling, who had obtained a grant of Long Island from the Plymouth Company, transferred a considerable portion of it to certain of the inhabitants of New England, who had removed to their new acquisition in the year 1639, and, unmolested by the Dutch, whose settlements were confined to the opposite quarter, they had peaceably inhabited the eastern part of the island. Having received a considerable accession to their numbers, they at length proceeded to take possession of the western quarter; but from this station they were promptly dislodged by Kieft, who drove them back to the other end of the island, where they built the town of Southampton, [1642] and subsisted as a dependency of Connecticut,

till they were united to the state of New York on the fall of the Dutch dominion in North America.*

Kieft, in the same year, equipped two sloops, which he despatched on an expedition against a body of English who had penetrated from the settlements in Maryland into a district within the Delaware territory, the whole of which was claimed by the Dutch, but had been included in the charter obtained by Lord Baltimore from Charles the First. As the number of these emigrants from Maryland was inconsiderable, and they were totally unprepared to defend their possession against this unexpected attack, they were easily dislodged by the forces of Kieft. But there still remained in another quarter of Delaware a different race of settlers who, without any legal claim whatever to the territory they occupied, possessed a strength that proved of more avail to them than the formal title of the English. This was a colony of Swedes, of whose settlements in this corner of North America very few particulars have been transmitted by history. Their enterprise appears to have originated in the year 1626, when Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, having received a magnificent account of the country adjacent to the Dutch settlement of New Netherlands, issued a proclamation exhorting his subjects to associate for the establishment of a colony in that region. Considerable sums are said to have been raised accordingly by contribution; and a number of Swedes and Fins emigrated in the year 1627 to America. They first landed at Cape Henlopen, at the entrance of Delaware Bay, and were so much charmed with its aspect that they gave it the name of Paradise Point. Some time after, they purchased from the natives all the land between that cape and the falls of Delaware; and maintaining little connexion with their parent state, but addicting themselves exclusively to agricultural occupations, they had possessed their new settlement without challenge or interruption, till Kieft assumed the government of New Netherlands.† Several of the Swedish colonists were scalped and killed, and in some instances, their children were stolen from them by the Indians. Yet, in general the two races lived on friendly terms together, and no war seems ever to have arisen between them. The Indians sometimes attended the religious assemblies of the Swedes; but with so little edification, that they expressed their amazement that one man should detain his tribe with such lengthened harangues without offering to entertain them with brandy. One of the earliest of Kieft's proceedings had been to protest against the intrusion of the Swedes, and vainly to urge their departure from a territory which he assured them his countrymen had purchased with their blood. But as the Dutch discovered no inclination to purchase it over again at the same expense, the Swedes, unavowed by this governor's power, paid no regard whatever to his remonstrances. A war, as it has been called, subsisted between the two communities for several years; but though attended with a plentiful reciprocation of rancor, it was unproductive of bloodshed. At the treaty of Stockholm, in 1650, Sweden and Holland forbore to make any allusion to colonial disputes or American territory;‡ and the two colonies being left to adjust their pretensions between themselves,§ their animosities

* Oldmixon, i. 118. Smith, 3. Chalmers, 363, 370. Chalmers questions the existence of the grant to the Dutch West India Company altogether. Though frequently referred to by Dutch writers, and by the governors of New Netherlands, it has never been published; and it was not until eight years after, that the West India Company sent out Van Twiller to assume the government in their behalf. But the authorities cited by Smith (p. 11), together with various circumstances in the subsequent history, seem to me to render Chalmers' doubts unreasonable. That the principal deed of grant was not at first transmitted to America, is no more than from its nature we should be led to expect. Its proper depository was in the archives of the Company in Holland. That no authenticated copy was sent, seems to have proceeded from the timorous and temporizing policy of the States-General.

† Smith, p. 3. This is the assertion of the Dutch writers; and though Kieft, the governor of New Netherlands in 1635, declared in his remonstrance against the Swedish occupants of Delaware, that the possessions claimed by the Dutch there "had been sealed by their blood," (Smith, p. 4) the two statements may be perfectly consistent with each other.

‡ Wyne (vol. i. p. 173) ascribes the appointment of Elkin, the predecessor of Van Twiller, to the West India Company. Oldmixon supposes Christians also to have been appointed by this corporation, which did not exist until several years after the appointment of them both. This may be easily explained by supposing, that it was the same merchants originally associated as patentees of the trade of Hudson's river, who were afterwards incorporated as the members of the West India Company.

* The only fact that has been recorded, as illustrative of Van Twiller's administration, is the style of government evinced in his patents of land, which commenced after this manner. "We, directors and council, residing in New Netherlands, on the Island of Manhattan, (York Island), under the government of their High Mightinesses, the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West India Company," Smith, p. 3.

† The Dutch preserved, for a series of years, a very minute and formal record of the grievances which they laid to the charge of the English Colonists. The insignificance of many of these complaints, and the homeliness of the subject-matter of others, contrast somewhat ludicrously with the pompousness of the titles and the bitter gravity of the style. The following are some extracts from this singular chronicle:—"21st April, 1640. Those of Hartford have not only usurped and taken in the lands of Connecticut, &c. but have also beaten the servants of the High and Mighty and Honored Company with sticks and plough-taves in hostile manner laming them: and, among the rest, struck Ever Duckings a hole in his head with a stick so that the blood ran very strongly down his body." "24th June, 1641. Some of Hartford have taken a hog out of the common, and shut it up out of mere hate or other prejudice, causing it to starve for hunger in the sty." "23rd May, 1642. The English of Hartford have violently cut loose a horse of the Honored Company that stood bound upon the common." "23. The said English did again drive the Company's hogs from the common into the village, and grounded them." "16th September, 1642. Again they sold a young pig, which had pastured on the Company's land." Hazard, vol. ii. p. 234, 265, 295.

* Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 121. Smith, p. 2-5. Chalmers, p. 370, 371. Trumbull's Connecticut, vol. i. p. 113, 114, 148. The histories of these events, by Oldmixon, Smith, and Chalmers, are exceedingly confused, and in some points erroneous. Their chronology, in particular, is remarkably careless. Trumbull is always distinguished by the accuracy of his statements, but not less distinguished by his partiality. Here, in particular, he relates with great fidelity all the offences of the Dutch, but passes over in total silence every charge of this people against the English.

† The Swedish government appears to have made some attempt to obtain a recognition of its right to the territory. An application to this effect was made by Oxenstiern, the Swedish ambassador to the court of England; but though the Swedes alleged that the application was successful, and the validity of their occupation admitted, no proof of this averment was ever produced. Not less improbable was a pretence they seemed to have urged, of having purchased the claim of the Dutch. Samuel Smith's History of New Jersey, p. 23. This is a work of extreme rarity, and has been confounded by some writers with Smith's History of New York. The copy of which I have been enabled to peruse is in the library of George Dillwyn, Esq. It contains much curious matter, but is written in a very confused, tiresome manner.

‡ Smith, 5. Holmes's American Annals, i. 199. Professor Kolm's travels in North America, v. d. ii. p. 113, 118. Douglas, ii. 221. Chalmers, 372, 631, 632. Chalmers unfortunately seems to relax his usual accuracy when he considers his topics insignificant; and from this defect, as well as the peculiarities of his style, it is sometimes difficult to discover his meaning, or reconcile his inconsistency in different passages. Douglas's "Summary," which is replete with prejudice and partiality when it treats of New England states, is very frequently inaccurate when it travels beyond them.

§ Trumbull represents the Dutch and Swedish governors in 1642, as "making in a crafty design" to exclude an inhabitant of New Haven from trading at Delaware.

subsidized into an unfriendly peace. Even this degree of good neighborhood did not subsist for many years.

Meanwhile, numberless causes of dispute were continually occurring between New Netherlands and the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven; and the English, who had formerly been the parties complained of, now became the complainers. They charged the Dutch with disturbing, kidnapping, and plundering their traders; with enticing servants to rob and desert from their masters; and with selling arms and ammunition to the natives. The unfriendly relations that subsisted between the Dutch themselves and the Indians, would render this last charge against them extremely improbable, if it were not known that their countrymen in Europe have, on various occasions, manufactured and sold to their enemies the cannon balls which they knew were to be fired back into their own towns. To all these complaints, the English could obtain no other answer from Kieft but haughty reproaches and angry recriminations; and it was partly from suspicion of his designs, and for the purpose of defending themselves against them, though chiefly, no doubt, for their own security against Indian hostility, that the New England colonies were induced to form the scheme of the federal union, which they carried into effect in the year 1643. That the complaints of the English against Kieft were by no means unfounded, may be strongly inferred from the fact, that the succeeding governor of New Netherlands, though warmly attached to the cause of his countrymen, declined to make any answer to these charges, and desired that he might not be held responsible for them. And yet notwithstanding their mutual disagreements, the Dutch and English colonists never suffered themselves to forget entirely either the forms of courtesy, or the more substantial rights of humanity. Kieft, perhaps with more politeness than sincerity, congratulated the united colonies on the league they had formed; and when, in the course of the same year he applied to New Haven for assistance against the Indians, with whom he was engaged in a bloody and dangerous war, the government of this colony, though precluded by the federal union as well as by doubts of the justice of the Dutch cause, from embarking separately in hostilities, tendered the amplest contribution they could afford of provisions for men and cattle, to supply the scarcity that might have arisen from the Indian devastations. So unwelcome were the Dutch colonists in general, that they found it necessary to hire the services of Captain Underhill, who had been banished from Boston as one of the associates of Mrs. Hutchinson, and who at the head of a mixed troop of English and Dutch whom he commanded, opposed the Indians with a skill and bravery that proved fatal to great numbers of them both in Long Island and on the main land, and was thought to have saved the colony of New Netherlands from utter destruction. Notwithstanding the need he had thus experienced of English assistance, and the benefit he had derived from it, Kieft continued, during the following years, to exchange with the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, not only the most vehement remonstrances and vituperations, but menaces of hostility, which happily for himself, he was no less unable than they were unwilling to carry into effect. He continued all this time to be involved in hostilities with the Indians, between whom and the Dutch there was fought, towards the conclusion of the administration, [1646,] a great and general battle on Strickland's Plain, where, after an obstinate conflict and great slaughter on both sides, the Dutch with much difficulty kept the field, and the Indians withdrew unpursued.*

Kieft was succeeded, in the following year, [1647] by the last of the governors of New Netherlands. This was Peter Stuyvesant, a brave old officer, and one of those magnanimous spirits of which the republican service of Holland was in the age unusually productive. By his justice, prudence, and vigor, he appears to have succeeded in restoring peace with the Indians, and preserving it uninterrupted during the whole of his administration. His arrival was honored by an address of congratulation from the commissioners of the united colonies of New England, accompanied with an earnest entreaty for redress of the grievances they had endured

from his predecessor. One of the most serious of these grievances had latterly been the frequent seizures and confiscation of the English trading vessels, on the pretence of infractions of the custom-house regulations of New Netherlands, which the Dutch, with insolent injustice, refused to explain, and yet proceeded to enforce. Stuyvesant, though he declined to justify some of the acts of his predecessor, returned, as might have been expected, a counter claim of redress for the wrongs of New Netherlands, and in particular demanded a restoration of the territories of Connecticut and New Haven this was a hopeless demand; and Stuyvesant soon perceiving that the state of his title and of his force would barely suffice to prevent further invasion of the Dutch pretensions, was too prudent to persist in it. After various negotiations, [1650,] a treaty was at length concluded between the commissioners of the United English Colonies and the governor of New Netherlands, by which the settlements of the respective nations on Long Island were mutually secured to them, and a boundary ascertained between the Dutch settlement and the Connecticut and Newhaven occupations on the main land. [1651] This treaty was not productive of the good consequences that were expected from it. The English had passed a law prohibiting the Dutch from trading within their territories: a restriction that was highly resented by the Dutch; and the disputes that arose concerning the observance of this law, together with the competition of the two nations, to engross the profits of Indian trade, engendered a degree of mutual jealousy and ill humor that caused them to regard each other's proceeding and policy through a very unfavorable medium. The treaty seems not to have embraced any arrangement with regard to the Delaware territory, and Stuyvesant was determined to preserve entire all that yet remained uninvaded of the Dutch pretensions in this quarter. In support of these pretensions he was soon constrained to make such efforts to resist a trading settlement which the colony of New Haven attempted to establish on the borders of Delaware, as completely effaced every appearance of good understanding between the Dutch and the English provincial governments. The breach between them was widened by a panic excited in the English settlements of Connecticut and New Haven, where a number of Indians volunteered a confession of a projected massacre of the English, to which they declared that they had been instigated by the governor of New Netherlands, [1652.] The only confirmation of their story that they could produce, was the ammunition which the Dutch had been always in the practice of selling to them, and which the English now believed the more readily to have been supplied for their destruction, as the Indians had frequently employed it for this purpose. Notwithstanding the confident assertions of a respectable historian of Connecticut, this confession appears to me to have derived the credit it received chiefly from the fears and prepossessions of the English, who suffered themselves to be made the dupes of perfidious savages, whose enmity would have been gratified by the destruction of either of the races of their powerful neighbors. What may be thought, indeed, to place this beyond a doubt is, that no future confirmation of the charge was ever obtained, even after the fall of the Dutch dominion had placed every facility for the procurement of evidence in the hands of the English. The governments of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, however, blinded by apprehension and resentment, gave implicit faith to a statement discredited no less by the habitual fraud and treachery of the Indians, than by the manly and honorable character of Stuyvesant. To his indignant denial of the charge they answered by reminding him of the massacre of their countrymen by the Dutch in Amboyna, about thirty years before; and to his just exceptions to the value of the Indian testimony, they replied that the Dutch governor of Amboyna had sought a pretext for his cruelty in the charges against the English which he extorted by torture from the Japanese. The absurdity of this reasoning forcibly demonstrates the intensity of passion by which they were transported; and the repeated introduction of the topic of Amboyna shows as clearly the strong, but unconscious, dominion of national resentment and antipathy on their minds. [1653] In Massachusetts, the evidence of the conspiracy was not considered satisfactory; nor could all the instances of their confederates prevail with this state to join with them in a war against the Dutch. Judging their own forces along inadequate to such an enterprise, the other colonies applied for assistance to Oliver Cromwell, who was then engaged in the two years' war with Holland, which the long parliament had begun, [1654.] and who promptly acceded

to their request by despatching a squadron to undertake, in concurrence with the colonial troops an invasion of New Netherlands. The design was, however, arrested by intelligence of the peace that had been concluded between the protector and the States-general, and his squadron having fortified the spirits of the English colonists by demonstrating to themselves and their adversaries the vigor with which a powerful government would resent their wrongs, proceeded still farther to augment their security, by effecting the conquest of the French province of Acadia.* It is remarkable, that the treaty of peace that was executed at this time between England and Holland contained no express allusion to the claims or possessions of either in North America; but as it was stipulated that war should cease, and peace and friendship prevail between all the dominions and possessions of the two countries in all parts of the world, and as the English expedition against New Netherlands was thereupon countenanced, the validity of the Dutch claim to this territory seems to have been manifestly implied, and practically acknowledged.

It was in the Delaware territory that Stuyvesant most resolutely and successfully defended the claims of his countrymen against the invasions of the New England colonists and the Swedes. As the war between the Dutch and the Swedes during Kieft's administration had in some respects resembled a peace, so the peace that ensued bore no little resemblance to a war. To check the encroachments which these settlers were continually attempting, Stuyvesant had erected a fort a place then called New Amstel, and afterwards New-castle. This proceeding gave umbrage to the Swedes, who expressed their displeasure in a protest, which, with the usual fate of such documents, was totally disregarded. About a year afterwards, Risingh, the Swedish governor, proceeded with an armed vessel against the Dutch fort, and obtaining admission into it by a stratagem somewhat discreditable to his own honesty, as well as to the vigilance of its defenders, he easily overpowered the garrison, and expelled them with violence, but without cruelty, not only from their strong hold, but from the confines of Delaware. During the short time that the fortress remained in his possession, it received the name of Christina, in compliment to the Queen of Sweden. Stuyvesant was not of a disposition to submit tamely to such an outrage, or to content himself with a simple recapture of the fort. He determined to invade and subdue the whole Swedish settlement; but destitute of a force sufficient for this enterprise, and fully occupied at the time, with a controversy more dangerous to his government as well as more interesting to his honor, he was constrained to apply for reinforcement to the West India company. This corporation, however, was then laboring under such embarrassments, that it was only by a friendly contribution of the city of Amsterdam, that its administrators were at length able to supply Stuyvesant with a small body of troops. Thus reinforced, he marched into Delaware, [1655,] where the Swedes had employed their leisure in erecting another fort, as if they had intended to defend their pretensions to the last extremity. But no sooner did they find themselves about to be attacked in earnest by a warrior, whose hostilities were not confined to stratagems and protests, and perceived that their forts failed to answer their true object of intimidating the enemy from approaching, than they peaceably surrendered them, together with the whole of their settlements, to the forces of Stuyvesant. This conquest of Delaware was effected without bloodshed; a circumstance the more extraordinary, as it certainly did not arise from absence of the passions from which this fatal extremity might be expected to ensue; for many of the Swedes detested the Dutch so cordially, that they chose to return to Europe and to abandon a country they had called a paradise, rather than submit to a union with the colony of New Netherlands. To this extremity, however, the rest were reduced, and the settlement for some years continued to be ruled in peace by a lieutenant-governor appointed by Stuyve-

* Oldmixon, i. 119. Chalmers, 571. Trumbull, i. 168. 171. 182. 191-3. 197. 202. 204. 212. 219. 220. 267. Smith, 6. The whole voluminous correspondence that took place, both on this occasion and afterwards, between the governors of the Dutch and English colonies, is preserved in Hazard's Collection, vol. ii.

† Risingh, under the disguise of friendship, came before, the works, fired two salutes, and landed thirty men, who were entertained by the commandant as friends; but he had no sooner discovered the weakness of the garrison than he made himself master of it, seizing also upon all the ammunition houses, and other effects of the West India company, and compelling several of the people to swear allegiance to Christina, Queen of Sweden.* Smith.

* Trumbull, i. 114. 121-123. 129. 138-140. 155. 157. 161. Belknap, i. 50. Yet the greater number of the writers of American history (copying each others' statements without examination) have asserted that the Dutch were never once involved in a quarrel with the Indians. One old writer, indeed, whose work is very scarce, has stated that the Dutch were continually harassed and endangered by the Indians. Brief Description of New York, formerly called New Netherlands, by Daniel Denton, p. 15. In Samuel Smith's History of New Jersey, (p. 64.) reference is made to some bloody contests between the Dutch and Indians.

sant. Thus unassisted by the parent state, fell the only colony that Sweden ever has possessed. The historian would have little pretension to piety or virtue who would deride a bloodless adjustment of national disputes. But in timorous hostilities, a new feature of opprobrium is added to the moral aspect of war. When we recollect that these Swedes were either the subjects of Gustavus Adolphus, or the immediate descendants of his subjects, and when we see them provoke a war by fraud and outrage, and then decline it by tamely submitting to the object of their insult and hatred, it must be acknowledged that they have enlarged the catalogue of those nations whose spirit has degenerated in their colonial settlements. The Dutch have been generally obnoxious to this remark; and their conduct in New Netherlands will never be cited as an exception to its application. All their colonies have been the offspring of motives no higher than the thirst of commercial gain; and the same sentiments which engaged them to extend their dominions, have gradually obliterated the energy that was requisite to their defence and preservation. The valor of Stuyvesant* rather reproached than minuted the sluggish spirit of his fellow-colonists, whom his example could never teach either to repel injustice with spirit, or to bear it with dignity. Yet Holland was now in the meridian of her fame; and this was the age of Tromp and De Ruyter.

The attention which had been awakened in the mother country to the state of the colony of New Netherlands, was maintained by the prosperous result of her recent interposition, and further evinced itself in the following year [1656] by a constitution which was enacted by the West India company and the burgo-masters of Amsterdam, and approved by the States-general. This instrument provided that the colonists of New Netherlands were to be ruled in future by a governor nominated by the deputies of Amsterdam; and by burgo-masters and a town council elected by the people themselves; the council thereafter enjoying the power of filling up all vacancies in its own body. Some such constitution as this, appears to have been already established in New Netherlands; and the attention of the mother country beginning soon to relax, with the decline of the colony's prosperity, no further attempt seems to have been made to introduce the projected alteration. The West India company, however, transmitted about this time to Stuyvesant, a ratification they had procured from the States-general of his treaty in 1650 with the commissioners of the united English colonies. The Dutch governor gave notice of this circumstance to the commissioners, in a letter replete with christian benevolence and piety; and proposed to them that a friendly league and sincere good-will might thenceforward unite the colonies of England and Holland. But the English were averse to believe the sincerity of a man whom they had recently accused of plotting their destruction with the Indians; and, beginning to regard the Dutch occupation as altogether lawless and intrusive, they were determined not to sanction it by any new recognition. The commissioners answered the governor's communication with austere civility; recommending the continuance of peace, but declining either to ratify the former treaty or to execute a new one. They had begun to entertain strong hopes that the English government would unite with them in regarding the Dutch settlers in America, as mere intruders who could derive no claim of forbearance from the peace with Holland, and whom it would be no less just than expedient to expel or subdue. Their friends in England succeeded in impressing these views upon Richard Cromwell: [1659.] and during his short enjoyment of the protectorate, he addressed instructions to his commanders for an invasion of New Netherlands, and wrote letters to the English colonial governments, desiring the concurrence of their forces in the enterprise. But his speedy deposition spared him the actual guilt of attacking an unoffending people, whom his father had plainly considered as comprehended in his pacification with Holland.

Meanwhile, Stuyvesant had made attempts to improve his conquest of the Swedes by extending the Dutch settlements in Delaware; and equitable as well

as brave, he caused the territory which he occupied to be fairly purchased from the Indians. But his success in this quarter was now drawing to a close. Fendal the governor of Maryland, claimed the territory occupied by the Dutch and Swedes, as included within Lord Baltimore's grant; and finding that Stuyvesant was determined to retain the possession and defend the supposed title of his country, he procured a remonstrance to be transmitted in the name of Lord Baltimore to the States General and the West India Company, who, with an inversion of their usual policy, publicly denied the pretensions of the English, but at the same time transmitted private orders to Stuyvesant to avoid hostilities, if they should seem likely to ensue, by retiring beyond Lord Baltimore's alleged boundary. This injunction was complied with, though not to the extent of an entire evacuation of Delaware, when Charles Calvert a few years after assumed the government of Maryland.* Stuyvesant deeply deplored the feeble policy of those whose mandates he felt it his duty to obey; and sensible of the total discredit in which the Dutch title would be involved by thus practically avowing that its maintenance depended on the forbearance of the English, he earnestly solicited that a formal copy of the grant by the States General to the West India Company might be transmitted to New Netherlands, to enable him to assert, with proper form and dignity, the interest he was intrusted to defend. But his applications proved ineffectual. The States General were now more anxious than ever to avoid a rupture with England; and the West India Company, either concurring with their policy, or controlled by their orders, refused to exhibit a title [1660] of which they feared that Stuyvesant would make such an use as would infallibly provoke that extremity. Perhaps they thought that his prudence would be enforced by the consciousness of a defective title; and such was at least the effect that their policy actually produced. Stuyvesant, willing by any honorable means to propitiate the English, and hoping to obtain a recognition of the title which he was unable to produce, sent an embassy to Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, to propose a treaty of mutual trade between this colony and New Netherlands, and an alliance against the Indian enemies of both. Berkeley received the ambassadors with much courtesy, and despatched Sir Henry Moody to New Netherlands, with the terms of a commercial treaty; but he took care to decline every expression that might seem either to acknowledge, or even apply, assent to the territorial pretensions of the Dutch.

The authorities whose dominion in England was terminated by the Restoration, had been regarded with continual uneasiness and apprehension by the colonists of New Netherlands. The long parliament had attacked their countrymen in Europe; Cromwell had once been on the point of subduing the colony; and only the deposition of his successor had again snatched them from a repetition of the same danger. Of the government of Charles the Second they were disposed to entertain more favorable hopes, which might, perhaps, derive some confirmation from the well-known fact, that their rivals, the New English colonists, were as much disliked by the king as they had been favorably regarded by the protector. Accordingly, when the pursuers of Goffe and Whalley, baffled in their attempts to recover the retreat of these fugitive regicides in New England, besought Stuyvesant to deny them his protection in New Netherlands, [1661] he readily seized the opportunity of ingratiating his colony with the English court, by undertaking to give instant notice of the arrival of any of the regicides within his jurisdiction, and to prohibit all vessels from transporting them beyond the reach of their pursuers.† But this policy, which, it must be confessed, is not the most honorable trait of his administration, proved utterly unavailing; and every hope that the Dutch might have entertained, of an amelioration of their prospects, was

speedily dissipated by the intelligence of designs entertained by the king of England. Charles, though he had received, during the exile, more friendship and civility from the Dutch than from any other foreign power, even regarded this people with enmity and aversion; and he was the more disposed, at present, to embrace any measure that might humble the ruling party in Holland, by the interest he felt in a weaker faction, at the head of which was his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, whom he desired to see reinstated in the office of Stadtholder, which his ancestors had possessed—an office which the ruling party had pledged themselves to Cromwell never again to bestow on the Orange family. [1663.] These sentiments were enforced by the interest and urgency of the Duke of York, who had placed himself at the head of a New African company,* and found its commerce impeded by the more successful traffic of the Dutch. In imitation of the other courtiers, the Duke had also cast his eyes on the American territory, which his brother was now distributing with so liberal a hand; and, accordingly, in addition to the other reasons which he employed to promote a rupture with the Dutch, he solicited a grant of their North American plantations, on the prevailing plea that they had been originally usurped from the territory properly belonging to Britain. The influence of these motives on the mind of the king was doubtless aided by the desire to strike a blow that would enforce the arbitrary commission he was preparing to send to New England, and teach the puritan colonists there that it was in the power of their prince to subdue his enemies in America.

The rumor of the king's intentions appears to have reached America before it was generally prevalent in Europe; owing to the vigilance and activity of the numerous friends of the English colonists, who watched and apprised them of the designs of the court. When the association of the royal commission, with the expedition against New Netherlands, was known to the inhabitants of New England, the first piece of intelligence appeared to them much more unwelcome than the other was satisfactory. In Massachusetts, particularly, the proceedings of the general court seemed to indicate a strong apprehension that the military, no less than the civil department of the expedition, was intended to be employed against the liberties of the English colonists. Stuyvesant, whose anxious eye explored the darkening horizon of his country's fortune, discerned these symptoms of dissatisfaction in the New England settlements, and conceived from them the bold project of obtaining the alliance, or at least securing the neutrality, of his ancient enemies. With this view (apparently,) he undertook, first, a voyage to Massachusetts, where he was entertained by the governor and magistrates with much state and solemnity. Former rivalry was forgotten in the season of common danger, or remembered only to enhance the respect with which Endicot and Stuyvesant recognised, each in the other, an aged, brave, and virtuous champion of his country's cause. Perhaps some traces of the effect of this conference may be discerned in the slowness with which Massachusetts obeyed the requisition of the royal commanders to raise a body of men in aid of the invasion of New Netherlands. But it was impossible that Stuyvesant's negotiation could succeed, or his proposals, even to the extent of neutrality, be acceded to. Notwithstanding this disappointment, however, he proceeded afterwards to Connecticut, where he was engaged in vainly attempting to bring a similar negotiation to a more successful issue, when the intelligence of the approach of the British fleet recalled him to the immediate defence of his province.

The king, who was totally unable to assign a just reason for going to war with Holland, after trying in vain to provoke the resentment of the States General by the most insulting memorials, and the most groundless complaints, determined, at length, to embrace the suggestion of his right to the province of New Netherlands; expecting, with good reason, that, from the assertion of this pretended right, the cause of quarrel which he was industriously seeking would infallibly arise. In pursuance of this purpose, a royal charter was executed in favor of the Duke of York, containing a grant of the whole region extending from the western banks of Connecticut to the eastern shore of the Delaware, [1664.] together with the adjacency of Long

* This gallant veteran did not fail to attract a portion of that idle rumor and absurd exaggeration to which solitary superiority is exposed. To the English he was a subject of continual marvel and apprehension. He had lost a leg in fighting for the independence of Holland; and the English believed that his artificial limb was made of silver (Josselyn, 153); and with still greater credulity, that he restrained the Dutch colonists from immediate hostilities with them, that he might destroy them more cruelly by the hands of the Indians (Trumbull, 202); so well did he cover the deficiency of his countrymen's military aid. The tale of the silver leg is also related by Biome, 202.

* See ante, B. iii. One cause of the neglect which New Netherlands experienced from the Dutch West India Company, seems to have been that the attention and resources of the Company were absorbed by the efforts they made to maintain the rich settlement they had wrested from the Portuguese in South America. See Southey's History of Brazil, Part I.

† Trumbull, i. 245. It was notorious, at the time, that Goffe and Whalley were sheltered within the territory of New Haven, where the local authorities and the inhabitants, so far from assisting, had, with very little disguise, obstructed and defeated the attempts to apprehend them. This conduct of a people who had peculiarly distinguished themselves by enmity to the Dutch, had probably some weight in inducing Stuyvesant to pledge himself to a proceeding which, he seems not to have been aware, would have compromised the honor and independence of his country.

* This company was formed with the view of extending and appropriating the slave trade. Under the patronage of the Duke of York, it treated every commercial rival with a violence and injustice worthy of the purpose of its institution. In return for the protection of the English government, it lent its aid to harass the colonies by promoting a new enforcement of the acts of navigation. See Oldmixon, Vol. II. cap. i.

Island; and conferring upon his royal highness all the powers of governing, civil and military, within these ample boundaries. This grant took no more notice of the existing possession of the Dutch, than it showed respect to the recent charter of Connecticut, which, whether from ignorance, or from carelessness in the definition of the boundaries, it tacitly but entirely superceded. No sooner did the Duke of York obtain this grant, than, without waiting to take possession of his investiture, he proceeded to exercise his proprietary powers in their fullest extent, by conveying to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all that portion of the territory that forms the province of New Jersey. But, as it was manifest that this title of the duke himself, no less than of his assignees, would require to be effaced by a military force, an armament had been prepared for this purpose, with some attention to secrecy; a precaution which, if it proved ineffectual, was no less unnecessary; as the states of Holland reckoned it impossible that the king would attack their possessions, without the formality of a previous declaration, and were averse to provoke his injustice by seeming to expect it. So little, indeed, was the hostile enterprise against New Netherlands credited in Europe, that, but a few months before it sailed, a vessel arrived at the colony from Holland, bringing a further supply of planters, and of implements of husbandry. Stuyvesant earnestly pressed upon the West India Company the alarming intelligence which he had received; but the only defensive step to which they were moved by his urgency was, to send him now, when it was too late, the original grant from the States General, which, at the period when it might have availed him, he had solicited in vain.

The command of the English troops that embarked for this expedition, and the government of the province against which it was directed, were intrusted to Colonel Nichols, who had studied the art of war under Marshal Turenne, and who, with Car, Cartwright, and Maverick, also held a commission to visit the colonies of New England, and investigate and determine, according to their discretion, all disputes and controversies within the various colonial jurisdictions. After touching at Boston, where an armed force was ordered to be raised and sent to join the expedition, the fleet proceeded to Hudson's river, and took its station before the capital of New Netherlands. The requisition of a subsidiary force from Boston was so tardily obeyed, that the enterprise was over before the Massachusetts troops were ready to march; but, on the transmission of a similar requisition to Connecticut, Governor Winthrop, with several of the principal inhabitants of the province, immediately repaired to the English armament, and joined the standard of their king.

The veteran governor of New Netherlands, and the pupil of Turenne, were, according to military ideas, enemies worthy of each other; though doubtless it is a manifest profanation of language to assert the worthiness of two brave and honest men to shed each others' blood, or to represent Nichols as worthily employed in executing the lawless rage and rapacity of a tyrant upon an inoffensive people. But the two commanders were very unequally supported. Stuyvesant had vigorously exerted himself to put the city and fort in the best attitude of defence: but he found it totally impossible to man the hearts of its defenders. It must indeed be confessed in favor of these unfortunate Dutchmen, that the superior artillery and disciplined forces of the enemy rendered successful resistance utterly hopeless. Their residence in the country had been too short to connect them with it by patriotic ties; and their unwarlike habits rendered them utterly unsuceptible of impressions which their governor derived from the prospect of a contest, where the harvest of glory was proportioned to the hopelessness of victory. They felt themselves unjustly attacked; and their resentment of this injury was so strong, that many of them were determined not to remain the subjects of a tyrannical usurper; but it was not strong enough to overcome the rational conviction, that safety and independence were the only worthy objects of battle, and that where independence could not be gained by fighting, safety should not be risked by it. To add unnecessary combat to unavoidable defeat, appeared to them a driftless and fool-hardy waste of life; and if they must surrender the image they had built of their native Holland in the wilderness, they would rather surrender it entire to the pollution of hostile occupation, than defaced by the cannon of the enemy. They were willing to become exiles with their wives and children, or laborers for them; to encounter, in short, every evil that hope could alleviate or virtue subdue. But to expose their

kindred, their city, and themselves, to the certainty of capture by storm, and the extremity of military violence, seemed to them an inversion of all the dictates of wisdom, happiness and virtue.

Widely different were the sentiments, the views, and even the determinations of Stuyvesant; and for several days his undaunted spirit upheld the honor and prolonged the dominion of his country, in despite both of the desertion of her unwearied children, and the impending violence of a stronger foe. On the arrival of the English armament, he sent a deputation to its commander, consisting of one of the ministers of New Amsterdam, one of the city councillors, and two other inhabitants, with a courteous letter desiring to know the reason and purpose of this hostile approach. Nichols answered, with equal politeness,* that he was commanded by his royal master to take possession of the British territory which had been usurped by the Dutch, whom, though nearly allied to him, the king could not, consistently with his honor, allow to invade and occupy the dominions of his crown: that he must therefore now demand the instant surrender of the place; that the king being tender of the effusion of Christian blood, had authorised him to offer security of life, liberty, and estate, to all who would readily submit to this requisition; but that such as should oppose his majesty's gracious intentions must prepare themselves for the worst miseries of war. Governor Winthrop, who was connected by acquaintance and mutual esteem with Stuyvesant and the principal Dutch citizens, enforced this summons by a letter, in which he strongly pressed the prudence of doing soon what must unavoidably be done at last. Stuyvesant, on receiving the summons of the English commander, was sensible of no other consideration than of the insolence and injustice with which his country was treated; and still earnestly hoping that her honor would be preserved unblemished, even though her dominions should be overthrown, he invited the burgomasters and council to attend him, and vainly labored to impart a portion of his feelings to this municipal body. They coolly desired to see the letters he had received; but as he judged with good reason that the easy terms of surrender that were proffered would not contribute to animate their ardor or further his own martial designs, he declined to gratify them in this particular; and simply assured them that the English had declared their purpose of depriving Holland of its sovereignty, and themselves of their independence. Suspecting the truth, they became more importunate in their first request; whereupon the governor, in a transport of indignation, tore the letters in pieces, and scattered them on the ground; while the burghers, in amazement and dismay, protested against his conduct, and all the consequences that might attend it. But Stuyvesant's courage needed not the aid of sympathetic bravery to sustain it: and more incensed to see his country's honor deserted than appalled to find himself its only defender, he determined to try the effect of an appeal to the justice and generosity of a gallant enemy; and to express in his reply to the summons of the English commander, not what he painfully saw, but what he magnanimously wished, to be the sentiments of his fellow-citizens. He exhibited to a deputation sent to him by Nichols, the original grant of the States General, and his own commission from the West India Company; and in a long and manly letter, maintained that a province thus formally incorporated with the Dutch dominion could not lawfully be attacked while peace subsisted between England and the republic. He represented the long possession of the territory which his countrymen had enjoyed, and the ratification which the English colonial governments had given to the Dutch claim, by the treaty they concluded with him in the year 1650; and he protested that it was impossible that the English monarch could have despatched this hostile armament, in the knowledge of these facts, or would hesitate to countermand it if they were submitted to his consideration. To spare the effusion of blood, he offered a treaty for a provisional arrangement, suspended on the issue of a reference to the two parent states; and he concluded with this calm and undaunted reply to the threat of

military execution in the event of a refusal to surrender. "As touching the threats in your conclusion, we have nothing to answer, only that we fear nothing, but what God (who is as just as merciful) shall lay upon us; all things being in his gracious disposal; and we may as well be preserved by him with small forces as by a great army; which makes us to wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection." But Stuyvesant found it more easy to refute the pretensions than to resist the force of his opponent. Even after the English had begun to invest the place, and had occupied posts, from which attack seemed immediate and capture inevitable, he still clung to the hope that his fellow-citizens would not surrender the rights of their country till they had defended them with their lives, and shed the blood of the invaders. But Nichols who had learned how little the great body of the Dutch partook the martial ardor of their governor, caused a proclamation,† reiterating his original offers, to be circulated through the country and introduced into the town; a measure which so completely disarmed the spirit of the besieged, and extinguished the authority of Stuyvesant, that this stubborn veteran, after one more fruitless attempt to effect a provisional treaty, was at length obliged to capitulate for surrender, in order to prevent the people from giving up the place without the formality of capitulation. By the treaty which ensued it was provided that the Dutch garrison should march out with all the honors of war, and that the States General and West India Company should preserve their ammunition and public stores, and be allowed within six months to transport them to Holland: that the inhabitants should be free to sell their estates, and return to Holland, or retain them and reside in the settlement; that all who chose to remain should enjoy their ancient customs with respect to inheritance of property, liberty of conscience in divine worship and church order, and perpetual exemption from military service. All Dutchmen, either continuing in the province, or afterwards resorting to it, were to be allowed a free trade with Holland; a privilege which, as it was totally repugnant to the navigation act, neither Nichols nor even the king could confer, and which accordingly was withdrawn from them very soon after. As a concession to the inflexible obstinacy of the old governor, it was very superfluously provided, that if at any time thereafter the king of England and the States General should concur in desiring the province to be re-delivered to its former owners,† their desire should be promptly complied with. These, and various other articles, of additional advantage to the Dutch, forming perhaps the most favorable terms that a capitulating city ever obtained, were satisfactory to every one except the individual to whose solitary valor they were in some degree a tribute: and it was not till two days after they had been signed by the commissioners on both sides, that he could be persuaded to ratify them. Yet the Dutch West India Company, whose blindness and imbecility had promoted the fall of a dominion which they were unworthy to administer, had the mean ingratitude to express dissatisfaction with the conduct of this magnanimous man. The fall of the capital, which now received the name of New York, (a name also extended to the whole provincial territory,) was followed by the surrender of Albany, and the general submission of the province with its subordinate settlement of Dutch and Swedes in Delaware. The government of Britain was acknowledged over the whole in the beginning of October, 1634.

Thus by an act of the most flagrant injustice and tyrannical usurpation, was overthrown the Dutch dominion in North America, after it had subsisted for more than half a century, and absorbed the feeble settlements of Sweden. It is impossible for a moment to suppose that the king was prompted to undertake this enterprise by an honest conviction of his right to the province; and that he was actuated by no concern for the interest of his other colonies was proved (if

* It declared that all who would "submit to this his majesty's government, as his good subjects, shall be protected in his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatsoever God's blessing and their own honest industry have furnished them with." Smith, p. 25. To the Swedish settlers in Delaware, it was specially represented, that it would be an honorable change for them to return from a republican to a monarchical government. S. Smith's New Jersey, p. 13.

† According to Hume, it would appear that this improbable condition did actually occur; for he states that on the complaint of Holland, the king disavowed the expedition, and imprisoned the admiral. Hist. of England, vol. vii. p. 399, 400. But he has confounded the invasion of New York with the expedition against Goree, which took place two years before, and which Charles after despatching, affected to disavow.

* Chalmers betrays his usual partiality in describing this intercourse. While he derides the affected civility of Stuyvesant, he commends in Nichols the politeness that softens the rigors of war. Once for all I must remark on this writer, that the composition of his work had one great point in view—the apology of the kings and government of England in all their American transactions. He steadily pursues this object; and though too honorable wilfully to misrepresent facts, he is often too prejudiced to appreciate them fairly. Yet his Annals are a valuable source of information to those who carefully consult them; comparing one portion with another, and the whole with collateral authorities.



such proof were wanting) by his subsequent conduct with regard to Acadia. This territory, to which the English had as fair a claim as to New York,* had been conquered from its French occupiers by the manly hostilities of Cromwell; and yet the earnest entreaties of the New England colonies could not prevent the king from restoring it to France, though a neighbor much more dangerous than Holland to his subjects. But Acadia was not, like New Netherlands, a settlement of protestant republicans, but of the subjects of a brother despot to whom Charles became a pensioner, and to whom he scrupled not to sell as much of the honor of England as was capable of being conveyed by his hands. His object, in so far as it embraced the English colonies, was rather to intimidate them, than to promote their advantage. Yet eventually it was they who derived the chief advantage from the acquisition of New York; and this, as well as every other conquest of American territory achieved by Great Britain, only tended to undo the hands by which she retained her colonies in a state of dependence. As they ceased to receive molestation or alarm from the neighborhood of rival settlements, their strength and their jealousy converged against the power and pretensions of the mother country.

Colonel Nichols, who had been appointed the first British governor of New York, probably with the humane view of persuading his master to refrain from burdening or irritating the people by fiscal impositions, seems to have depreciated, somewhat unjustly, the actual condition of the settlement, in his letters to the Duke of York. But all the early writers and travellers unite in describing the Dutch colonial metropolis as a handsome well built town; and Josselyn declares that the meanest house in it was worth 100*l*. Indeed, the various provisions that were introduced into the articles of surrender, to guard the comforts of the inhabitants from invasion, attest the orderly and plentiful estate which these colonists had attained, as well as explain the causes of their unwarlike spirit. If the manners of the Dutch colonists corresponded with those of their countrymen in the parent state, they were probably superior in elegance to the manners which the English colonists could derive from similar imitation. Sir William Temple was surprised to find in Holland that he was expected not to spit upon the floors of gentlemen's houses. [17] Of the colonists who had latterly resorted to the province, some were persons who had enjoyed considerable affluence and respectability in Holland, and who imported with them, and displayed in their houses, costly services of family plate, and well selected productions of the Dutch school of painting. No account has been preserved of the total population of the province and its dependencies; but the metropolis, at this time, seems to have contained about 3,000 persons.† More than half of this number chose to continue in the place after its annexation to the British empire: the rest abandoned a settlement which was no longer to retain its Dutch aspect or name; and their habitations were soon occupied by a supply of emigrants, partly from Britain, but chiefly from New England. The Duke of York, to allure the New England planters to settle in his province, published what he termed *conditions for plantations*, by which (among other provisions) it was declared that the inhabitants of every township should elect their own minister, and arrange his emoluments by private agreement between themselves and him. Among the Dutch who remained at New York, was the venerable Stuyvesant, who still adhered to the wreck of the institutions and community over which he had presided, and to the scenes that reminded him of the exploits of his old age. Here, for a few years more, he prolonged the empire of Dutch manners and the respect of the Dutch name, till full of days and honor, he breathed his last amidst the tears of his countrymen. His descendants inherited his worth and popularity, and, in the following century, were frequently elected into the magistracy of New York.

One of the first proceedings in which Nichols was employed, was in determining with the other commissioners the boundaries of New York and Connecticut.

The claims of the latter of these provinces in Long Island were disallowed, and the whole of that insular region annexed to the new British jurisdiction: but in the arrangement of the boundaries on the main land, so little disposition was entertained to take advantage of the erroneous appropriation in the Duke of York's grant, so ignorant also of the localities of the country were the commissioners, and so much inclined, at the same time, to gratify the people of Connecticut, in order to detach them from the interest of Massachusetts, that they undoubtedly received an allotment of territory far more liberal than equitable. A more correct adjustment of limits was found necessary at a subsequent period, and was not effected without creating the most vehement disputes between the two colonial governments.

1665.] Leaving the other commissioners to proceed to the execution of their functions in New England, Nichols betook himself to the discharge of his own peculiar duty in the province, which he had been deputed to govern. The Duke of York, who considered himself invested by his patent with regal authority, had made an ample delegation of his powers to his deputy; and the prudence and humanity of Nichols rendered his administration creditable to the proprietary and acceptable to the people. To confirm the acquisition that his arms had gained, and to assimilate, as far as possible, the different races of inhabitants, he judged it expedient to introduce among them all, an uniform frame of civil policy; and with a prudent conformity to the institutions that had already been established by the Dutch, he erected a court of assizes, composed of the governor, the council and the justices of the peace; which was invested with every power in the colony, legislative, executive, and judicial. The only liberal institution that he was allowed to introduce was trial by jury; and to this admirable check on judicial iniquity, all causes and controversies were subjected. He encouraged the colonists to make purchases of land from the natives; and these purchases he made the foundation of grants from himself, in which he reserved a quit rent of a penny an acre. A dispute which occurred among the inhabitants of Long Island suggested to him a salutary regulation which continued long to obtain in the province. The controversy had arisen out of some conflicting Indian deeds; and to prevent a recurrence of it as well as of the more fatal dissensions which were apt to arise from these transactions with the natives, it was ordained that henceforward no purchase from the Indians should be valid, unless the vendition were authorised by the license from the governor, and executed in his presence. The strength and numbers of the natives rendered it necessary to treat them with unimpeachable justice: and to prevent their frequent sales of the same land to different persons (a practice in which they had been encouraged by the conflicting pretensions and occupations of the Dutch, Swedes, and English), it was expedient that the bargains should be signalized by some memorable solemnity. The friendly relations that were now established between the European colonists of this province, and the powerful Indian tribes known by the title of the Five Nations, and which will afterwards demand a considerable share of our attention, were greatly promoted by the harmony which had subsisted between the Dutch and Indians during the government of Stuyvesant, whose prudence thus bequeathed a wise lesson and a valuable opportunity to the administration of his successor.

The court of assizes applied itself, without delay, to collect into one code the ancient customs of the province, with such additional improvements as the change of empire seemed to render necessary, and as served to introduce the supremacy that was ascribed to the jurisprudence of England. In this code, which was afterwards ratified by the Duke of York, there occur some laws that seem to denote the influence which the New England settlers in Long Island no doubt exercised in its composition. Any child above sixteen years of age, striking his father or mother (except in defence of his own life), "at the complaint of the said father and mother, and not otherwise, they being sufficient witnesses thereof," was adjudged to suffer death. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden; and fornication was punished by marriage, fine, or corporal punishment, according to the discretion of the court. The barbarous state of medical science and practice was indicated by an ordinance, strictly prohibiting all surgeons, phy-

sicians, and midwives, from "presuming to exercise or put forth any act contrary to the known approved rules of art;"* and the unsubdued state of nature appears from the proposition of rewards for the destruction of wolves in Long Island. The city of New York which had enjoyed extensive privileges under the old government, was now incorporated and placed under the administration of a mayor, aldermen, and sheriff; the English official nomenclature serving additionally to link the provincial institutions with English jurisprudence. One of the highest acts of power that was reserved to the court of assizes was the imposition of taxes; and this it soon had occasion to exercise in order to meet the exigencies of the war which Charles the Second had at length succeeded in provoking with Holland. But even the most ungracious acts of Nichols were disarmed of their offence by the conciliating demeanor that caused the Dutch to forget he had been their conqueror, and by the moderation and integrity which he uniformly evinced, and the personal sacrifices that he readily incurred for the public advantage. An assembly of deputies from the Dutch and English plantations in Long Island, which he summoned to adjust the boundaries of their respective settlements, took the opportunity of their congregation to transmit an address to the Duke of York, acknowledging their dependence on his sovereignty according to his patent; engaging to defend his rights, and to submit cheerfully to whatever laws might be enacted by virtue of his authority; and requesting that their declaration might be accepted as a memorial against them and their heirs, if they should ever be found to fail in the performance of their duty. Yet one portion of these people had but recently submitted to Nichols as the conquering leader of the troops of a foreign usurper; and the others had as recently been united to the liberal institutions of New England. So strongly does the universal story of mankind confirm the truth of Sully's observation, that where the people are not deceived by factious leaders, even arbitrary power is seldom resisted when it is humanely employed; and that popular discontent evinces much less frequently a promptitude to assert just rights, than impatience of accumulated sufferings.

1666.] The intelligence of the declaration of war with Holland, which was communicated by the Lord Chancellor (Clarendon) to Colonel Nichols, was accompanied with the assurance that the Dutch were preparing an expedition for the recovery of their American settlement, and that De Ruyter had received orders to sail immediately for New York.† Nichols exerted himself, with his usual energy, to resist the hostility of so formidable a foe; and though it appeared eventually, that either the chancellor's information had been erroneous, or that the expedition was suspended by De Ruyter's more important employments in Europe, the expense that attended the preparations for his reception, and the other consequences of the war, reduced the province to a state of considerable distress. As the people were destitute of shipping, their trade, which had been carried on by Dutch vessels, was totally lost; no supplies were sent from England to alleviate this calamity; and, in addition to other concomitant burdens of war, a general rate was imposed on the estates of the inhabitants by the court of assizes. Still there was every reason to apprehend that the supply that was raised would be insufficient, and the preparations consequently inadequate to repel the expected invasion. In this extremity, the governor, without pressing the people for further contributions to defeat an enterprise which many of them must have contemplated with secret satisfaction, wisely and liberally advanced his own money and interposed his credit to supply the public exigencies. Happily for the prosperity of the settlement, which Nichols, with the aid of the other English colonies, would have defended to the last ex-

* Both medicine and surgery were then in a very rude state in England, where the efficacy of royal touch for the king's evil was still believed and tried, and Sydenham's career had but recently begun. Notwithstanding a legal determination pronounced in England, two centuries before this, that "a chirurgeon may cut off one member to save the rest" (State Trials, iii. 927), it was in France alone that a manufacture of surgical instruments existed till the end of the seventeenth century. Chelsden told Voltaire that he first introduced this manufacture into England in 1715. Age of Louis the Fourteenth, cap. 30. In Spain, as late as the year 1756, the treatment of fever was regulated by law. Townsend's Travels, iii. 140-142, &c.

† Hume (vii. 400) says that De Ruyter actually committed hostilities on Long Island before the declaration of war, in revenge for the capture of New York: but De Ruyter was not accustomed so imperfectly to avenge the wrongs of his country. Hume has been misled by an erroneous account, or inaccurate recollection, of a more serious and successful attack on New York by the Dutch about seven years after this period, and in the course of a subsequent war.

* It was included in the claim derived from Cabot's voyage, and had been made the subject of various grants by James the First and Charles the First, to the Plymouth council in the first instance, and afterwards to Lord Stirling. This nobleman was the king's secretary of state in Scotland; and seeing the English courtiers obtaining grants of American territory, he applied for a share; and Acadia, under the name of Nova Scotia, was granted to him (most irregularly), by a patent under the great seal of Scotland.

† I found this calculation on a Report to the Board of Trade a few years after, published by Chalmers, p. 598, together with a consideration of the intervening events.

tremity, neither the States-general, nor the Dutch West India Company, made any attempt to repossess themselves of New York during this war; and at the peace of Breda it was ceded to England, in exchange for her colony of Surinam, which had been conquered by the Dutch. [1667.] This exchange was no otherwise expressed, than by a general stipulation in the treaty that each of the two nations should retain what its arms had acquired since hostilities began. The Dutch had no reason to regret the exchange; for it was impossible that they could long have preserved New York against the increasing strength and rivalry of the inhabitants of New England, Maryland, and Virginia. It was by this treaty that Acadia was ceded to France, which had acted as the ally of Holland during the war, and was the only party that reaped advantage from it. England saw her character dishonored by the injustice of the war: the glory of her arms tarnished by the disgrace at Chatham; the conquest achieved for her by Cromwell surrendered; and every one of the purposes for which the contest had been provoked, rendered utterly abortive.*

The security which the British dominion in New York derived from the treaty of Breda, occurred very seasonably to supply the useful services of Colonel Nichols, who, finding the pecuniary burdens of the war pressing too heavily on himself, was forced, in the beginning of this year, to resign an appointment which, at one time, seems to have rendered him as elate and happy as it had enabled him to make himself useful and beloved. The king, as a testimony of the approbation to which his eminent services were entitled, sent him a present of *two hundred pounds*; and this brave and modest loyalist was more gratified with the expression of royal favor than disappointed with the meanness and inadequacy of the remuneration. He was long remembered with respect and kindness by a people whom he had found hostile and divided; and whom, notwithstanding that he had been constrained to deprive them of liberty and independence, he left friendly, united, and contented.† The benefit of his successful exertions, together with the signal advantage of peace, and of the recognition by Holland of the British dominion, devolved on his successor, Colonel Lovelace, a man of quiet temper and moderate disposition, which in tranquil times so well supplied the absence of vigor and capacity, that the colony, during the greater part of six years that he presided over it, enjoyed a noiseless tenor of content and prosperity; and the most memorable occurrence that signalled his administration, was the unfortunate event that brought it to a close.

[1672.] The second war with Holland, which the king undertook in subservience to the ambition of Louis XIV., was calculated no less to injure the trade of New York, than to disturb the harmony of its mixed inhabitants, and alienate the regards of the original colonists. The false and frivolous reasons that were assigned by the English court for this profligate war, rendered it more offensive to every Dutchman by adding insult to injury; and the gallant achievements of De Ruyter, that extorted the admiration and applause even of his enemies, must have awakened in the most languid bosoms of the Dutch colonists some sympathy with the glory and danger of their country, and a reluctance to the destiny that had associated them with her enemies. The intelligence of the Duke of York's recent profession of the catholic faith contributed to increase their discontent, which at length prevailed so far with a considerable body of them, that they determined to abandon New York, and either return to Holland, or seek out another settlement in the new world. Happily for English America, they were retained within her territory by the address of the proprietaries of Carolina, who prevailed with them to direct their footsteps towards this province, [1673,] where, remote from foreign war, and surmounting hardships by patient industry, they formed a settlement that recompensed them for the habitations they had for-

aaken. If more of their countrymen projected a similar migration, their purpose was suspended by an event which occurred the same year, and invited them to embrace a more gratifying deliverance from the irksomeness of their situation. A small squadron had been despatched from Holland, under the command of Buikes and Evertzen, to destroy the commerce of the English colonies; and having performed this service with great effect on the Virginian coast, they were induced to attempt a more important enterprise, by intelligence of the negligent security of the governor of New York. Repairing with secrecy and expedition to this ancient possession of their country, they had the good fortune to arrive at the metropolis while Lovelace was at a distance, and the command was exercised by Colonel Manning, whose own subsequent avowal, added to the more credible testimony of his conduct, has recorded his character as a traitor and poltroon. Now was reversed the scene that took place when New York was invaded by Nichols. The English inhabitants prepared to defend themselves, and offered their assistance to Manning; but he obstructed their preparations, rejected their aid, and, on the first intelligence of the enemy's approach, struck his flag, before their vessels were even in sight. As the Dutch fleet advanced, his garrison could not forbear to demonstrate their readiness to fight; but, in a transport of fear, he forbade a gun to be fired, under pain of death; and surrendered the place unconditionally to the invaders.* The moderation of the conquerors, however, showed them worthy of their success; and, hastening to assure all the citizens of the security of their rights and possessions, they inspired the Dutch colonists with triumph, and left the English no cause of resentment but against their pusillanimous commander. The same moderation being tendered to the other districts of the province, on condition of their sending deputies to swear allegiance to the States General, the inclinations of one party, and the fears of the other, induced the whole to submit; the Dutch dominion was restored, still more suddenly than it had been overthrown; and the name of New Netherlands once more revived. But neither the triumph of the one party, nor the mortification of the other, was destined to have a long endurance.

Great was the consternation that these events excited in the adjoining colonies of the English. The government of Connecticut, with astonishing absurdity, sent a deputation to the Dutch admirals, to remonstrate against their usurpation of dominion over the territory of England, and the property of her subjects; to desire them to explain the meaning of their conduct, and their further intentions; and to warn them, that the united colonies of New England were intrusted with the defence of their sovereign's dominions in America, and would be faithful to their trust. To this ridiculous application, the Dutch commanders returned a soldierlike answer, expressing their surprise at the terms of it, but declaring that they were commissioned by their country to do all the damage in their power to her enemies by sea and land; and that, while they applauded the fidelity of the English colonies to their sovereign, they would imitate so good an example, and endeavor to approve themselves not less zealous and faithful in the service of the States General. The most active preparations for war were forthwith made in Connecticut and the other confederated colonies: but as each party stood on the defensive, awaiting the invasion of the other, only a few insignificant skirmishes had taken place, when the arrival of winter suspended military operations. Early in the following spring, [1674] the controversy was terminated without further bloodshed, by the intelligence of the treaty of peace concluded at London, and of the restoration of New York to the English, by virtue of a general stipulation, that whatsoever countries might have been taken during the

war, should be restored to the power that had possessed them at its commencement.

The events of this war, both in Europe and America, were attended with important consequences to that portion of the North American population that derived its origin from Holland. The elevation to the dignity of Stadtholder, which the Prince of Orange had now derived from the fear and danger of his countrymen, and from their desire to propitiate the king of England, paved the way to his advancement to the English throne, and consequently to a reign under which the Dutch colonists, though disunited from Holland, ceased to regard the British sovereignty as a foreign domination. The effectual re-conquest of the province by the Dutch arms, and the final cession of it to England, by a pacific and conventional arrangement, cured the wound that had been inflicted by the injustice of England's original acquisition. Many of the Dutch colonists, besides, apprehensive of molestation, or, at least, despairing of favor from a government whose suspension had excited their undisguised triumph, were the more readily induced to follow their former companions, who had emigrated to Carolina; and this dispersion of the Dutch tended at once to promote their friendly association with the English, and to divest New York of a distinctive character which might have obstructed the harmony between her and the other provinces, with which she was now to be forever united.

The Duke of York, understanding that some doubts had been suggested of the validity of his original grant, which had been executed while the Dutch government was in peaceable possession of the country, and which, even though originally valid, seemed to have been vacated by the intervening conquest, thought it prudent to remedy this defect, and signalise the resumption of his proprietary functions by obtaining a new patent. This deed, which was readily granted to his solicitation, recited and confirmed the former grant of the province. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants "by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish; and to administer justice according to the laws of England, with the admission of an appeal to the king in council. It prohibited all persons from trading thither without his permission; and, though it allowed the colonists to import merchandises, it subjected them to payment of customs, according to the laws of the realm. Under the authority of this charter, the duke continued to rule the province (diminished however by the New Jersey territory which he had previously assigned to others) till his proprietary right was merged in his regal title. It seems at first sight not a little surprising, that neither in this nor in the former charter of the territory, did the brother of the king obtain a grant of the same extraordinary powers and privileges that had been previously conferred on the proprietaries of Maryland and Carolina. But relying on the greatness of his connexion and his prospects, the duke was probably very little solicitous to share the dignities and immunities which these other proprietaries had procured for themselves; and, while as count-palatine they exercised every act of government in their own names, he contented himself with ruling his territory in the name of the king. The misfortune and evident incapacity of Lovelace precluded his reappointment to the office of governor, which was conferred on Edmund Andros, a man who disgraced superior talents by the unprincipled zeal and activity with which he rendered them subservient to the arbitrary designs of a tyrant. [18] This officer, whose subsequent proceedings in New England have already introduced him to our acquaintance, now commenced that career in America which has gained him so conspicuous a place in the annals of almost every one of her states for twenty years after this period. He was ordered to disturb no man's estate while he received possession of the province from the Dutch, and to distribute justice in the king's name according to the forms that had been observed by his predecessors. But in order to raise a revenue and defray the expenses of government, a great variety of rates were at the same time imposed by the sole authority of the duke; and one Dyer was appointed the collector of these odious and unconstitutional impositions.

The duke, in his instructions to Andros, had recommended to him the exercise of gentleness and humanity; but his selection of him to administer the more arbitrary policy which he now began to pursue towards the colonists, gave more reason to suppose that the admonition was necessary than that it would prove effectual: and accordingly the new governor had not been long in the province, when, besides embroiling

* The elevation that had been projected for the Prince of Orange, in particular, was defeated;—the states engaging to bestow a considerable appointment upon him when he should attain the age of twenty-two, but declaring their determination not to make him stadtholder. Sir William Temple's Works (folio), vol. i. p. 74.

† From his monument in Amptill church, Bedfordshire, it appears that Nichols was killed on board the Duke of York's ship in a sea-fight with the Dutch in 1672. Within the pedestal is fixed the cannon-ball that killed him, surmounted by this inscription: *Instrumentum mortis et immortalitatis.*

‡ A feeble attempt was made, indeed, in the year 1669, by one Coningsmark, a Swede, to excite an insurrection of his countrymen in the Delaware territory against the English. This attempt was defeated without bloodshed, and Coningsmark was condemned to be sold as a slave in Barbadoes. Samuel Smith's Hist. of New Jersey, p. 53, 54.

* Manning, after all this extraordinary and unaccountable conduct, had the impudence to repair to England; whence he returned, or was sent back, when the province was again given up by the Dutch in the following year. He was then tried by court martial on a charge of treachery and cowardice, expressed in the strongest and most revolting terms. Confessing this charge to be true, he received a sentence almost as extraordinary as his conduct: "that though he deserved death, yet because he had since the surrender been in England, and seen the king and the duke, it was adjudged that his sword should be broke over his head in public, before the city hall, and himself rendered incapable of wearing a sword, and of serving his majesty for the future in any public trust." Smith, p. 42, 43. The old maxim that was respected on this occasion, that grace is dispensed by the mere look of a king, was denied a few years after to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth.

himself with the neighboring government of Connecticut, he excited the murmurs and remonstrances of the magistrates, the clergy, and the whole body of the people. The pressure of the arbitrary rates, suggesting especially to the settlers in Long Island the benefit of a representative assembly, they began at length to broach this proposition as a matter of constitutional right; but these first emotions of liberty were checked by Andros, with a vigor and decision for which he received the thanks of his master. A Dutch clergyman, named Renslaer, who had been recommended by the duke to the patronage of Andros, proved unacceptable to the people, and was punished by the magistrates of Albany for some language that was deemed improper. The governor interfered with his usual energy in the dispute, and having first loaded with insult a popular clergyman, whom Renslaer considered his rival, proceeded to adjudge all the magistrates to find bail to answer Renslaer's complaints, to the extent of 5,000*l.* each, and threw Leisler, one of their number, into prison for refusing to comply. But finding that he had, on this occasion, stretched his authority farther than he could support it, he was compelled to recede barely in time to prevent a tumult that might have dissolved the government. Apparently somewhat daunted with this defeat, he conducted himself with greater regard to prudence, and was able for a while to lead a quiet administration; but the seeds of popular discontent had been sown, and a strong desire for more liberal institutions took silent but vigorous root in the colony. This disposition, which the contagious vicinity of liberty in New England doubtless tended to keep alive, was fomented by a measure to which the governor resorted, to supply the inadequate returns from the colonial rates; [1676] the practice of soliciting pecuniary *benevolences* from the various communities and townships within his jurisdiction. This *hodge of bad times*, as a colonial historian has termed it, is sometimes the promoter of those rights which it attacks indirectly and yet strongly suggests. In the close of the following year [1677] Andros was compelled to pay a visit to England, in order to obtain further instructions adapted to the new scene that was about to open.

The revenue which the Duke of York had imposed on the province, had been limited to the duration of three years; and as this period was on the point of expiring, the interest both of the government and the people was fixed on the issue to which this emergency would lead. The people anxiously hoped that the very inadequacy of the present system of finance would induce their proprietary to consent to the desires they had expressed, and to seek the improvement of his revenue from the establishment of a representative assembly. But the duke was obstinately determined against this measure; and thought that he made a sufficient sacrifice to the advantage of the colonists, by simply enacting that the former rates should continue for three years longer. [1678] When Andros returned to his government with this unwelcome edict, the province was pervaded by universal discontent; and when a new edict, in the following year, [1679] announced an increase of the tax on the importation of liquors, the public indignation was expressed so vehemently, and so many complaints were transmitted to England, that the duke, in much surprise, recalled his governor to give an account of an administration that plainly appeared to be universally odious. [1680] This prince was determined that his subjects should be enslaved, and at the same time very willing that they should be happy; * and seeing no incompatibility between these circumstances, he supposed the more readily that Andros might have committed some enormities unconnected with his official functions, and called him home to ascertain if he had really so discredited legitimate tyranny. The inquiry, as might be expected, terminated in the honorable acquittal of the governor, who proved that he had committed no breach of trust; that he had merely evinced a temper suitable to his arbitrary functions, and enforced his master's

* Such were also the sentiments of Charles the Second. Sir William Temple, who conversed intimately with him, says that he wished that every body should be easy, "and would have been glad to see the least of his subjects pleased." Works, vol. i. p. 449. Yet when Temple and others entreated him to alleviate the misery of the Scotch, by restraining the bloody hands of the duke of Lauderdale, they found it utterly impossible to prevail. Ib. 336. Lauderdale's conduct, indeed, at one time underwent a similar scrutiny to that which we have seen Andros abide. The result was nearly the same: the king (says Bishop Burnet) declaring, after a full inquiry, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has acted any thing contrary to my interest."

orders with the rigor that was necessary to carry such obnoxious measures into execution. But circumstances which occurred in the colony, during the absence of Andros, determined the duke to forbear for the present to re-employ so unpopular an officer, or to risk his own authority in a farther contest with the desires of the people, till his hand should be strengthened by the grasp of a sceptre.

Dyer, the collector of the revenue, had continued ever since his appointment to perform his functions with great odium, but little opposition. Latterly, however, the people had begun to question the lawfulness no less than the liberality of a system of taxation originating with the duke alone; and when they learned that their doubts were sanctioned by the opinions of the most eminent lawyers in England, their indignation broke forth with a violence that had nearly transported them to the commission of injustice still more outrageous than the wrongs they complained of. They accused Dyer of high treason, for having collected taxes without the authority of law; and the local magistrates seconding the popular rage, appointed a special court to try him on this absurd and unwarrantable charge. It was pretended that although he had not committed any one of the offences specified in the statute of treasons, yet it was lawful to subject him to the penalties of this statute, for the ancient and exploded crime of *encroaching power*;—one of those vague and unintelligible charges, which it had been the very purpose of the statute to abolish. But reason and humanity returned in the short interval between the impeachment and the trial: and when the prisoner demanded to know how his judges came to be invested with their functions, and if they did not act under an authority derived from the same prince, whose commission he himself enjoyed, the court interposed to suspend farther proceedings in the colony, and ordered him to be sent with an accuser to England. [1681] He was of course discharged immediately after his arrival; and no accuser thought proper to appear against him. But if this prosecution was any thing more than a bold undesigning expression of popular displeasure and impatience, it completely effected the farthest purposes of its promoters; and to their spirited though irregular measures, New York was indebted for the overthrow of an odious despotism, and her first experience of systematic liberty. While the duke regarded with astonishment the violent proceeding by which his collector had nearly perished as a traitor, and had been banished from the colony without a voice being raised in his favor, he was assailed with expressions of the same sentiments that had produced this violence, in a more constitutional, and therefore, perhaps, more disagreeable shape. The governor's council, the court of assizes, and the corporation of the city of New York, concurred with the whole body of the inhabitants in soliciting the duke to permit the people to participate in the legislative power; and while their conduct enabled him to interpret these addresses into a formal declaration that they would no longer continue to pay taxes without possessing an assembly, he was given to understand, by his confidential advisers, that the laws of England would support them in this pretension. Overcome by the united force of all these circumstances, and not yet advanced to the height whence he was afterwards enabled to regard the suggestion of legal obstructions with a smile,* the duke first paused in his arbitrary career, and then gave a reluctant and ungracious assent to the demands of the colonists. Directions were sent to the deputy-governor on whom the administration had devolved in the absence of Andros, "to keep things quiet at New York in the mean time;" and shortly after, [1682] it was intimated to him that the duke could condescend to grant the desires of the people on condition of their raising money sufficient for the support of government, and of the principal inhabitants consenting to grant a written engagement that this should be done. At length, after wavering a little longer between fear and aversion, the duke gave notice of his final determination to establish in New York the same frame of government that the other colonies enjoyed, and particularly a representative assembly. The governor whom he nominated to conduct the new administration was Colonel Dongan, afterwards Earl of Limerick,

* See ante, B. II. cap. 5. One might almost be tempted to suspect Chalmers of an intention to satirize the duke by extravagance of unmerited praise, when he suggests as the reason for his acquiescence on this occasion, that "the continued adversity which had so long embittered his life, made him regard the rights and feel for the sufferings of others."

a man of integrity, moderation, and agreeable manners, and, though a professed papist, which perhaps was his chief passport to the duke's favor, yet in the main acceptable, and justly so, to a people who regarded poverty with suspicion and dislike. The instructions that were communicated to Dongan, required him to convocate an assembly, which was to consist of a council of ten, and a house of representatives, not exceeding eighteen, to be elected by the freeholders. Like the other provincial legislatures, this body was empowered to make laws for the people, under the requisition of conformity to the general jurisprudence of the empire, and of subjection to the assent or dissent of the proprietary. Thus the inhabitants of New York, after being treated as a conquered people for nearly twenty years, and governed by the arbitrary will of the Duke of York and his deputies, were promoted by their own spirit and vigor to a participation in legislative rights; and by a singular coincidence obtained a free constitution at the very time when their old rivals, the colonists of New England, were deprived of it. Nothing could be more acceptable to them than this interesting change; and the ardent gratitude of their acknowledgments expressed much more justly their sense of the benefit, than the merit of their nominal benefactor.

The most interesting monument of the tyrannical administration which was thus suspended, is a report prepared by Andros, in reply to certain inquiries of the English committee of colonies in the year 1678; from which, and from a similar communication by the municipality of New York to the board of trade a few years after, some insight may be obtained into the condition of the province about this period. The city of New York, in 1678, appears to have contained 3,430 inhabitants, and to have owned no larger navy than three ships, eight sloops, and seven boats. No account appears to have been collected of the population of the whole province, which contained twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes. About fifteen vessels, on an average, traded yearly to the port of New York, importing English manufactures to the value of 50,000*l.* and exporting the productions of the colony, which consisted of land produce of all sorts, among which are particularised beef, pease, lumber, tobacco,* peltry procured from the Indians, and 60,000 bushels of wheat. Of servants the number was small, and they were much wanted. Some unfrequent and inconsiderable importations of slaves were made from Barbadoes: and there were yet but very few of these unfortunate beings in the colony. Agriculture was more generally followed than trade. A trader worth 1,000*l.*, or even 500*l.*, was considered a substantial merchant; and a planter worth half that sum in moveables was accounted rich. All the estates in the province were valued at 150,000*l.* "Ministers," says Andros, "are scarce, and religions many." The duke maintained a chaplain at New York; which was the only certain endowment of the church of England. There were about twenty churches or meeting places, of which half were vacant. All districts were liable by law to the obligation of building churches and providing for ministers, whose emoluments varied from 40*l.* to 70*l.* a year, with the addition of a house and garden. But the presbyterians and independents, who formed the most numerous and substantial portion of the inhabitants, were the only classes who showed much willingness to procure and support their ministers. Marriage was allowed to be solemnized either by ministers or by justices of the peace. There were no beggars in the province; and the poor, who were few, were well taken care of. The number of the militia amounted to 2,000; comprehending 140 horsemen; and a standing company of soldiers was maintained, with gunners and other officers for the forts of Albany and New York. Such was the condition of the province about four years preceding the period at which we have now arrived. Four years after (in 1686,) it was found to have improved so rapidly, that the shipping of New York amounted to ten three masted vessels, twenty sloops, and a few ketches of intermediate bulk. The militia had also increased to 4,000 foot, 300 horse, and a company of dragoons. The augmentation of inhabitants, indicated by this increase of military force, appears the more considerable, when we keep in view, that some time prior to this last mentioned period, the Delaware territory had been partly surrendered to Lord Baltimore, and partly assigned to William Penn.

* Denton states that the New York tobacco was considered equal in quality to the finest produce of Maryland, p. 3.

CHAPTER II.

Colonel Dongan's Administration—Account of the Five Indian Nations of Canada—Their Hostility to the French—Missionary Labors of the French Jesuits—James the Second abolishes the Liberties of New York—commands Dongan to abandon the Five Nations to the French—Andros again appointed Governor—War between the French and the Five Nations—Discontents at New York—Leisler declares for King William, and assumes the Government—The French attack the Province, and burn Schenectady—Arrival of Governor Sloughter—Perplexity of Leisler—his Trial—and Execution—Wars and mutual Cruelties of the French and Indians—Governor Fletcher's Administration—Peace of Ryswick—Piracy at New York—Captain Kidd—Factions occasioned by the Fate of Leisler—Trial of Bayard—Corrupt and oppressive Administration of Lord Cornbury—State of the Colony at the Close of the Seventeenth Century.

COLONEL Dongan did not arrive at the seat of his government till a year after the date of his appointment; [1683.] a delay which appears to have created some uneasiness, and was probably beneficial to the people, in affording time for the first ardor of an ill-merited loyalty to cool, and suggesting the precautions for preserving liberty that should signalise the first opportunity of exercising it. To relieve the public apprehensions, the governor proceeded at once to issue writs to the sheriffs, to convene the freholders, for the purpose of electing their representatives in the assembly; and this legislative body soon afterwards held its first meeting at New York, to the great satisfaction of the whole province. One of the first ordinances which it framed naturally arose from the mixture of nations of which the population was composed, and was an act of general naturalization, securing and extending equal privileges to all. From this period the Dutch and English at New York were firmly compacted into one national body. They saw the daughter of their common proprietary married to the Stadtholder of Holland, and willingly cemented their own union by frequent intermarriage and the ties of consanguinity. There was passed, at the same time, an act declaring the liberties of the people, and one for defraying the requisite charges of government for a limited time. These, with a few other laws regulating the internal economy of the province, and, in particular, enacting its division into counties, were transmitted to the Duke of York, and received his confirmation, as proprietary, in the following year. [1684.] An amicable treaty, which the governor effected, about the same time, with the provincial authorities of Connecticut, terminated, at length the long-subsisting dispute with regard to the boundaries of Connecticut and New York.

But the administration of Colonel Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed upon Indian affairs, and by the increasing influence which now began to be exerted on the fortunes of the province by the state of its relations with the tribes composing the celebrated confederacy of The Five Nations of Canada. This federal association is said to have derived its origin from the most remote antiquity; and, as the name imports, it comprehended five Indian nations, of which the Mohawks have obtained the most lasting name, and which were united on terms of the strictest equality, in a perpetual alliance, for united conquest and mutual defence. The members of this united body reckoned themselves superior to all the rest of mankind, and the distinctive appellation which they adopted* was expressive of this opinion. But the principles of their confederacy display far more policy and refinement than we might expect from the arrogance of their barbarous name. They had embraced the Roman maxim, of increasing their strength by incorporating the people of other nations with themselves. After every conquest of an enemy, when they had indulged their revenge by some cruel executions, they exercised their usual policy in the adoption of the remaining captives; and frequently with so much advantage, that some of their most distinguished sachems and captains were derived from defeated and adopted foes. Each nation had its own separate republican constitution, in which rank and office were claimed only by age, procured only by merit, and enjoyed by the tenure of public esteem; and each was divided into three tribes, bearing respectively for their ensigns, and distinguished by the names of, the Tortoise, the Bear, and the Wolf. In no community was age graced with more respect, or youth endowed with greater beauty. Such was the efficacy of their mode of life in developing the fine proportions of which the human frame is susceptible, that, when the statue of the Apollo Belvidere was beheld, for the first time, by the American Apelles, Benjamin West, he started at the unexpected recognition, and exclaimed, "How like it is to a young

Mohawk warrior." The people of the several nations, and especially the Mohawks, were distinguished by the usual Indian qualities of attachment to liberty, fortitude in the endurance of pain, and preference of craft and stratagem to undisguised operation in war,* and by a more than usual degree of perseverance, resolution and active intrepidity. Almost all the tribes around this people, and even many at a great distance, who were not included in their confederacy, acknowledged a subjection to it, paid a tribute, which two aged sachems were annually deputed to collect,† and were restrained from making war or peace without the consent of the Five Nations. It was the policy of all the chiefs to affect superior poverty, and to distribute among the people the whole of their own share of tribute and plunder. All matters of common concernment were transacted in general meetings of the sachems of each nation: and the influence of time, aided by a long course of judicious policy and victorious enterprise, had completely succeeded in causing the federal character and sentiments to prevail over the peculiarities of their subordinate national associations. In the year 1677, the confederacy possessed 2150 fighting men. When the Tuscorora tribe was vanquished, as we have seen, at a subsequent period, and expelled from its territory by the colonists of Carolina, the fugitives proposed, and were permitted, to revive their broken estate by engraving it on this powerful confederacy; and as (in consequence of a supposition derived from similarity of language, of their original derivation from the same stock to which they now returned), they were associated as a new member of the general union, instead of being intermingled with any particular portion of it, the confederacy soon after obtained the name of the Six Nations. Both the French and the English writers, who have treated of the character or affairs of this people, have concurred in describing them as at once the most judicious and politic of the native powers, and the most fierce and formidable of the native inhabitants of America. There was only wanting to their fame, that literary celebration which they obtained too soon from the neighborhood of a race of civilized men, who were destined to eclipse, and finally extinguish, their greatness; and particularly from the pen of a highly-accomplished writer, Cadwalader Colden, one of the governors of New York, they have received the same historic service which his own barbarian ancestors derived from the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus.

When the French settled in Canada, in the beginning of this century, they found the Five Nations engaged in a bloody war with the powerful tribe of *Adirondacks*; in which, after having been themselves so severely pressed, that they were driven from their possessions round Montreal, and forced to seek an asylum on the south-east coast of Lake Ontario, the Five Nations had latterly succeeded in gaining a decided advantage, and had in turn constrained their enemies to abandon their lands situated above the *Three Rivers*, and fly for safety behind the strait where Quebec was built. The tide of success, however, was suddenly turned by the arrival of Champlain, who conducted the French colony, and who naturally joined the *Adirondacks*, because he had settled on their lands. The conduct, the bravery, and especially the fire-arms, of these new allies of the enemy, proved an overmatch for the skill and intrepidity of the Five Nations, who were defeated in several battles, and reduced to the greatest distress. It was at this critical juncture that the first Dutch ship arrived in Hudson's river, with the colonists who established themselves at Albany. The Five Nations, easily procuring from these neighbors a supply of that species of arms to which alone their enemies had been indebted for their superiority, revived the war with such impetuosity and success, that the nation of the *Adirondacks* was completely annihilated; and the French too late discovered, that they had espoused the fortunes of the weaker people.‡ Hence

* In this peculiarity most of the Indian tribes resembled the ancient Spartans; as they did also in the diligence with which they cultivated consciousness of speech.

† I have often had opportunity to observe what anxiety the poor Indians were under, while those two old men remained in that part of the country where I was. An old Mohawk sachem, in a poor blanket, and dirty shirt, may be seen issuing his orders with as arbitrary an authority as a Roman dictator. Colden, i. 4.

‡ To amuse the French, the Five Nations, at one time, sent them a proposal of peace, to which the French readily inclining, requested them to receive a deputation of Jesuits, whose exertions, they expected, would sincerely conciliate their friendship. The Five Nations willingly agreed, and desired to see the priests immediately; but the instant they got hold of them, they marched to attack the Indian allies of the French, and taking the priests with them as hostages, to enforce the neutrality of their countrymen, gave the *Adirondacks* a signal defeat. Colden, i. 23.

originated the mutual dread and enmity that so long subsisted between the French and the confederated Indians, and entailed so many calamities upon both. The French, less accustomed to the climate, and less acquainted with the country, than their savage enemies, attempted vainly to imitate their rapid and secret expeditions. A party despatched in the winter of 1665, by Courcelles, the governor of Canada, to attack the Five Nations, lost their way among wastes of snow, and after enduring the greatest misery, arrived, without knowing where they were, at the village of Schenectady, near Albany, which a Dutchman of consideration, named Corlear,* had recently founded. The French, exhausted and stupefied with cold and hunger, resembled rather an army of beggars than of hostile invaders, and would have fallen an easy prey to a body of Indians who were in the village, if Corlear, touched with compassion at their miserable appearance, had not employed both influence and artifice with the Indians, to persuade them to spare their unfortunate enemies, and depart to defend their own people against a more formidable attack in a different quarter, which he led them to expect. When the Indians were gone, Corlear and his townsmen brought refreshments to the famishing Frenchmen, and supplied them with provisions and other necessities to carry them home: having taught them by a sensible lesson, that it is the mutual duty of men to mitigate by kindness and charity, instead of aggravating by ambition and ferocity, the ills that arise from the rigors of nature, and the frailty of humanity. The French governor expressed much gratitude for Corlear's kindness, and the Indians never resented his benevolent stratagem: but their mutual warfare continued unabated. At length, after a long period of severe but indecisive hostilities, both parties, wearied of war, but not exhausted of animosity, agreed to a general peace, which was concluded in the year 1667, and had subsisted ever since without any considerable interruption, at the period when Colonel Dongan was made governor of New York.

Of the relation that subsisted between the Dutch and the Five Nations, only confused and uncertain accounts have been preserved. The writers who have asserted that the Dutch were continually in close alliance and friendship with the Indians, seem to have derived their statements entirely from their own ideas of what was probable, and to have mistaken for an expression of particular friendship, the indiscriminate readiness of the Dutch to traffic with friend or foe. It is certain that at one time they were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians; though with what particular tribes, there are no means of ascertaining; and that during Stuyvesant's administration they enjoyed a peace with them, of which the benefit was transmitted to the English. When Colonel Nichols assumed the government of New York, he entered into a friendly treaty with the Five Nations; which, however, till the arrival of Dongan, seems to have been productive of no farther connexion than an extensive commercial intercourse, in which the Indians supplied the English with peltry in return for arms and ammunition, of the use of which, as long as they were not employed against themselves, the vendors were entirely, and, as it proved, unfortunately, regardless. The Indians adhered to the treaty with strict fidelity; but always showed a scrupulous niceness in exacting the demonstrations of respect due to an independent people; and in particular when any of their forces had occasion to pass near the English forts, they expected to be saluted with military honors. In the mean time the French Canadians were not remiss in availing themselves of their deliverance from the hostilities of these formidable Indians. They advanced their settlements along the river St. Lawrence, and in the year 1672 built Fort Frontignac on its north-west bank, where it rushes from the vast parent waters of Ontario. With a policy proportioned to the vigor of their advances, they filled the Indian settlements with their missionaries, who laboring with great activity and success, multiplied converts to their doctrines, and allies to their countrymen. The praying Indians, as the French termed their converts, were either neutral, or, more frequently, their auxiliaries in war. The Jesuits preached not to their Indian auditors the doctrines that most deeply wound the pride of human nature, nor a lofty morality which the conduct of the bulk of its nominal professors practically denies and disgraces. They required of their converts but a superficial change; an embracement of one superstition in place of ano-

* This man enjoyed great influence with the Indians, who, after his death, always addressed the governors of New York with the title of Corlear, as the name most expressive of respect that they could employ. Colden, i. 32.

* "Ongue-honwe"—that is, "Men surpassing all others."

ther; and they entertained their senses, and impressed their imaginations, by a ceremonial at once picturesque and mysterious. Yet as, from the weakness of man, an admixture of error is inseparable from the best system of doctrine, so, from the goodness of God, a ray of truth is found to pervade even the worst. The instructions of the Jesuits, from which the lineaments of christianity were not wholly obliterated, may have contributed, in some instances, to form the divine image in the minds of the Indians; and the good seed, unchoked by the tares, may, in some places, have sprung up to everlasting life. The moral and domestic precepts contained in the Scriptures were communicated, in some instances, with a happy effect: and various congregations of Indian converts were persuaded by the Jesuits to build villages in Canada in the same style as the French colonists, to adopt European husbandry, and to renounce spirituous liquors. The visible separation of the catholic priests from the family of mankind, by a superstitious renunciation of conjugal and parental ties, gave no small sacredness to their character, and a strong prevailing power to their addresses. In the discharge of what they conceived their duty, their courage and perseverance were equalled only by their address and activity. They had already compassed sea and land to make proselytes, and the threats of death and torture could not deter them from executing their commission. Many of them, though commanded to depart, continued to remain among tribes that were at war with their countrymen; and some of them, on the principle of becoming all things to all men, embraced Indian habits of living. One of these last, established himself so firmly in the affections of one of the tribes of the Five Nations, that although they continued faithful to the national enmity against the French, they adopted him as a brother, and elected him a sachem. With such industry, resolution, and insinuation, did the French Jesuits exert themselves to recommend their faith and their country to the affections of the Indians. The French laity, too, and especially their civil and military officers and soldiery, succeeded better than the generality of the English, in recommending themselves to the good graces of the savages. French vanity was productive of more politeness and accommodation* than English pride; and even the displeasure that the French sometimes excited by the commission of injuries, was less intolerable than the provocation that the English too frequently inspired by a display of insolence. The stubborn disposition of the English was best fitted to contend with the obstructions of nature; the pliancy and vivacity of the French, to prevail over the jealousy of the natives. There were as yet no protestant missions in this quarter of America, which, in the following century, some New England clergymen, aided by a religious society in Scotland, were destined to illustrate by noble and successful exertions of missionary labor.

Colonel Dongan, who was not, like his predecessors, encumbered with a monopoly of all the functions of government, nor absorbed in struggles with popular discontent, had leisure for a wider survey of the state of his countrymen's relations with the Indians, and very soon discovered that the peace which was so advantageous to the French Canadian colonists, by enabling them to extend their fortifications and their commerce over a vast extent of country, was productive of severe inconvenience to some of the colonies of Britain, and threatened serious danger to them all. The Five Nations, inflamed by their passion for war, and finding a pretext for its gratification in the recollection of numerous insults that had been offered to them in the season of their adversity, had turned their arms southward, and conquered the country from the Mississippi to the borders of Carolina; exterminating numerous tribes and nations in their destructive progress. Many of the Indian allies of Virginia and Maryland sustained their attacks; and these colonies themselves were frequently involved in hostilities both in defence of their allies, and in defence of themselves against allies incensed by discovering that their invaders derived their means of annoying them from the English at New York. But this year, Colonel Dongan, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, the governor of Virginia, concluded with the Five Nations a defini-

tive treaty of peace, embracing all the English settlements, and all tribes in alliance with them. Hatchets, proportioned to the numbers of the English colonists, were solemnly buried in the ground; and the arms of the Duke of York, as the acknowledged supreme head of the English and Indian confederacy, were suspended along the frontiers of the territories of the Five Nations.† This treaty was long inviolably adhered to; and the fidelity of its observance was powerfully aided by a renewal of hostilities between the Five Nations and their ancient enemies the French. It was at this time that the merchants of New York first adventured on the great lakes to the westward, hoping to participate in the trade which the French were carrying on with much profit in that quarter, and which they endeavored to guard from invasion by prejudicing the Indians against the English, and by every art that seemed likely to obstruct the advances of their rivals. Dongan perceiving the disadvantages to which his countrymen were exposed, solicited the English ministry to take measures for preventing the French from navigating the lakes which belonged to the Five Nations, and, consequently, as he apprehended, to England. But he was informed that it was preposterous to ask, or expect, that France would command her subjects to desist from an advantageous commerce for the benefit of their rivals; and he was directed rather by acts of kindness and courtesy to encourage the Indians to retain their adherence to England, and to make it the interest of all the tribes to trade with the English in preference to the French; observing that such prudence as might prevent offence to European neighbors. So far were these views from being realised, that from this time there commenced a series of disputes between the two nations, which for the greater part of a century engaged them in continual wars and hostile intrigues that threatened the destruction of their colonial settlements, cost the lives of many of the European colonists, and wasted the blood, and prolonged the barbarism, of those unfortunate Indians who were involved in the vortex of their hostility.

[1685.] On the death of Charles the Second, the Duke of York ascended his brother's throne, and the province of which he had been proprietary devolved, with all its dependencies, on the crown. The people of New York received, with improvident exultation, the accounts of their proprietary's advancement to royalty, and proclaimed him as their sovereign with the liveliest demonstrations of attachment and respect. They had been for some time past soliciting with much eagerness a formal grant of the constitution that was now established among them; and the duke had not only promised to gratify them in this particular, but had actually proceeded so far as to sign a patent in conformity with their wishes, which, at his accession to the throne, required only some trivial solemnity to render it complete and irrevocable. But James, though he could not pretend to forget, was not ashamed to violate, as King of England, the promise which he had made when Duke of York; and a calm and unblushing refusal was now returned to the renewed solicitations of all the incorporated bodies, and the great bulk of the inhabitants of the province. Determined to establish the same arbitrary system in New York which he designed for New England, so far from conferring new immunities, he withdrew what had been formerly conceded. [1686.] In the second year of his reign he invested Dongan with a new commission, empowering him, with consent of a council, to enact the laws, and impose the taxes; and commanding him to suffer no printing press to exist. Though he now sent Andros to New England, he paused a while before he ventured to restore the authority of that obnoxious governor in New York. But the people beheld in his appointment to govern the colonies in their neighborhood, an additional indication of their princes character and their own danger, and with impatient discontent† endured a yoke which they were unable to break, and which they

* When this treaty was renewed some years after, the sachem who acted as orator for the Indians thus addressed the colonial envoys. "We make fast the roots of the tree of peace and tranquillity, which is planted in this place. Its roots extend as far as the utmost of your colonies: if the French should come to shake this tree, we would feel it by the motion of its roots, which extend into our country." Colden, i. 109.

† So great was the change produced in the sentiments of the colonists by this change of treatment, that we find Dongan writing this year to the English ministry, "I wish for more fortifications, as the people every day grow more numerous, and are of a turbulent disposition." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 601. This censure seems to be as unjust as the retort which his own character experienced at the Revolution, when a body of the inhabitants denounced him as "a wicked popish governor."

were prevented from exhibiting to public odium, and English sympathy, through the medium of the press.

Dongan, having been a soldier all his life, seems to have been fitted rather by habit to regard with indifference, than by disposition to enforce with rigor, a system of arbitrary power; and, accordingly, the remainder of his administration, though less favorable to his popularity, was not discreditable to his character, which continued to evince the same moderation, and the same regard to the public weal, as before. Though a Roman catholic, he had beheld with alarm, and resisted with energy, the intrusion of the French priests into the settlements of the Five Nations; and even when his bigoted master was persuaded by the court of France to command him to desist from thus obstructing the progress of popish conversion, he continued nevertheless to warn his Indian allies, that the admission of the Jesuits among them would prove fatal to their own interests, and to their friendship with the English. He still insisted that the French should not treat with the Indians in alliance with his colony, without his privacy and intervention: but the French court again employed their interest with his master; and he accordingly received orders to depart from this pretension. The Five Nations, however, seemed more likely to need the assistance of his forces than the suggestions of his policy. Their untutored sagacity had long perceived what the ministers of the court of England were not skilful enough to discern, that the extensive projects of France both threatened themselves with subjugation, and involved, to the manifold disadvantage of the English colonies, a diminution of their trade, and a removal of the powerful barrier that still separated them from the rival settlement of Canada. The treaty that excluded the Five Nations from hostile expeditions against the more distant tribes allied to the other English colonies, gave them leisure to attend with less distraction to their nearer interests; and finding themselves inconvenienced by the supplies which their numerous enemies derived from the French, they had of late chosen to consider this as a hostile act which they were entitled to chastise and obstruct, and had constantly attacked the Canadian traders who carried military stores to any tribe with whom they were at war. The French, under the conduct of two successive governors, De la Barre and Noville, had vainly endeavored, partly by treaty and partly by force, to repress proceedings so injurious to their commerce, their reputation, and their political views; when Dongan perceiving that a war would probably ensue between the rivals and the allies of his countrymen, prevailed, by the most urgent entreaties, on the English court to invest him with authority to assist the Five Nations in the contest that menaced them. But the French ministers gaining information of these instructions, hastened to counteract them by a repetition of artifices which again proved successful. They had already more than once, by their hypocrisy and cunning, succeeded in outwitting the sincere bigotry of the English king; and they had now the address to conclude with him a *treaty of neutrality for America*, by which it was stipulated that neither party should give assistance to Indian tribes in their wars with the other. Armed with so many advantages, the French authorities in Canada resumed, with increased vigor, their endeavors to chastise by force, or deviously by intrigue, the Indian tribes who had preferred the English alliance to theirs; while Dongan was compelled to sacrifice the honor of his country to the mistaken politics of his master, and to abandon her allies to the hostility, and her barrier to the violation, of an insidious and enterprising rival. He could not, however, divest himself of the interest he felt in the fortunes of the Five Nations, and seized every opportunity of imparting to them advice no less prudent than humane, for the conduct of their enterprises, and the treatment of their prisoners. But his inability to fulfil former engagements, and afford them farther aid, greatly weakened the efficacy of his councils. Though the remonstrances of Dongan enabled the ministers of James to discover, in the following year, [1687] that the treaty of neutrality for America was prejudicial to the interests of England, it was impossible to prevent the king from renewing, in the close of the same year, this impolitic arrangement with France.

But the king had no intention of relinquishing his empire in America; and his mind, though strongly tainted with bigotry, was not unsusceptible of politic views; though he seems rarely to have mingled these considerations together. As his bigotry had prompted him to give up the Indians to the French, his policy

* A curious instance of the complaisance of this people is related by Oldmixon (ii. 229), in his account of a tribe of savages who were greatly charmed with the good breeding of the French, in always appearing stark naked at their mutual conferences. Charlevoix boasts, that the French are the only European people who have ever succeeded in rendering themselves agreeable to the Indians. Whatever reason he may have had for this boast, he had no reason to glory in the means by which they courted popularity.

now suggested the measure of uniting all his northern colonies in one government for their more effectual defence. It must be confessed, indeed, that he seems to have been at least as strongly prompted to this design by the desire of facilitating his own arbitrary government in the colonies, as by concern for their safety, or for the integrity of his dominions.* As his scheme included New York, and as he thought the people of this province now sufficiently prepared to abide the extremity of his will, he indulged the more readily the displeasure that Dongan had given him by obstructing the French Jesuits, which had been a subject of continual complaint from the court of France. The commission of this meritorious officer was accordingly superseded by a royal command to deliver up his charge to Sir Edmund Andros; and New York not only reverted to the dominion of its ancient tyrant, but beheld its existence as a separate province completely merged in its annexation to the government of New England. Andros remained at Boston as the metropolis of his jurisdiction; committing the administration of New York to Nicholson, his lieutenant-governor; [1689.] and though by the vigor of his remonstrances, and his reputation for ability, he compelled the French to suspend some encroachments which they were making or threatening to make on the English territories, he could lend no assistance to the Five Nations in the hostilities that were now carried on between them and the French with a mutual fury and ferocity that seemed totally to obliterate the distinction between civilized and savage men. The people of New York, deprived of their liberties, and mortified by their annexation to New England, felt themselves additionally ill used by the policy which compelled them to stand aloof and behold the fate of the allies to whom they had promised protection, together with their own most important interests suspended on the issue of a contest in which they were not suffered to take a share; while all the while their countrymen in the eastern part of New England were harassed by a dangerous Indian war which was believed on strong reasons to have been excited by the intrigues of the French. But though deserted by the English, the Five Nations maintained the struggle with an energy that promised the preservation of their independence, and finally with a success that excited hopes even of the subjugation of their civilized adversaries. Undertaking an expedition with twelve hundred of their warriors against Montreal, they conducted their march with such rapidity and secrecy as to surprise the French in almost unguarded security. The suddenness and fury of their attack proved irresistible. They burned the town, sacked the plantations, put a thousand of the French to the sword, and carried away a number of prisoners whom they burned alive; returning to their friends with the loss of only three of their own number. It was now that the disadvantage arising from the neutrality of the English was most sensibly felt, both in the cruelties with which the Indians stained the triumphs they obtained, and which the influence of a humane ally might have contributed to moderate,† and also in the inability of the savages to improve their victories into lasting conquest. They strained every nerve indeed to follow up their advantage, and shortly after the attack on Montreal possessed themselves of the fort at Lake Ontario which the garrison in a panic abandoned to them; and being now reinforced by the desertion of numerous Indian allies of the French, they reduced every station that this people possessed in Canada to a state of the utmost terror and distress. Nothing could have saved the French from utter destruction but the ignorance which disabled the Indians from attacking fortified places; and it was evident to all that a single

* Chalmers's account of this project of the king and of the measures which it produced (wherever the subject engages his attention, but especially in cap. 16) is strangely erroneous. He quotes, as words used by the king in explanation of his views (p. 425), expressions employed by a different person, and not ascribed at all to the king (Hutchinson, i. 371). He asserts also that Andros made an advantageous peace for the Five Nations with the French. Here indeed he is so far supported by an author to whom incorrectness is very unusual, and who says merely that "the Mohawks made peace with the French under the influence of Sir Edmund" (Hutchinson, i. 370). But the fact is, that the Five Nations were at war with the French during the whole of Andros's administration; and so totally unconnected was he with their affairs, that neither Smith nor Colden was aware of his having ever been a second time governor of New York.

† The conduct which we have already witnessed in some of the Indian allies of the New England states, in their joint wars, may seem to render this a vain speculation. But the Five Nations were a far more reasonable and intelligent race of beings than the Pequods and Narragansets. Colonel Dongan, whom they greatly loved and respected (Colden, i. 53), might have mollified their hostilities by his example, as he frequently and not altogether ineffectually attempted to do by his counsels.

vigorous act of interposition by the English colonists would have sufficed to terminate for ever the rivalry of France and England in this quarter of the world.

1689.] While this war between the French and the Indians was prolonged by indecisive hostilities, a scene of the utmost importance was preparing to open at New York. A deep and general disaffection to the government prevailed there among all ranks of men; and as the public discontents had been for some time plainly gathering to a head, some violent convulsion was fearfully anticipated; and perhaps was suspended by divisions in sentiment arising from the different aspects in which the state of the times presented itself to different minds. To the wealthy and the discerning, the privation of liberty and the degradation of the province, appeared with justice the only public disadvantages which they had occasion to deplore, or were interested to remove. But a dread of popery had seized the minds of many of the poorer inhabitants, and not only diminished real and substantial evils in their esteem, but gone far to extinguish common sense in their understandings and common justice in their sentiments. The king's well known bigotry, his attempts to introduce popery in England, and his tyrannical suppression of liberty among themselves, inculcated this additional apprehension on their irritated minds; and the servile apostasy of some of the officers of government at New York, who endeavored to court royal favor by professing to adopt the king's religion, appeared strongly to confirm it. Some angry feelings that had been excited in the commencement of Colonel Dongan's administration were now seen to revive and at once augment and diversify the prevailing ferments. At that period, notwithstanding the exertions of a former governor to adjust the boundaries of property in Long Island, a great many disputes on this subject prevailed in the same quarter between different individuals and different townships; and on Dongan had devolved the thankless office of adjusting these controversies by judgments which could hardly fail to engender a great deal of enmity against him. In such cases it too commonly happens that the arbitrator by seeking to gratify both parties, disappoints them both, and is taxed on all sides with partiality; or that studying only to enforce strict justice, he excites extreme discontent in those whom his award both deprives of the property they had hoped to keep or gain, and stigmatizes as unjust and unreasonable men. Most men possess sufficient ingenuity to supply them with plausible reasons for imputing the disappointment of their expectations to the dishonesty of those who obstruct or withhold them; and disappointed litigants have in all ages been notorious for the vehemence and acrimony of their spleen.* A great many persons who accounted themselves wronged by Dongan's adjudications, had made no scruple to impute their disappointments to the darkness and obliquity of his popish understanding. They conceived a violent jealousy of popish designs, which the recollection of their wrongs preserved unimpaired by the lapse of time and the character of Dongan's administration. These feelings were revived and inflamed by recent events and appearances; the apostasy of some of the public officers confirmed the apprehensions of popery; and the painful stroke inflicted by the establishment of civil tyranny was chiefly felt as aggravating the smart of a former and totally different injury. This class of persons esteemed popery the most terrible feature in the aspect of the times, and themselves as eminent victims of popish persecution; and considered these as by far the fittest considerations to unite the general resentment, and justify its vindictive reaction.

While the minds of men were thus agitated by common resentment, but restrained from cordial union by difference of opinion and variety of apprehension, the public expectation was awakened and elevated by intelligence from Europe of the designs of the Prince of Orange. Yet no commotion had ensued, when the important tidings arrived of the accession of William and Mary to the throne of England, and of the successful insurrection at Boston which had terminated the government of Andros. Even the contagious ferment excited by this last intelligence might have subsided without producing an explosion of popular violence, if the conduct of the local authorities of New York had not indicated an intention to resist, or at least a hesita-

* "May they be perpetually defeated in judicial controversies," was thought by the Greeks a curse worthy of being inserted in the denunciation they published against such as should violate the Amphictyonic engagement. It is an observation of Thucydides that men are much more exasperated by a supposed injustice of which the benefit accrues to their equal, than by the most violent usurpation committed by their superiors.

tion to concur with, the general revolution of the empire. Nicholson, the lieutenant-governor, and his council, not only refrained from proclaiming William and Mary, but despatched a letter to governor Bradstreet, at Boston, commanding with haughty menace, the immediate release of Andros, and the suppression of the insurrectionary rabble* who had presumed to put him in confinement. Notwithstanding this demonstration of opposition to the revolution, the more reflecting part of the inhabitants clearly perceived that their local government must follow the fate of the rest of the empire, and were disposed calmly to wait for the spontaneous submission of Nicholson and his council to William and Mary, or the arrival of orders or help from Britain to reduce them. But the impatience of a considerable body of the people, and especially of those who were panic struck with the terrors of popery, could not abide this tedious issue, and was inflamed with the apprehension of some notable piece of craft from Nicholson and his associates in office.†

This party found a chief in Jacob Leisler, a man of eager headlong temper and narrow capacity, and whose zeal against popery and former ill treatment by Andros, seemed to designate him the proper leader of the opposition to the political and religious enemies of the province. He had already committed the first act of resistance, by refusing to pay customs on some goods he had imported, alleging that the collector was a papist, and that there was no legitimate government in the colony. Nicholson having begun to make preparations for defending the city against a foreign invasion, and summoned the trained bands to garrison the fort, a report was circulated that the papists were preparing to massacre the protestants; and Leisler, who commanded a company of the trained bands, instantly marched at the head of a detachment of this body, and making his way into the fort, assumed the command of it in defence of the protestant cause, and in attendance on the orders of the king and queen of England. The precautions of the late king had deprived the people and their leaders of the power of diffusing their sentiments by the agency of the press: but a written declaration was subscribed by Leisler and his followers, importing that, although they had suffered many grievances from "a wicked popish governor, Dongan," they would have patiently awaited redress from England, if the violence and oppression of Nicholson and the schemes of the papists had not forced them to take arms and secure the fort, which they were ready to deliver up to such protestant officer as the king and queen might send to receive it. Leisler, finding that at first he was not joined by any persons of consideration in the province, despatched a messenger to King William, and by negotiations with Massachusetts and Connecticut, succeeded in interesting the governments of these colonies on his side. But a report arising that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, they were instantly joined by all classes of people in New York; and Nicholson, afraid of sharing the fate of Andros, fled to England. Unfortunately for Leisler, the command which priority of resistance and the favor of the lower orders enabled him, his natural temper equally prompted him to retain, though surrounded by men who dreaded his violence and reluctantly submitted to his elevation. These new adherents had influence enough to cause a second proclamation to be issued, in which the unworthy censure on Dongan was omitted, and no stipulation whatever inserted as to the religion of the royal officer to whom the fort would be surrendered. It had been happy for all parties if the jealousy of Leisler's rivals had been satisfied with this wise and moderate control over his measures. But Courtlandt, the mayor of the city, Colonel Bayard, Major Shuyler, and a number of other gentlemen, unable to brook the superiority of a man whose rank and talents were inferior to their own, retired to Albany, and, seizing the fort there, declared that they held it for King William, and would maintain no connexion with Leisler. Each

* Chalmers, in strains of equal arrogance, imputes the subsequent proceedings at New York to the rabble of this place. But a country where beggary and dependence are unknown, produces no class to which such an epithet can justly belong. The whole account he has given of the proceedings at this period is defaced by the grossest partiality.

† Thucydides thus characterizes the proceedings of the populace in one of the revolutions of Corcyra:—"Such as had the least wit had the best success; for both their own defect and the subtlety of their adversaries putting them into a great fear to be overcome in words, or at least in preinsinuation by their enemy's great craft, they therefore went roundly to work with them with deeds." H. II. Hobbes Translation. Hobbes's own summary of this passage and the context is, "In seditions and confusion, they that distrust their wits suddenly use their hands, and defeat the stratagems of the more subtle sort."

party now professed adherence to the same sovereign, and denounced the other as rebels to his authority. Leisler, though intrusted by the militia with the sole command, judged it prudent to associate some respectable citizens along with him in a station that was likely to prove so dangerous. Having fortified his own power by the appointment of a committee of safety at New York, he despatched his son-in-law, Milbourn, against the adverse faction at Albany. Courtlandt and his associates, burning with resentment, but averse to shed blood in such a quarrel, were relieved from their perplexity by a hostile irruption of French and Indians, [1690] which, by the desolation it inflicted on the surrounding country, either rendered their post untenable, or induced them to sacrifice their pretensions, for the purpose of enabling their countrymen to unite all the force of the province against the common enemy. Abandoning the fort to their rival, they took refuge in the neighboring colonies; and Leisler, with vindictive rashness, proceeded to confiscate their estates. To add strength and reputation to his party, a convention was summoned by Leisler of deputies from all the towns and districts to which his influence extended; and this assembly, in which two deputies from Connecticut were admitted to assist with their advice, enacted various regulations for the temporary government of the province. But the acts of this body, and especially its financial impositions, were disputed by a powerful party among the colonists, whose indignation against Leisler was confined with difficulty to insults and menaces; and many of the English inhabitants of Long Island, while they expressed a reluctant submission to this chief, privately applied to Connecticut, and solicited this state to annex their insular settlements to its jurisdiction.

In this unhappy state of animosity and contention the colonists of New York continued altogether nearly two years, notwithstanding a revolution which, by elevating the stadtholder of Holland to the English throne, had promised to unite them together more firmly than ever. Happily, the quarrel exhibited no symptoms of national animosity between the Dutch and English, who without discrimination of races, embraced respectively the party to which their political sentiments attached them; and though much evil passion and malignity were engendered between the two factions, no blood was shed by either while their commotions lasted. But, unfortunately, the miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were soon added to the calamity of internal discord. The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly raised from the brink of ruin by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under the command of a skillful and enterprising officer, the old Count de Frontignac, who now assumed the government of the French settlements, and quickly gave a different complexion to the affairs of his countrymen. He set on foot a treaty with the Five Nations, and succeeded, meanwhile, in obtaining a suspension of their hostilities. War had already been declared between France and England; and the dissensions among the inhabitants of New York seeming to invite an attack upon this province, he determined to revive the drooping spirits of his people by availing himself of this tempting opportunity of success. A considerable body of French and Indians was accordingly collected, and despatched in the depth of winter against New York. By a strange coincidence, which seemed to have been decreed for the purpose of staining the French name in America with the blackest ingratitude and dishonor, this party, like their predecessors in 1665, after wandering for twenty-two days through deserts rendered trackless by snow, approached the village of Schenectady in so exhausted a condition that they had determined to surrender themselves to the inhabitants as prisoners of war. But, arriving at a late hour on an inclement night, and learning from the messengers they had sent forward that the inhabitants were all in bed, without even the precaution of a public watch, they exchanged their intention of imploring mercy to themselves for a plan of nocturnal attack and massacre of the defenceless people, to whose charity their own countrymen had once been so highly indebted. This detestable requital of good with evil was executed with a barbarity which of itself must be acknowledged to form one of the most revolting and terrific pictures that have ever been exhibited of human cruelty and ferocity. Dividing themselves into a number of parties, they set fire to the village in various places, and attacked the inhabitants with fatal advantage when, alarmed by the conflagration, they endeavored to escape from their burning houses. The exhausted strength of the Frenchmen appeared to revive with the work of destruction, and to gather energy

from the animated horror of the scene. Not only were all the male inhabitants they could reach put to death, but pregnant women were ripped up, and their infants dashed on the walls of the houses. But either the delay occasioned by this elaborate cruelty, or the more merciful haste of the flames to announce the calamity to those who might still fly from the assassins, enabled many of the inhabitants to escape. The efforts of the assailants were also somewhat impeded by a sagacious discrimination which they thought it expedient to exercise. Though unmindful of benefits, they were not regardless of policy, and of a number of Mohawk Indians who were in the village not one sustained an injury. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners. Of the fugitives who escaped half naked, and made their way through a storm of snow to Albany, twenty-five lost their limbs from the intensity of the frost. The French having totally destroyed Schenectady, retired loaded with plunder from a place where I think it must be acknowledged that even the atrocities of their countrymen in the Palatinate had been outdone.

The intelligence of this event excited the utmost consternation in the province of New York. Forces were quickly raised to repel or retort the hostility of the French; and, on the application of Leisler, the colony of Connecticut sent a body of auxiliaries to his aid. It was found difficult to excite the Five Nations to join actively with allies who had once deserted them; but they declared that no arts of the French should ever prevail with them to take the part of an ancient enemy against an ancient friend. As the province of Massachusetts was severely harassed at the same time by Indian hostilities instigated and aided by Count Frontignac, a scheme was projected between the New England states and New York for a general invasion of Canada. An expedition, commanded by Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston against Quebec; and the united forces of Connecticut and New York, under the command of General Winthrop, were to march against Montreal. But Leisler's son-in-law, Milbourn, who acted as commissary-general, had made such imperfect provision for the expedition, that, partly from this defect, and partly from the inability of the Indians to supply as many canoes for crossing the rivers and lakes as it had been hoped they would furnish, the general was obliged to call a council of war, and, by their unanimous opinion, to order a retreat. The expedition against Quebec was equally unsuccessful. Leisler, transported with rage when he was informed of the retreat, caused Winthrop to be arrested, but was instantly compelled by universal indignation to release him. Infatuated by his dangerous elevation, this man began to display the spirit that goes before a fall. The government of Connecticut, incensed at the affront by which he had revenged the result of his own incapacity on the best officer and most respected inhabitant of their province, signified in very sharp terms their astonishment and displeasure at his presumption, and warned him, with prophetic wisdom, that his state needed rare prudence, and that he had urgent occasion for friends.

King William had received Leisler's messenger with the most flattering encouragement, and admitted him to the honor of kissing his hand, as a testimony of his satisfaction with the proceedings at New York. But Nicholson, on his arrival in England, found means to make his party good with the king, and instil into his mind a prejudice, of which royalty rendered it very susceptible, against the insurgents both at Boston and New York. He returned thanks, indeed, to the people of New York, by Leisler's messenger, for their fidelity; but in none of his communications with either Boston or New York did he recognise the governors whom the people had appointed; and he demonstrated to the inhabitants of both these places how very lightly he respected their complaints against Andros and Nicholson, by subsequently promoting those men to the government of others of the American provinces. He would, doubtless, have continued to unite New York and Massachusetts in the same government; but plainly foreseeing that he must inevitably grant a charter to Boston, and that he might hope to evade a similar concession to New York, which had never yet possessed this advantage, he consented to the separation which both desired, and in August, 1689, committed the separate government of this province to Colonel Slaughter. In consequence, however, of the embarrassed situation of his master's affairs in England, this officer did not arrive at New York till the second year [1691] after his appointment, and till Leisler had possessed power so long that he was extremely unwilling, and exercised it

with so much envy that he was exceedingly afraid, to surrender it. This ill-fated adventurer seems to have hoped to the last that the king would either continue him in his office or expressly sanction and reward his services; and when he found himself no otherwise noticed than by a summons from Colonel Slaughter to deliver up the fort, he answered in the language of folly and despair, that he would not give it up but to an order under the king's own hand. Such a resolution it was unfortunately possible to utter, though quite impracticable to maintain; and he only sealed his fate by this last frantic effort to evade it, and furnished his enemies with a legal pretext to destroy him, which otherwise they would have found it no easy matter to adduce. The new governor's ears were now readily opened to all the charges that Leisler's enemies hastened to prefer against him; and though he quickly abandoned the desperate purpose of defending the fort, he was denounced as a rebel, and committed to prison with his kinsman and Milbourn various others of his adherents on a charge of high treason.

Colonel Slaughter having thus established his authority in the province, proceeded to convoke an assembly which voted addresses in reprobation of Leisler's rebellious conduct, in holding out the fort against the governor. A general act of annulment was passed, not only against all the regulations that had been established by former royal governors and their counsels, but even against the laws that had been enacted by the popular assembly in 1643, on the strange and unaccountable pretext, that having never been observed by the late king, they had ceased to be binding on the people. As some doubt had arisen, whether, in the absence of a charter, the assembling of a representative body was an inherent right of the people, or a mere grace from the king, this assembly passed a remarkable law, declaring that this and all the other liberties of Englishmen belonged of right to the colonists; but this act was afterwards annulled by King William. Leisler and Milbourn were now brought to trial, and, vainly pleading their meritorious services in originating the revolution of the province, were convicted, and received sentence of death. The governor still hesitated to destroy the two persons, who, of all the inhabitants, had first declared themselves in favor of his sovereign; and, shortly after the trial, wrote to the English ministers to direct him in what manner the convicts should be disposed of: but he had hardly taken this step, when the renewed instances of their enemies induced him to alter his purpose, and issue the warrant of death, which was instantly carried into execution.* The adherents of Leisler and Milbourn, who had been much enraged at the sentence, were filled with terror and astonishment when they saw it carried into effect, and began to fly in such numbers from the province, that it was found necessary to pass in haste a general act of indemnity. Leisler's son complained in the king of the execution of his father, and the confiscation of his property; and the privy council reporting that, although the trial and execution were legal, it was advisable, under all the circumstances of the case, to restore the forfeited estate, this was all the grace that could for some time be obtained. But a compensation more honorable and satisfactory was awarded to them soon after; and, under the reign of the same king, the English parliament enacted a reversal of the colonial attainder. The passions which Leisler's administration had excited in one party, and which his execution had communicated to the other, continued long to distract the public councils, and embitter the private intercourse, of the inhabitants of New York.

The most respectable act of Slaughter's short administration was a conference which he held with the chiefs of the Five Nations, who admitted that they had so far relaxed their hostile purposes against the French, as to entertain propositions for a lasting peace with them; but now willingly consented to *brighten*, as they termed it, *their ancient belt of friendship*, and to renew a league, offensive and defensive, with the English. "We remember," they declared, "the deceit and treachery of the French; the hurt they have sent us is poison; we spew it out of our mouths; and are resolved to make war with them as long as we live." On his return from this conference, a sudden death put a period to Slaughter's administration.

To animate the Indians in the purposes they had

* When no other measures could prevail with the governor, tradition informs us that a sumptuous feast was prepared, to which Colonel Slaughter was invited. When his excellency's reason was drowned in his cups, the entreaties of the company prevailed with him to sign the death-warrant, and before he recovered his senses the prisoners were executed." Smith, 104.

now professed, and to sharpen by exercise their hostility against the French, Major Schuyler, who had acquired extraordinary influence with the Five Nations by his courage, good sense, and friendly attention to their interests, undertook, in the close of this year, an expedition against Montreal at the head of a considerable body of colonial and Indian forces. Though the invaders were finally compelled to retreat, the French sustained great loss in several encounters, and the spirit and animosity of the Five Nations were whetted to such a pitch, that even when their allies retired, they continued during the winter to wage incessant and harassing hostilities with the French. Count Frontignae, whose sprightly manners and energetic character supported the spirits of his countrymen amidst every reverse, [1692] was at length so provoked with what he deemed the ingratitude of the Five Nations for his kindness to them at Schenectady, that, besides encouraging his own Indian allies to burn their prisoners alive, he at length condemned to a death still more dreadful two Mohawk warriors who had fallen into his hands. In vain the French priests remonstrated against this sentence, and urged him not to bring so foul a stain on the christian name; the count declared that every consideration must yield to the safety and defence of his people, and that the Indians must not be encouraged to believe that they might practise the extreme of cruelty on the French without the hazard of having it retorted on themselves. If he had been merely actuated by politic considerations, without being stimulated by revenge, he might have plainly perceived, from the conduct of all the Indian tribes in their wars with each other, that the fear of retort had no efficacy whatever to restrain them from their barbarous practices, which he now undertook to sanction as far as his example was capable of doing. The priests, finding that their humane intercession was ineffectual, repaired to the prisoners, and labored to persuade them to embrace the christian name, as a preparation for the dreadful fate which they were about to receive from christian hands; but their instructions were rejected with scorn and derision, and they found the prisoners determined to dignify, by Indian sentiments and demeanor, the Indian death which they had been condemned to undergo. Shortly before the execution, some Frenchman, less inhuman than his governor, threw a knife into the prison, and one of the Mohawks immediately despatched himself with it; the other, expressing contempt at his companion's mean evasion from glory, walked to the stake, singing, in his death-chant, that he was a Mohawk warrior, that all the power of man could not extort an indecent expression of suffering from his lips, and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had made many Frenchmen suffer the same pangs that he must now himself undergo. When attached to the stake, he looked round on his executioners, their instruments of torture, and the assembled multitude of spectators, with all the complacency of heroic fortitude; and, after enduring for some hours, with composed mien and triumphant language, a series of barbarities too atrocious and disgusting to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the interposition of a French lady, who prevailed with the governor to order that mortal blow, to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup de grace*, or stroke of favor.*

It was with great reluctance that King William had surrendered to the American colonies any of the acquisitions which regal authority had derived from the tyrannical usurpations of his predecessors; and his reign was signalled by various attempts to invade the privileges which at first he had been compelled to respect or to restore. He was informed by the English lawyers that he could not refuse to recognise the charter of Connecticut with all its ample privileges, and he was baffled in his attempt to procure an act of parliament to annul it. But as New York, never having had a charter, was judged to be not legally entitled to demand one, he determined not only to deprive it of this advantage, but, through the medium of its undefined consti-

tution, and the utter absence of restriction on the powers with which he might invest its governor, to attempt an encroachment on the envied privileges of Connecticut. Colonel Fletcher, a man of sordid disposition, violent temper, and shallow capacity, yet endowed with a considerable share of activity, was the governor who next arrived to represent the king at New York, and to him was intrusted the execution of the design that William had conceived against the neighboring colony. For this purpose he had been invested with plenary powers of commanding, not merely the militia of New York,* but all his majesty's militia in the colonies of that quarter of America. His first step towards effectuating this encroachment was to send a commission to governor Trent, who already commanded the militia of Connecticut according to the institutions of the provincial charter; and the reception of this, even in the light of a mere superogatory confirmation, it was probably hoped would pave the way to a more thorough establishment of the king's pretensions. But Connecticut had then, both in the offices of her government and the ranks of her people, abundance of men, who, thoroughly appreciating the privileges they enjoyed, had sense to see, and spirit to resist, every attempt to violate them; and the tender of Fletcher's commission was not only flatly refused but made the subject of a vigorous remonstrance. Incensed at such contumacy, as he was pleased to regard it, Fletcher proceeded with his usual impetuosity to Hartford, [1693.] and commanded the assembly of the state, who were sitting, to place their militia under his orders, as they would answer it to the king. He even proceeded to such a length as to threaten to issue a proclamation calling on all who were for the king to join him, and denouncing all others as guilty of disloyalty and sedition. Finding his menacing injunctions received with a calm but firm refusal, he presented himself with one of his council, Colonel Bayard, to the militia, at their parade, and expecting that a royal warrant would find greater favor with the men than it had done with the civil rulers, he commanded Bayard to read his commission aloud, as an act of declaratory possession of the authority to which he pretended. But Captain Wadsworth, who was always present when the liberties of his country were in danger, and who had once before saved the charter of Connecticut from invasion, now stepped forward to prevent the privileges it conveyed from being abridged or insulted, and commanding the drums to beat, completely drowned the obnoxious accents. When Fletcher attempted to interpose, Wadsworth supported his orders with such an energy of determination, that the meaner genius of his antagonist was completely rebuked; and seeing the countenances of all around kindling into sympathy with their patriot's fervor, he judged it best to consult his safety by a hasty departure to New York, where his spleen, at least, could not be obstructed by any exceptions to his commission. The king, with the view of covering his defeat, or of trying whether legal chicane could repair it, ordered this matter to be submitted to the opinion of the attorney and solicitor general of England; and on their reporting without hesitation in favor of the plea of Connecticut, an order of council was passed in conformity with their report; as if the matter at issue had involved a mere local dispute between two provincial jurisdictions, in which the king was to exercise the dignified functions of supreme and impartial arbitrator.†

It was fortunate for New York that the incapacity of her governor was prevented from being so detrimental as it might otherwise have proved to her Indian interests, by the confidence he reposed in Major Schuyler, whose weighty influence was employed to preserve the affections and sustain the spirit of the Five Nations. Yet so imperfectly were they assisted by the colony, that Frontignae, even while occupied with other hostilities in New England, was able by his vigor and activity to give them a severe defeat. Roused by this intelligence, Fletcher assembled the militia of New York, and abruptly demanding who was willing to march to the aid of their allies against the French, the men threw up their hats in the air and answered unanimously "One and all." The march was effected with a rapidity that highly gratified the Indians; and though it produced no substantial advantage to them, it was so favorably regarded as a demonstration of promptitude

to aid them, that they were prevented from embracing Frontignae's offers of peace. They could not help observing however that it was too frequent with the English to defer their succors till they had become unavailing; and that while the whole of the power of France in America was concentrated in simultaneous efforts to maintain the French dominion, the English colonies acted with partial and divided operation, and Maryland and Delaware in particular (though the quarrel was said to be a national one) took no share in the hostilities at all.

But the vigor of Governor Fletcher was more frequently and strenuously exerted in contentions with the house of assembly, than in aiding the Indians; though it was to his services in this last department that he owed what little popularity he enjoyed in the province. A bigot himself to the church of England, he labored incessantly to introduce a model of her establishment in New York, and naturally encountered much resistance to this project from the opposite predilections of the Dutch and other presbyterian inhabitants. At length his efforts succeeded in procuring a bill to be carried through the lower house, or assembly of representatives, for settling ministers in the several parishes: but when the council adjected to the clause which gave the people the privilege of electing their own ministers, a proviso that the governor should exercise the episcopal power of approving and collating the incumbents, this amendment was directly negatived by the assembly. The governor, exasperated at their obstinacy, called the house before him, and protracted their sitting with a passionate harangue. "You take upon you," said he, "as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of but three or four words in that bill, which though very immaterial, yet was positively denied. I must tell you, it seems very unmannerly. It is the sign of a stubborn, ill temper. You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government; and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the council have a share. They are in the nature of the House of Lords or upper House; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for every thing. You have sat a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did not you think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance?" The members of assembly endured his rudeness with invincible patience; but they also obstructed his pretensions with unmoveable resolution. In the following year, [1694] their disputes were so frequent that all business was interrupted; and the governor seemed to have embraced the determination of convoking the assembly no more. But though his own emoluments were secured by an act that had established the public revenue for several years yet to come, the necessity of raising further supplies to make presents to the Indians, and the arrival of a body of troops from Britain, obliged him to alter his determination. He had been required also by the king to lay before the assembly an assignment which his majesty had framed of the quotas to be respectively contributed by the colonies for the maintenance of an united force against the French.‡ [1695.] The assembly could not be prevailed with to pay the slightest attention to this royal assignment. But they made a liberal grant of money for the support of the troops that had arrived, and added a present to the governor; who now perceiving that the people of New York were totally unmanageable by insolence and passion, but might be made subservient to his avarice, ceased to harass himself and them by farther pressing obnoxious schemes, and maintained a good correspondence with the assembly during the remainder of his administration. In this respect he was more successful than some of the future governors of the province, whose remarkable unpopularity during many years of honest and praiseworthy exertion has excited some surprise in those who have not examined with sufficient

* Colden, i. 135, 6. 139—145. Smith, 107, 8. Such fortitude was no unusual display in an American savage; and the subsequent execution of Damien at Paris renders the act of Frontignae at least no solitary instance in the history of civilised France. The execution of the English regicides in 1660, and of the Scottish rebels in 1745, exhibited scenes little less disgraceful to humanity. Probably, in all such cases of the addition of torture to death, cruelty completely overreaches itself, and diverting the mind of the sufferer from the one last enemy whose attack he cannot repel, relieves it by involving him in the animation of a contest where victory is in his own power. The more simple the mortal act is made, and the more melancholy respect that is shown to life even in taking it away, the more impressive and formidable an execution appears.

* He was appointed also Governor of Pennsylvania by the king who had deprived William Penn of his proprietary functions.

† Smith, 110. Trumbull, i. 390—395, and Appendix, 541—545. In the commission from George the Second to Sir Danvers Osborn (recited at length by Smith, p. 321, &c.) the right of commanding the Connecticut militia was again conferred on the governor of New York.

* It is surprising that he was not sensible of the inappropriateness of this observation, which had it been true, would have rendered his own passion exceedingly ridiculous. But the governor was at all times an indifferent reasoner; and anger, with which he was very subject to be overtaken, has always been more promotive of rhetoric than of logic.

† The list of the respective quotas was as follows:—

Pennsylvania	800.	Rhode Island and Providence	450.
Massachusetts	350.	Connecticut	120.
Maryland	160.	New York	200.
Virginia	240.		

‡ This assignment seems nowhere to have received much attention of any respect.

minuteness the whole of their official career. Like Fletcher, these officers conceiving themselves vested with regal power unincumbered by chartered rights, looked on the provincial inhabitants as an inferior people, and began their administration with insolent demeanor and arbitrary pretensions: like him they learned wisdom from experience; but their wisdom came a day too late; the people had ceased to be as placable as in former times; and the spirit of liberty, thoroughly exercised, had become prompt to repel as well as firm in resisting injustice. Their government was impeded by the total want of a public confidence, which having once deservedly forfeited, they found that even a complete change of measures was insufficient to regain. From ignorance or disregard of such considerations as these (which a very attentive perusal of colonial controversy has impressed upon me,) it has often been thought that the government of this province was embarrassed by the factious obstinacy of a perverse and unreasonable people, when in truth the governors were out-reaping what themselves had sown, and struggling with the just suspicions that their original misconduct had created. In the unchartered province of Virginia, as well as in New York, such also were, not unfrequently, the proceedings of the British governors, and the complexion of their administrations: and Britain, it must be confessed, by employing such functionaries and promoting such policy, took infinite pains to educate the principles of liberty in those of her colonial dependencies, where they seemed least likely to attain a flourishing growth.

1695.] The remainder of Fletcher's administration was not distinguished by any occurrence that deserves to be particularly commemorated. The war between the French and the Five Nations sometimes languished by the address of Frontignac's negotiations, and was oftener kindled into additional rage and destruction by his enterprise and activity. Neither age nor decrepitude could chill the ardor of this man's spirit, or impair the resources of his capacity. On the threshold of his own fate,* and supported in a litter, he flew to every point of attack or defence, to animate the havoc of war, and contemplate the execution of his plans. His own bodily situation had as little effect in mitigating his rigor, as in diminishing his activity; and as their hostilities were prolonged, the French and the Indians seemed to be inspired with a mutual emulation of cruelty† in victory, no less than of prowess in battle. The prisoners on both sides were made to expire in tortures; and the French, less prepared by education and physical habits for such extremities of suffering, endured a great deal more evil than they were able to inflict. [1696.] On one occasion, when Frontignac succeeded in capturing a Mohawk fort, it was found deserted of all its inhabitants except a sachem in extreme old age, who sat with the composure of an ancient Roman in his capital, and saluted his civilised compeer in age and infirmity, with dignified courtesy and venerable address. Every hand was instantly raised to wound and deface his time-stricken frame; and while French and Indian knives were plunged into his body, he recommended to his Indian enemies rather to burn him with fire, than he might teach their French allies how to suffer like men. "Never, perhaps," says Charlevoix, "was a man treated with more cruelty; nor ever did any endure it with superior magnanimity and resolution."‡ The governor of New York, mean-

while, encouraged the Five Nations, from time to time, to persevere in the contest, by endeavoring to negotiate alliances between them and other tribes, and by sending them valuable presents of ammunition and of the European commodities which they principally esteemed; and their intercourse with him fluctuated between grateful acknowledgments of these occasional supplies, and angry complaints that he fought all his battles by the instrumentality of the Indians. Indeed, except repelling some insignificant attacks of the French on the frontiers of the province, the English governor took no actual share in the war, and left the most important interests of his countrymen to be upheld against the efforts of a skilful and inveterate foe, by the unaided valor of their Indian allies. [1697.] The peace of Ryswick, which interrupted the hostilities of the French and English, threatened at first to be attended with fatal consequences to the allies, to whose exertions the English had been so highly indebted; and if Fletcher had been permitted to continue longer in the government of New York, this result, no less dangerous than dishonorable to his countrymen, would most probably have ensued. A considerable part of the forces of Count Frontignac had been employed hitherto in warlike operations against Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in conjunction with the numerous Indian allies whom he possessed in that quarter. [1698.] But the peace of Ryswick, of which he now received intelligence, enabled him to concentrate his whole disposable force against the only foe that remained to him; and refusing to consider the Five Nations as identified with the English, he prepared to invade them with such an army as they never before had to cope with, and overwhelm them with a vengeance which they seemed incapable of resisting. But Fletcher had now been very seasonably succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed governor both of New York and Massachusetts; and this nobleman being endowed with a considerable share both of resolution and capacity, clearly perceived the danger and injustice of suffering the French project to be carried into effect, and promptly interposed to counteract it. He not only furnished the Five Nations with an ample supply of ammunition and military stores, but notified to Count Frontignac, that if the French should presume to attack them, he would march with the whole force of his province to their aid. The count thereupon abandoned his enterprise, and complained to his sovereign (Louis the Fourteenth) of the interruption it had received; while Lord Bellamont, in like manner, apprised King William of the step he had taken. The two kings commanded their respective governors to lend assistance to each other, and evince a spirit of accommodation in making the peace effectual to both nations, and to leave all disputes concerning the dependency of the Indian tribes to the determination of the commissioners who were to be named in pursuance of the treaty of Ryswick. Shortly after the reception of these mandates, a peace was concluded between the French and the Five Nations; but not till English insolence and French cunning had nearly detached these tribes entirely from the alliance they had so steadily maintained, by leading them to believe that the English interposed in their concerns for no other reason than that they accounted them their slaves. The French endeavored to take advantage of their ill humor by prevailing with them to receive an establishment of Jesuits into their settlements. But although the Indians at first entertained the offer, and listened with their usual gravity and politeness to the artful harangue of a Jesuit who had been sent to enforce it, [19] their habitual sentiments soon prevailed over a transient discontent, and they declared their determination to adhere to the English, and to receive, instead of the French priests, a ministry of protestant pastors which Lord Bellamont had proposed to establish among them.*

liberty, and live in greater plenty, than the common inhabitants of New York do." Colden, i. 212.

So many English prisoners have remained and married in the Indian settlements (says Professor Kalm), and so many French traders have spontaneously united themselves to the Indians, that "the Indian blood in Canada is very much mixed with European blood, and a great part of the Indians now living (1749) owe their origin to Europe." Travels, iii. 153. 276.

* Smith, 114—125. Colden, i. 159—210. The fulfilment of the promise of sending protestant pastors to the Five Nations seems to have been deferred till the year 1712, when one Andrews was sent among them by the English Society for propagating the Gospel. The Indians at first received him with joy, but peremptorily refused to suffer him to teach the English language to their children. After preaching and teaching among them, in the Indian tongue, for several years, he was universally forsaken by his auditors and scholars, and closed a fruitless mission in 1718. Humphrey's Hist. Acc. of the Society for propagating the Gospel, 295—310.

Some abuses that prevailed, and some disorders that were likely to arise at New York, had induced King William to bestow the government of the province on Lord Bellamont, who, it was hoped, would be easily able, by the influence of his elevated rank, added to the resolution and integrity of his character, to redress the one and compose the other. Fletcher, his predecessor, had proved a very unfaithful steward of the public revenue, and had gratified his avarice and his partialities by unjust and exorbitant appropriations and grants of land. Lord Bellamont, on investigating the particulars of Fletcher's administration, openly denounced him as a corrupt and profligate magistrate; and not only caused judicial proceedings to be instituted against him and the favorites whom he had enriched with a share of the public spoil, but at one time proposed to send him as a criminal, to undergo a public trial in England. The expense and difficulty of procuring what the law would deem requisite evidence, together with other obstructions which always oppose themselves to every scheme for effecting the exposure or compelling the restitution, of official plunder, prevented any of these proceedings from attaining a satisfactory issue.

An attempt that was made to correct another abuse proved at first eminently unfortunate, and was attended with very singular circumstances in its progress, and very remarkable consequences in England. The late war had given rise to a great deal of privateering, which in many instances had degenerated into piracy; and the evil was greatly increased by the readiness with which James the Second, in his exile, granted commissions for privateering to adventurers adhering, or professing adherence, to his cause, and who expected that these commissions would entitle their robberies to be regarded as acts of legitimate warfare.* From New York, in particular, many English piratical cruisers were known to have sailed; and, indeed, there was strong reason to suspect that Fletcher's hunger for gold had been too voracious to scruple the receiving of it from the hands of these robbers as the price of his connivance at their depredations. The suppression of this nuisance had been strongly recommended by the king to Lord Bellamont, who, casting about in his mind, and consulting his friends in what manner this design would be most efficaciously conducted, was advised to take the assistance of one Kidd, who was represented to him as a man of honor and intrepidity, and well acquainted with the persons and the haunts of the pirates. Kidd, who was in England at the time, was introduced to Lord Bellamont by the person who had so characterised him, and readily offered to undertake the suppression and apprehension of the pirates, if the king would grant him a commission for the purpose, and place at his disposal a good sailing frigate of thirty guns. The earl laid the proposal before the king, who was strongly disposed to embrace any feasible plan for extirpating piracy; but some difficulties having been started by the admiralty, the scheme was dropped, and, unfortunately for the character of all parties, a private adventure, to be conducted by Kidd against the pirates, was suggested in its stead, and finally embraced. The king himself was concerned in the enterprise, and had a tenth share reserved to him; and the Lord Chancellor (Somers,) the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney and Oxford, Sir Edmund Harrison, and various other persons of distinction, were associated in the adventure as partners with their sovereign. Kidd received an ordinary commission from the crown as a privateer, with special directions from the royal and noble owners of his vessel, to proceed against the pirates, and to hold himself particularly responsible to Lord Bellamont. Embarking on this important enterprise, with so much illustrious character intrusted to his keeping, Kidd arrived at New York long before Lord Bellamont, whose assumption of his government did not take place till more than two years after his appointment. When his lordship subsequently reached New York, he learned, to his no small confusion and resentment, that by his patronage of Kidd he had been accessory to an enormous aggravation of

* Unreasonable as we may think the expectation of these pirates, that the English, who denied James' regal right to govern them, should recognise the same right to the more formidable extent of making war on them, this plea was actually maintained by certain of King William's crown lawyers. Some pirates commissioned by James having been apprehended in 1693, Dr. Oldish, the king's advocate, refused to prosecute them, and along with Sir Thomas Pinfold, Tindall, and other lawyers, supported this refusal by a learned argument before the privy council. Tindall's Essay on the Law of Nations, p. 25—30. But other lawyers were found willing to prosecute the prisoners, who were convicted and executed. Howell, xii. No. 375.

* He died very soon after the restoration of peace by the treaty of Ryswick. Smith, 133.

† In truth, this emulation was more than a mere semblance. On one occasion a deliberate competition was made between the French and a tribe in alliance with them, to ascertain which people could insist the most ingenious cruelty on a Mohawk prisoner. Of the horrid tragedy that ensued, I shall give no further account than that the Indians greatly excelled their competitors, and thence the French into transports of laughter by the fantastic variety of the tortures they inflicted. The French soldiers appear to have been prompted to this brutality by mere revenge and ferocity. Their commander's object on this occasion was to create irreconcilable enmity between a tribe newly allied to him and the Five Nations. Colden, i. 194, 5. It may surprise a philosopher to consider, that these Frenchmen were the countrymen and contemporaries of Pascal, Fenelon, and Arnauld. It will edify a Christian to remember, that these eminent saints were beings of the same nature with the civilized and the savage perpetrators of such atrocities in Canada.

‡ Neither the French nor the Indians, however, slew all their prisoners. A great many remained to be exchanged at the end of the war: and on this occasion it was remarked, that all the Indians returned with great alacrity to their friends, but that in many cases it proved very difficult, and in some utterly impossible, to induce Frenchmen, who had lived a few years with the Indians and embraced their habits, to return to civilized life. The English found it no less difficult to prevail with their friends who had been taken prisoners by the French Indians, and lived for any considerable time with them, to return to New York; "though no people enjoy more

the evil he had hoped to extirpate, and to the dishonor of his king and of all the distinguished persons who had been associated in the privateering adventure; and that Kidd had already rendered himself more infamous and formidable than any other pirate that infested the seas, by the extent of his naval robberies and his numberless murders. Lord Bellamont vigorously exerted himself to repair, by better agency, the consequences of this unhappy error; and having fortunately succeeded in apprehending Kidd, [1699] who had repaired on a trafficking speculation to Boston, where he hoped not to be recognised, he wrote to the secretary of state, desiring that a warrant might be sent for transmitting this daring offender to England, where already considerable interest had been excited in the public mind by the tidings of the freebooter's desperate enterprises, and vague rumors of the share which the first personages in the state had taken in supplying him with the means of performing them. A ship of war was sent out to bring home the prisoner, and repel any attempt that might be made for his rescue; but, unfortunately, the vessel was disabled on her passage, and obliged to return to port. A strong suspicion now arose of collusion between Kidd and the ministry, who it was thought were determined not to have him brought home at all, lest in his own defence he should discover their infamous confederacy. This suspicion was inflamed by the artifices of the Tory party, who were opposed to King William's government, and who vehemently pressed a motion in the House of Commons, that all persons who had been concerned in Kidd's adventure might be dismissed from their employments. Though this motion was rejected, they prevailed with the House to have Kidd examined at the bar, when the exertions of the ministers and Lord Bellamont to vindicate their characters had at length succeeded in bringing him to England; and though disappointed at first in their hope of obtaining any valuable disclosures from him, yet either honestly suspecting what they professed to believe, or trusting that he would be induced to become a useful instrument of their purposes (which he discovered more inclination than ability to do), they endeavored to have his trial deferred, and prevailed with the house to call him again to the bar, even after an address had been voted to the crown recommending that he should be speedily remitted to an English jury. Kidd was brought to trial at the Old Bailey in the year 1701, and being totally unable either to criminate the ministers or to defend himself, was convicted, with several of his accomplices, of piracy and murder, and soon after underwent the just punishment of his crimes. The violence of the Tory faction in England prevented this matter from proving as injurious as, more moderately handled, it would, and perhaps ought to have been to Lord Bellamont and the Whig ministers of the king. Kidd's conduct previous to his employment as a privateer had in reality been such that a proper investigation of it would have subjected him to punishment, instead of recommending him to an important trust. A charge derived from this gross and culpable neglect, and directed against all who had been concerned in procuring Kidd's commission, was introduced into the articles of impeachment preferred soon after by the commons against Lord Somers. The name and character of the Earl of Bellamont, in particular, were expressly involved in this charge, though his recent death at New York prevented him from being included in the impeachment. But the managers of the impeachment associating this charge with other weightier imputations which they were unable to prove, and involving themselves (purposely, perhaps) in a dispute with the House of Lords, the impeachment ended in an acquittal, without producing a trial.

But the most afflicting disorders that threatened to assail the government and community of New York, were portended by the increasing animosity of two numerous factions, consisting of the friends and the enemies of the unfortunate Leisler. The son of this man, incapable of forgetting or forgiving the tragical fate of his father, had labored incessantly for the re-establishment of his character and the retribution of his wrongs; and having obtained, by the assistance of the province of Massachusetts, an act of parliament to reverse his father's attainder, and now proceeding, with every likelihood of success, to urge a claim for indemnification on account of his family's sufferings and losses, the spirits of his partizans in New York were powerfully excited by the hope of a triumph so humiliating to their adversaries. The mutual animosity of the two factions was roused and whetted to such a degree by the occurrence and the prospect of fresh opportunities to indulge

it, that the public business of the province was seriously impeded; and in the very first assembly that Lord Bellamont convoked at New York, except an unanimous address of thanks to himself for his speech on the state of the province, there was scarcely a single measure proposed, about which the members of assembly found it possible to agree. The character and manners of Lord Bellamont were happily adopted to compose these dissensions; a task which perhaps, if he had longer enjoyed the government, he would have wisely attempted and successfully effected: but unfortunately the circumstances in which he found himself placed on his first arrival at New York, and the sentiments which he was thence led to entertain, tended rather to inflame than to mitigate the evil. His just displeasure against Fletcher, animated by the discovery of that profligate governor's encouragement of the pirates, at first extended itself to every person who had held office along with him, or been distinguished by any appearance of his regard; and as in this class were comprehended the principal adversaries of Leisler, the spirits of this party were additionally revived, and their numbers augmented by the near prospect of supremacy and triumph. Young Leisler's solicitations in England at length so far prevailed, that a letter was addressed by the Secretary of State to Lord Bellamont, [1700] declaring that his majesty, from "a gracious sense of the father's services and sufferings," desired that the son's claims of indemnification might be entertained by the general assembly of New York. No sooner was the royal letter laid before the assembly, of which a great majority now consisted of the friends of young Leisler, than a vote was passed, appointing the sum of 1000*l.* to be levied immediately on the province for his advantage.

Lord Bellamont had now succeeded in acquainting himself with the state of the province: and the resentment and disturbance he had suffered from the piratical transactions in which his own and his sovereign's honor had been so deeply involved, seemed to have had time to subside. But the influence which his good sense and moderation were confidently expected to produce in tranquillizing the angry factions over which he presided, was intercepted by his unexpected death in the beginning of the year 1701. This event was attended with the most unfortunate consequences. The faction that had appeared likely to be totally defeated, received intelligence that Lord Cornbury, who was expected soon to arrive as the successor of Bellamont, was prepossessed in their favor, because they were accounted the partizans of the church of England, and began already to anticipate a favorable change in their relations with the adverse party; while this party, at the head of which was Nanfan, the lieutenant-governor, made haste to use their power with an energy enforced by the probable shortness of its duration. The most strenuous exertions were made by both, to increase their strength in the assembly; and the most furious animosities were created by the theoretical respect which both professed for the same fundamental principles; by the practical respect which each, accordingly, required for these principles from their adversaries; and by the practical disregard of them into which both were hurried by the violence of their passions. The faction opposed to Leisler's friends, being generally defeated in these contests, vented their indignation, and exercised the only policy that seemed to remain to them, in vehement complaints of their adversaries to the king, the parliament, and, above all, to Lord Cornbury, on whose favor their hopes of victory and vengeance now exclusively depended. Colonel Bayard, in particular, having promoted some of these addresses, in which the most scandalous charges of bribery, public plunder, and oppression, were preferred against the lieutenant-governor, the chief-justice, and the assembly, [1702] was committed to prison as a traitor, by Nanfan, under a law which Bayard and his friends had caused to be enacted in 1691, to curb their own adversaries, and which subjected to the pains of treason every person endeavoring, by force of arms, or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good, and quiet of the king's government. Though the attorney-general of New York gave a written opinion, that the addresses contained nothing criminal or illegal, Nanfan, finding the solicitor-general differently minded, urged on the charge; and, after a trial more fair, perhaps, than in such a state of public feeling could have been reasonably expected, Bayard was dragged to the brink of the pit which he himself had dug, by a verdict of guilty, and sentence of death.* Alderman Hutchins

was immediately after tried, and convicted on a similar charge. But here the adversaries of the prisoners thought proper to pause. Though the law on which the convictions had been founded was an arbitrary one, it had been enacted by the prisoners themselves and their party, and never yet repealed; and though the convictions proceeded on a somewhat strained construction of it, there had been no signal or undoubted departure from the ordinary principles of criminal justice. The prosecutors, therefore, had not incurred such guilt as to confound altogether their sense and humanity, or imperiously to urge them to complete what they had begun, and destroy their victims while they were yet in their power. Happily for themselves, and for the province, they consented to relieve the prisoners till the king's pleasure should be known. But long before the application on which the fatal issue was thus suspended could be made, Lord Cornbury arrived at New York; and not only caused the attainders of Bayard and Hutchins to be reversed, but placing himself at the head of their party, conducted his administration with such violence and partiality, that the late chief justice, and several other considerable persons of the opposite faction, thought it prudent to depart from the province.

Lord Cornbury, the grandson of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, possessed not one of the qualities for which his distinguished ancestor had been celebrated, except an exaggeration of his bigotry to the church of England, and his intolerance of all other religious communions. The rest of his character would have disgraced more estimable qualities; and seems to have formed a composition no less odious than despicable, of rapacity and prodigality, voluptuousness and cruelty, the loftiest arrogance, and the meanest chicanery. Whether from real difference in sentiment, or from a policy which in these days was not uncommon, while his father had adhered to the cause of James the Second, the son declared himself, at a very early period, for King William, and was one of the first officers who deserted with his troop to him; and having now dissipated his substance in riot and debauchery, and being obliged to fly from his creditors in England, it had been one of the last acts of his royal patron's administration, to reward his services with the government of New York. This appointment was confirmed by his kinswoman Queen Anne, who added to it the government of New Jersey, which had been recently surrendered by the proprietaries to the crown. The public events that belong to the period of Lord Cornbury's administration* do not fall within the compass of the present work; and I allude to its general complexion, for the purpose of explaining how the factions which we have seen carried to such a height in New York came to be, if not entirely suppressed, yet greatly mitigated and reduced. This desirable end, which was more obstructed than advanced by the only respectable governor that had been sent to New York since the revolution, was now signally promoted by the administration of a successor, who robbed even Andros of his evil eminence, and rendered himself more universally detested than any officer to whom the government of this province was ever intrusted. For a while the majority of the assembly, composed by his influence of the faction which had but recently smarted under the power of a triumphant rival, adhered with unscrupulous loyalty to him as its leader and protector; and even after the intolerance he began to exert against the presbyterians, and every other religious sect, except the protestant episcopalians, had alienated many of his first political adherents, he found their loss nearly compensated by the increased regards of those who now boasted him their ecclesiastical ally. Though the great body of the inhabitants, including the most ancient families in the province, were presbyterians, he refused to permit the ministers of this persuasion to preach without a license from himself, which implied that they officiated, not of right, but by indulgence. On one occasion, finding that in a township in Long Island there were a few episcopalians intermixed with the

one of the latter, maintained a plea, which was not heard of till a much later period in England; but illustrated it by an observation which we should not expect to hear in the courts of justice of a state where slavery was admitted. "The jury," he said, "are judges both of law and fact, as the case is now circumstanced; and if they will enslave themselves and their posterity, and damn themselves of all access to their prince, they will be worse than negroes." Even under the liberal jurisprudence of Oliver Cromwell, it was declared from the bench (on the first trial of Lilburn) that it was "a damnable doctrine" to hold that the jury were judges of law as well as fact. Howell, vol. iv. p. 1284, note.

* One of the first and the most respectable act of his administration was a renewal of the league with the Indians of New York, in a numerous convention of the tribes, which was held at Albany in 1702. Oldmixon, vol. i. p. 130.

* The proceedings on this trial, which are reported at some length in Howell's Collection, are creditable to the legal knowledge, ability, and spirit of the lawyers employed to conduct them, and especially of the counsel for the prisoner Emot,

presbyterians who formed the great majority of the inhabitants and had built a parsonage for their minister, he fraudulently contrived to get possession of the house, and then delivered it up to the episcopal party. Hearing some time after, that two presbyterian ministers from Virginia had preached to a congregation in New York without his license, he threw them both into prison; and afterwards brought them to trial for a misdemeanor; but although the judge advised the jury to return a special verdict, that the law on this subject might be finally ascertained, the jury were too prudent to put the liberties of their country so far out of their own keeping, and without hesitation acquitted the prisoners. In every quarter of the province his lordship offered his assistance to the episcopalians, to put them in possession of the churches that other sects had built; and to the disgrace of some of the zealots for episcopacy, this offer was in several instances accepted, and produced a wide scene of riot, injustice, and confusion. But happily for the unfortunate people who were exposed to the mischief of his administration, his conduct in other departments of government soon weakened his influence with all parties, and gradually deprived him of the power of instigating any portion of the society to harass or oppress the rest. It was discovered, that not content with the liberal grants of money which the assembly had made to him for his private use, he had embezzled large sums appropriated to the erection of public works, and the defence of the province; [1702—1709] and that unable to subsist on his lawful emoluments, even with the addition of enormous pillage, he had contracted debts to every tradesman who would trust him, and employed the powers of his office to set his creditors at defiance. Even after this discovery was made, he contrived to have some of the public money intrusted to his hands, by alarming the assembly with pretended intelligence of an approaching invasion; and this farther trust was executed with as little fidelity as the preceding ones. In vain the assembly proposed to establish a body of functionaries to control the public expenditure, and account for it to themselves; and with as little success did they transmit a remonstrance to the queen. Their application to her majesty met with no other attention than some private instructions, which were said to have been sent to the governor; their proposition to control the public disbursements was disallowed; and when they insisted on a scrutiny of his accounts, he warned them in an angry speech, not to provoke him to exert "certain powers" which the queen had committed to him, and advised them to let him hear less about the rights of the house, as the house had no rights but what the grace and good pleasure of her majesty permitted it to enjoy. By such declarations, and a line of policy pursued in strict conformity with them, he succeeded in alienating all his adherents, and finally in uniting all classes of the people in one common interest of opposition to himself. When he dissolved an assembly for its attention to the public interests, he found his influence no longer able to affect the composition of the assembly which he called to succeed it. It was fortunate for the people that they were compelled to endure this state of things for several years, and till the lessons which it was well calculated to teach them were deeply impressed on their minds. The governor had leisure to repeat the expedient of dissolving intractable assemblies, and the mortification of finding every succeeding one more stubborn than its predecessor; till he at length convoked assemblies which absolutely refused to vote the smallest supply for the public service, till he should account for all his past receipts and applications of money, and perform the impossible condition of refunding all the sums he had embezzled—preferring even an extremity so inconvenient to themselves, to the continuance of so corrupt and profligate an administration. The dissolute habits, and ignoble tastes and manners of the man, completed and embittered the disgust with which he was now universally regarded; and when he was seen rambling abroad in the dress of a woman, the people beheld with indignation and shame the representative of their sovereign, and the ruler of their country.

The inhabitants of New York had now ample leisure, and strong inducements to reflect, with little satisfaction, on the folly and mischief of those divisions that had once enabled such a man to enjoy influence among them, and successfully to incite them to harass and maltreat each other, that he might the more securely pillage and insult them all. His administration forcibly taught them the important lesson that divisions among themselves were profitable only to the party who ought to be the object of their constitutional jealousy, the

royal governor; and that union among themselves, founded on a sense of common interest, and maintained by the exercise of mutual forbearance and charity, was essential alike to their tranquillity and independence. The lesson was not lost upon them; and though former animosities were not entirely extinguished for many years, they never again reached the height which they had attained at the commencement of Lord Cornbury's administration. This worthless personage continued for a considerable period to remind the people by his presence of the salutary lessons they had derived from his administration, even after they had obtained a deliverance from its burden. In the year 1709, Queen Anne was at length compelled by the reiterated and unanimous complaints of New York and New Jersey (where he was equally odious), to supersede his commission, and appoint Lord Lovelace to succeed him; and no sooner was he deprived of his office, than his creditors threw him into the same prison, where he had unjustly confined many worthier men. Thus degraded from office by his public crimes, and deprived of liberty by his private vice and dishonesty, this kinsman of his queen remained a prisoner for debt in the province he had governed, till the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to his liberation.* He then returned to Europe, and died in the year 1723.

Both before and after the British Revolution, the province of New York had received large additions to the number of its inhabitants from all the various sources of emigration which European hardships and regal misgovernment contributed so copiously to supply. The poor found here a country where their services were highly valued, and their rights enjoyed peculiar consideration; where, instead of being compelled to vie with each other for the boon of ill-rewarded labor, [20] their industry was eagerly courted by the rich, and conducted them with certainty to ease and independence. Among the later accessions of people, were a number of protestant refugees from France, and of prebyterians from Ireland.† The metropolis of the province, which, in the year 1678, contained about three thousand four hundred inhabitants, was found to contain nearly double that number in 1696; and the port which, at the former period, owned no more than three ships and eight sloops, possessed, in the last mentioned year, forty ships, sixty-two sloops, and the same number of boats. The shipping of New York, was promoted, not merely by the growth of its proper population, but by the advantages of its situation, which enabled it to command nearly the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersey. The total population of the province amounted, in 1701, to about thirty thousand persons.‡ Many of the first English colonists who repaired to this province, after the conquest of it from the Dutch, are said to have remained but a short time in it, and to have sought a refuge in New Jersey from the hostilities of the French and their Indian allies. At the end of the seventeenth century the people consisted of various races, English, Scotch, Irish, French, and chiefly Dutch; the great majority being presbyterians and independents. The Dutch congregations continued at this time, and for long after, to acknowledge subjection to the ecclesiastical authorities of Holland; and from them, their ministers, in general, derived their ordination to sacred functions. The Scotch presbyterians, after repeatedly soliciting a charter incorporating their congregation, and being continually disappointed by the interest and opposition of the episcopal party, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, made a grant of their church, and the ground attached to it, to the general assembly of the church of Scotland. The episcopalians, though the least numerous class, enjoyed a charter of incorporation from the assembly; and the minister of their church in New York had a salary of 100*l.* a year levied by a tax on all the inhabitants of the city. For this privilege they were indebted to the exertions of Governor Fletcher; and they were elated by it to such a degree of presumption, as to maintain that the ecclesiastical establishment of the church of England extended to this province, and that theirs was the religion of the state; a pretension that excited much jealousy among all the dissenters, and

was peremptorily disputed by them. When the episcopal clergy became more numerous, they accounted themselves subject immediately to the bishop of London, who maintained a commissary at New York. They made an attempt at an after period to engross the privilege of solemnizing all marriages in the province, but found themselves unable to carry this pretension into effect. Though all law proceedings were conducted in English, and an English free school was established in 1702, the Dutch language continued long to prevail among a considerable portion of the people. For many years public worship was celebrated in Dutch in some of the churches; and in several counties the sheriffs often found it difficult to collect as many persons acquainted with English as were necessary to compose the juries in the courts of law. The English that was generally spoken was much corrupted by intermixture of the two languages.*

The subsistence of the Dutch language was less advantageous to the province than the permanence of Dutch manners, which continued long to be visible in the sobriety of deportment, and the peculiar attention to domestic cleanliness, order, and economy, by which the descendants of the original colonists of New York were eminently distinguished, and which their example succeeded in communicating, in no small degree, to the other races of European settlers with whom they were latterly associated. It was remarked, several years after this period, that the style of living was less gay and expensive, and that there was less inequality of fortune at New York than at Boston. A printing press was established at New York in the year 1693, by a printer flying from the very unwelcome occurrence of quaker persecution in Pennsylvania; and a library was founded under the government of Lord Bellamont in the year 1700. But the schools in this province were inconsiderable; and although the wealthier families obtained valuable instructors for their children among the numerous protestant refugees from France, even the first elements of knowledge were very generally neglected by the bulk of the people till the era of the American Revolution.†

If Britain had pursued a wiser policy towards this and her other American provinces, she might have obtained from their resources a very great, if not a total, deliverance from the burdens of her poor laws. But various circumstances contributed to screen or diminish the attractions which the colonial territories were calculated to present to the resort of the industrious poor. The practice of transporting felons to America brought this country into disrepute with many whose information was not sufficiently extensive to acquaint them with the real amount of the evil, and the great preponderance of the advantages by which it was counterbalanced. The historian of New York has ascribed to this cause the dearth of labor, and the increased importation of slaves which began to take place about this period. Another obstruction to the colonization of this province by the free poor arose from the practices of many of the governors, who, to promote the royal interest in the assembly, were permitted to make large grants of land to their partisans and dependants, by whom it was again farmed out at exorbitant rates to the cultivators, or retained in a vacant and unproductive state in the hope of a future rise in its value from the general progress of population.‡

* Smith, 150, 156, 263, 264, 265, 267, 294, 296, 304, 306, 307, 319. The English, French, and Irish colonists seem to have acquired pretty early an uniform character. The stronger nationality and more rigid manners of the Scotch, aided by frequent accessions from Scotland, preserved their national peculiarities longer unimpaired. "They preserve unaltered," says Dwight, "the character which they brought with them. They are industrious, frugal, orderly, patient of hardship, persevering, attached to government, reverential to religion, generally moral, and often pious. At the same time they are frequently unwarrantably self-complacent, rigid in their dispositions, unbending in their opinions, sequestered, avaricious, ready to unchurch those who differ from them, and to say, doubtless we are the people." President Dwight's Travels, iv. 513.

† Even when intermarriages and the common influence of free institutions and national associations shall have produced uniformity of character among all the races of American colonists, the national pedigrees of many particular districts will be preserved by their names. In one county of New York, almost every place bears the name of an Irish saint, city, county, or mountain. A neighboring district, originally planted by New Englanders, is all mapped out under the names of Unity, Frugality, Sobriety, Enterprise, and the like (Dwight, iv. 27.) It may be hoped that the recollection of such names as these last will impress a corresponding bias on the sentiments and character of the inhabitants of the region.

‡ Oldmixon, i. 128. Smith, 295, 296. Thomas's History of Printing, ii. 10. Winterbottom, ii. 334. Warden, i. 500, 525. Grant's Memoirs of an American Lady, &c. vol. i.

§ Smith, 290, 294. "The governors were, many of them, land jobbers, bent on making their fortunes; and being in-

* Smith, 144, 145, 146—164. History of the British Dominions in America, B. III. cap. 1. This work, which I have frequently referred to, is an anonymous publication in quarto. It contains more ample and precise information than the composition of Wynne, and, like it, brings down the history and state of the colonies to the middle of the eighteenth century. It is more of a statistical than a historical work.

† Smith, 156. In 1710, three thousand palatines, flying from persecution in Germany, settled in New York. Ib. 174.

‡ Holmes, ii. 246. In 1731 it amounted to more than sixty thousand persons, of whom seven thousand were slaves. Ib. ii. 114. Warden, i. 499.

The local government of the province was vested in the governor, the council, and the assembly. The governor, appointed by the king, was commander-in-chief by sea and land, and received from the provincial revenue a salary of about 1,500*l.* together with perquisites amounting to as much more. The councillors were appointed by the crown, but might be suspended by the governor. They enjoyed no salaries, and acted as a privy council to the governor, besides performing the legislative and judicial functions belonging to the English House of Lords. The members of assembly (elected by freeholders possessing lands or tenements improved to the value of forty pounds) had a daily allowance for their attendance; and to them, in concurrence with the council and the governor, was committed the privilege of enacting the provincial laws, which were required to be analogous to the jurisprudence of England. The laws were transmitted in England within three months after their enactment, and might, at any time after, be annulled by the king. The governor was empowered to prorogue or dissolve assemblies at his pleasure; to appoint the judges; to collate to all vacant benefices; and, with the advice of the council, to make grants of land, to be held of the crown by socage tenure. Besides subordinate courts of law, there was a supreme court at New York, of which the chief justice had a salary of 300*l.* a year. From its judgments an appeal might be made, in causes involving more than 100*l.* to the governor and council, and in causes above 300*l.* to the king and the privy council of England. Much uncertainty prevailed in the administration of civil justice from ignorance and difference of opinion as to the extent in which English statutes and decisions were to be admitted to operate as rules or precedents.

By a law passed in 1700 for the purpose of checking the missions of the Jesuits among the Indians, it was enacted, that every Jesuit or other popish priest, coming voluntarily into the province, should be subjected to perpetual imprisonment, and in case of escape and recapture, to the punishment of death. Slaves (by a law passed in 1702), except when assembled for labor, were forbidden to meet together in greater number than three; a regulation which proved insufficient to prevent a formidable insurrection of these unfortunate beings in the year 1712. Masters were enjoined by law to baptize their slaves, and encouraged to do so by a provision that their baptism should not entitle them to freedom. Indeed, manumission of slaves was discouraged by a heavy fine. Slaves were disqualified from bearing evidence against any body but slaves; and no negro, Indian, or mulatto, even though free, could hold or possess lands, tenements, or hereditaments. Any negro or Indian conspiring the death of a white man was capitally punished. Even though baptized, slaves were not considered to be properly comprehended in the denomination of Christians; for by an act passed in 1702, and confirmed in 1708, there was offered a reward of twenty shillings to every Christian, and half that sum to every Indian or slave, killing a wolf in the provincial territory.* Various laws were passed from time to time against selling ardent spirits to the Indians. The extortions of usurers were repressed by an act passed in 1717, restricting lawful interest to six per cent. This was repealed in the following year, when eight per cent. was allowed to be taken.

BOOK VI.

NEW JERSEY.

Sale of the Territory by the Duke of York to Berkeley and Carteret—Liberal frame of government enacted by the Proprietaries—Emigration from Long Island to New Jersey—Arrival of the first governor and Settlers from England—Discontent and Disturbance in the Colony—Renovation of the Titles to New Jersey—Equivalent Conduct of the Duke of York—Situation of the Quakers in England—Sale of Berkeley's Share of the Province to Quakers—Partition of the Province between them and Carteret—Emigration of Quakers from England to West Jersey—Encroachments of the Duke of York—Memorable Remonstrance of the Quakers—causes the Independence of New Jersey to be recognised—First Assembly of West Jersey—The Quakers purchase East Jersey—Robert Barclay—appointed Governor—Emigration from Scotland to East Jersey—Designs of James the Second against the Proprietary Governments—defeated by the Revolution—Inefficient State of the Proprietary Government—Surrender of the Colonial Patent to the Crown, and Re-union of East and West Jersey—Constitution of the Provincial Government—Administration of Lord Cornbury—State of the Colony.

Of all the national communities in which mankind have ever been united, there is none (except the fallen

vested with power to do this, they either engrafted for themselves, or patented away to their particular favorites, a very great proportion of the whole province." Winterbotham, *f.* 337.

* To some of the colonial settlements of the Dutch (parti-

cularly at the Cape of Good Hope), the treatment of their slaves is said to have been distinguished by the most barbarous cruelty. It seems to have been very far otherwise in the province of New York. A pleasing picture of the mild patriarchal manners by which the harsh features of this institution were softened among the Dutch settlers at Albany, is delineated by Mrs. Grant in her "Memoirs of an American Lady," &c. vol. i. Letter VII. Extreme severity was indicted only at second hand, by selling unruly and troublesome negroes to the planters of Jamaica.

From the Travels of that accurate observer and inquirer, Professor Kalm, it appears that Mrs. Grant has given a just picture of the treatment of the slaves; but that her description of the manners of the people of Albany in other respects is entirely fanciful and erroneous. Vol. ii. p. 260—266.

* It is remarkable that among those of the colonists of North America who were most eager to trace a resemblance between their own situation and that of the Jewish emigrants from Egypt, the opinion should have first sprung up that the savage Indians were the offspring of one of the tribes of Israel. This opinion (which is supported by very strong probabilities) was not without its use, if it tended to abate that spiritual pride sometimes unhappily engendered by a belief of the possession of an especial degree of divine favor. It was early adopted by the New England divines, and was maintained, with much learning and ability, in a treatise by one Theowood, published at London in 1650, and entitled "Jews in America." It was afterwards embraced by William Penn the quaker, and supported by him, and by many other distinguished writers.

commonwealth of Israel*) which can boast of an origin as illustrious as that which belongs to the provinces of North America. Almost all these provincial settlements have been founded by men whose prevailing motives were, zeal for the advancement of religious truth, for the security of political freedom, or for the enlargement of the resources and renown of their country; and all have been indebted for a very considerable share of their early population to the shelter which they afforded from civil or ecclesiastical tyranny. The successful establishment of every one of them is a noble monument of human energy and fortitude; for it was not accomplished without an arduous conflict with the most powerful habits of human nature, and the most formidable obstructions of difficulty, danger and distress. The colonists of New Jersey, indeed, from their proximity and friendly relation to older colonial settlements, and from other advantageous peculiarities in their situation, were exempted from many of the hardships which elsewhere attended, in so many instances, the foundation of society in North America. But the motives which conducted a great proportion of them to this territory were such as must be held to reflect the highest honor on their enterprise, and to ennoble the origin of New Jersey.

The territory to which this appellation belongs was first appropriated by the Dutch, of whose settlements I have given an account in the history of New York. It was included in the province to which this people gave the name of New Netherlands, and had received a few Dutch and Swedish settlers at the period of the conquest of the Dutch colony by the English. Preparatory to this enterprise, as we have already seen, Charles the Second granted a charter of American territory, including the whole of the Dutch occupation to his brother James, Duke of York; [1664] and, as the king, in conformity with his pretension to an antecedent right, which the intrusion of the Dutch could neither extinguish nor suspend, had thought himself entitled to bestow this grant before the territory was actually reduced to his dominion, the duke, in like manner, seems to have regarded his investiture as completed by the charter, and proceeded to exercise the powers it conferred on him, without waiting till he had attained actual possession of the province. His charter, though much less ample in its endowments than the charters which had been previously granted to the proprietaries of Maryland and Carolina, resembled those others in conferring the province, and the powers of government, on the proprietary and "his assigns." Various instances, both in the history of the Carolinas and of New Jersey, sufficiently demonstrate that, in conformity with this expression, the proprietaries regarded their functions less as a trust than as an absolute property, subject to every act of ownership, and in particular to mortgage and alienation; and, accordingly, the government of large provinces of the British empire was repeatedly assigned by proprietaries to their creditors, or sold to the highest bidder. It was not till after the British revolution, that the legality of these transactions was disputed; but although the ministers of William the Third maintained that they were totally repugnant to the law of England, which recognised a hereditary but not a commercial transmission of office and power, the point was never determined by any formal adjudication. The evil, in process of time, produced its own remedy. The succession and multiplication of proprietaries occasioned so much inconve-

nience to themselves, that sooner or later they were glad to bargain with the crown for a surrender of their functions; and both in Carolina and in New Jersey, the exercise of the right of assignation materially contributed to abridge the duration of the proprietary government.

The first example of a sale of proprietary rights and functions was afforded by the Duke of York, in his conveyance to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, of a portion of the territory comprehended in the royal charter which he had recently procured for himself. If he had deferred the exercise of his ownership till he had attained possession of the country, and procured a report of its condition from Colonel Nichols, whom he had nominated the governor of it, this partition would probably not have taken place. But, before he was yet in possession of any part of it, or had obtained the information requisite to enable him to conclude such a transaction with advantage either to himself or the country, he consented to sell one of the finest districts which it embraced, to two persons who appear to have been much better acquainted with it. Berkeley and Carteret were already proprietaries of Carolina; and not contented with this ample investiture, nor yet certified by experience of the tardy returns from colonial possessions, they had been induced, by the representations of a projector acquainted with the domain assigned to the Duke of York, to believe that a particular portion of this domain would form a valuable acquisition to themselves. How far the disjunction of this portion was likely to affect the interest and value of the remainder, was a point, which, for the honor of the purchasers, we must suppose them to have overlooked as completely as it was misunderstood by the seller. But, at a subsequent period, Colonel Nichols did not scruple to assert that the person* by whose advice Berkeley and Carteret were induced to make the purchase had himself been an unsuccessful candidate for the patent which the Duke of York had obtained, and that he had revenged his disappointment by instigating these courtiers to an acquisition which he was aware would greatly depreciate the remainder of the duke's investiture. Be this as it may, the transaction that ensued, as it was very little creditable to either of the parties who engaged in it, proved in the sequel disadvantageous to them both.

It was only three months after the date of his own charter, that the Duke of York, by deeds of lease and release, in consideration of "a competent sum of money," conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, and their heirs and assigns, that tract of land adjacent to New England, lying westward of Long Island, and bounded on the east, south, and west, by the river Hudson, the sea, and the Delaware; on the north by the forty-first degree and fortieth minute of latitude. In compliment to Carteret, who had defended the island of Jersey against the Long Parliament in the civil war, he bestowed on this region the name of Nova-Cesaria, or New Jersey; and he transferred to the grantees every right and royalty, and all the powers of government, which he himself possessed in virtue of his charter from the crown.

Having obtained, in this manner, the sovereignty of New Jersey, the first care of the proprietaries was to invite the resort of inhabitants to the province, and their exertions for this purpose, though pursued with more eagerness than perseverance, evinced no inconsiderable share of political sagacity. In those colonial territories which are destitute of the means of attracting adventurers by the prospect of speedy enrichment, and which must owe their cultivation to the steady enterprise and industry of permanent settlers, the most powerful attractions are supplied by liberal provisions for the security of the civil and religious rights of mankind. The recent history of New England had plainly demonstrated, that those attractions, of all others, address themselves most prevailingly to that description of human character which is best fitted to contend with the difficulties of colonization, and that their operation is so forcible as to overpower the temptations even of very superior climate and soil. That the useful lesson thus afforded to the founders of colonies was not disregarded by the courtiers of Charles the Second, has already appeared from some parts of the history of Carolina, and is still more strongly mani-

* The name of this individual was Scot. Whether it was the same person, or another with the same name, who afterwards published an account of East New Jersey, I am unable to ascertain. Colonel Nichols gratuitously acquits Berkeley and Carteret of any accession to the design of defrauding the duke. But Carteret did not always enjoy an unspotted reputation. In 1660, he was expelled the House of Commons for confused accounts as chamberlain.

tested by the first measures that were pursued by the proprietaries of New Jersey. They hastened to concert and make public a body of institutions for the government of the province; and, as their object was to exhibit a political fabric that should appear desirable and advantageous to mankind, they succeeded in producing a project which obtained a very favorable reception, and would have better deserved it, if the proprietaries had been legislating for an existing population. It was indeed a singular competition which these proprietary governments produced, in which sovereigns and legislators found it their interest to vie with each other in the production of models of liberty, and in tendering to the acceptance of their subjects the most effectual securities against arbitrary government. Whatever doubts may be entertained of the dignity of their motives, or the sincerity of their professions, the measures which the various proprietaries adopted in pursuance of this policy proved highly beneficial to the provinces of North America, and cherished in the minds of their inhabitants an attachment to liberty, and a conviction of their right to it.

The instrument* which was now published by Berkeley and Cartaret gave assurance to all persons who should settle in New Jersey, that the province should be ruled only by laws enacted by an assembly in which the people were represented, and to which the power of making peace or war, and many other important privileges, were confided. In particular, it was stipulated by the proprietaries, "for the better security of the inhabitants in the said province, that they are not to impose, nor suffer to be imposed, any tax, custom, subsidy, tallage, assessment, or any other duty whatsoever, upon any color or pretence, upon the said province, and inhabitants thereof, other than what shall be imposed by the authority and consent of the general assembly." By another clause, of no less importance, it was provided, that "no person, at any time, shall be anyways molested, punished, disquieted, or called into question, for any difference in opinion or practice in matters of religious concernment, who does not actually disturb the civil peace of the province; but all and every such person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times, freely and fully, have and enjoy his and their judgments and consciences in matters of religion, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury, or outward disturbance of others; any law, statute, or clause, contained, or to be contained, usage or custom, of the realm of England, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding." The import of these expressions could not be misunderstood; and as they were publicly promulgated, without censure or disallowance from any quarter, it must be admitted, that the colonization of this province was undertaken on an assurance, which the settlers were very well entitled to credit, of their being completely exempted from the jurisdiction of the English parliament, both in the imposition of taxes and the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. The administration of the executive power, together with the right of a negative on the enactments of the provincial assembly, were reserved to the proprietaries. To all persons resorting to New Jersey with the intention of settling in it, there were offered allotments of land, proportioned to the earliness of their arrival in the province, and to the numbers of their indentured servants and *slaves*; and for this they were required to pay a quit rent of an half-penny per acre after the year 1670, and to maintain one able male servant for every hundred acres in their possession. As the quit rents were deemed the private estate of the proprietaries, it was declared that all public expenses should be defrayed by general contribution. Such was the first constitution of New Jersey. New provisions were added to it from time to time, by subsequent proclamations, and the whole code was denominated by the people the *Laws of the Concessions*.

* Writers are not agreed upon the date of this instrument. The copies printed by Scot and Smith bear the date of February, 1664: which is manifestly erroneous, except on the very improbable supposition, that the document was framed by Berkeley and Cartaret, not only before they had obtained their own grant from the Duke of York, but before the duke himself had obtained his charter from the king. Chalmers supposes the date to have been February, 1665: but this is inconsistent with the clause which tenders certain advantages to settlers "who shall transport themselves before the 1st of January, 1665." Chalmers was prevented from observing this inconsistency by mistaking this last mentioned date for 1655.

† The assembly was empowered, not merely to levy forces and declare war as they should see cause, but "to pursue an enemy as well by sea as by land (if need be), out of the limits and jurisdictions of the said province, with the particular consent of the governor, and under his conduct, or of our commander-in-chief."

and regarded by them as their great charter, and as possessing a higher authority than even the acts of assembly, from not being subject to alteration or repeal. An important addition was suggested by the prudence and equity of Philip Carteret, who was the first governor appointed by the proprietaries, and who, without any directions from his constituents to respect the rights of the aboriginal inhabitants of the province, judged it proper to obtain their consent to the settlement, by purchasing their titles to the several districts which were occupied. The proprietaries had the wisdom to approve this proceeding, and some years after established the rule, that all lands should be purchased from the Indians by the governor and council, who were to be reimbursed by the settlers, in proportion to their respective possessions.

The conquest of New Netherlands had now been achieved by Colonel Nichols, who assumed the administration of the whole territory as governor for the Duke of York. While yet unacquainted with the grant to Berkeley and Carteret, he formed the design of colonizing the district which they had acquired, and for this purpose granted licenses to various persons to make purchases of lands from the aboriginal inhabitants of New Jersey. Three small townships were speedily formed in the eastern part of the territory, by emigrants chiefly from Long Island, who laid the foundation of Elizabeth Town, Woodbridge, and Piscataway: and Nichols, who entertained a very favorable opinion of this region, bestowed on it the name of Albania, in commemoration of one of the titles enjoyed by his master. But the hopes which he had conceived of rendering the district a valuable appendage of the duke's possessions, were soon interrupted by intelligence of the title of its new proprietaries; and the measures he had already taken gave rise to disputes respecting the property of the soil between the settlers, whose establishment he had promoted, and the proprietaries who now claimed their allegiance, which disturbed the repose of the province for more than half a century. He transmitted an earnest remonstrance to the Duke of York, on the impolicy of thus multiplying statistical divisions, and of disjoining from his own province a portion distinguished above all the rest by the fertility of its soil, the commodiousness of its rivers, and the richness of its minerals; and while he urged the duke to revoke a grant so prejudicial to his own interest, he predicted, what really happened, that the undertaking of Berkeley and Carteret, to colonize a vacant territory, would disappoint their expectations of profit, and involve them in expenses, of which only their remote posterity could hope to gather the fruits. This remonstrance appears to have produced some impression on the mind of the duke: but either it failed to suggest to him a sufficient inducement to revoke the grant he had executed, or he judged such revocation beyond his power; and Nichols was reluctantly compelled to surrender the government of New Jersey to Philip Carteret, who arrived with a company of thirty settlers from England, and established himself at Elizabeth Town, which was regarded as the capital of the infant province. Here for some years he ruled in peace over a desert which was gradually replenished with people from the provinces of New York and New England, attracted by the qualities of the country and the repute of the liberal institutions which its inhabitants were to enjoy. It was a happy peculiarity of the lot of those colonists that, establishing themselves in the vicinity of countries already cultivated, they escaped the disasters and privations which had afflicted so severely the first inhabitants of most of the other provinces. Their neighborhood to the commerce of New York, in particular, was considered a circumstance of no small advantage during the infancy of their settlement; though, in process of time, it was less favorably regarded, as having contributed to prevent the rise of a domestic mart, which would have afforded still more effectual encouragement to their trade. Like the other colonists of North America, they enjoyed the advantage of transporting the arts and habits of industry from an old country, where they had been carried to a high state of perfection, into a new land which afforded them more liberal encouragement and more unrestricted scope. Their exertions for the raising of cattle and grain were speedily and amply rewarded by a grateful soil; and their relations with the Indians enabled them to prosecute their labors in undisturbed tranquillity, and to add to them a beneficial traffic in peltry with the roving tribes by whom the neighboring forests were inhabited. Their connexion with the sister colony of New York communicated to them the benefit of the alliance which subsisted between this colony and

the powerful confederacy of the Five Nations; and, as the influence of this confederacy extended to all the tribes in the vicinity of the new settlement, its inhabitants enjoyed the felicity of an entire exemption from Indian war. Recommended by the salubrity of its climate, in addition to so many other advantages, it will not appear surprising that New Jersey was soon considered a very desirable residence, and that its attractions were celebrated by early writers with higher commendation than any of the other settlements obtained. The proprietaries, still buoyed up with the hope of a gainful revenue from their province, were not wanting in exertions to circulate the intelligence of its advantages both in Europe and America, and from time to time despatched from England vessels freighted with settlers and stores to reinforce the numbers and supply the wants of their people. But the period to which they had looked for the fulfilment of their hopes, was fated to demonstrate their fallacy; and the scene of felicity which the province had hitherto presented was disagreeably overcast by the arrival of the day when the payment of quit rents had been appointed to commence. [1666—1670.] The first demand of this tribute excited general disgust among the colonists, who seem to have expressed more unwillingness than inability to comply with it. A party among them, including the oldest settlers, who had occupied their lands under the authority of Colonel Nichols, refused to acknowledge the title of the proprietaries, and, in opposition to it, set up titles which they had obtained for themselves from the Indians. It was easier for the governor to demonstrate the illegality of these pretensions, than to prevail with the people to abandon them. For two years he maintained an ineffectual struggle to enforce the claims of the proprietaries, till at length the popular discontent broke forth in an insurrection [1672] which he found it impossible to withstand. He was compelled to return to England, stript of his functions, which the colonists forthwith conferred on a natural son of Sir George Carteret, by whom their pretensions had been abetted. Disappointing as this result must have been to the proprietaries, it was impossible for them to impute the blame of it to their governor, or to hesitate to replace him in the station from which he had been expelled. This measure, however, was retarded by the unexpected events of the following year, [1673.] when New York again reverting to the dominion of Holland, New Jersey was once more reunited to the province of New Netherlands.

[1674.] The Dutch, as we have already seen, did not long retain their acquisition, which was restored to Great Britain by the treaty of London. But the re-establishment of the proprietary governments into which the territory had been previously divided, was thought to require some additional formality, and was not effected without a renovation of the titles by which these jurisdictions had been originally created. Some doubts had already been suggested of the validity of the royal charter, which had been granted to the Duke of York at a time when the Dutch Government was in quiet possession of the country; and, however, unwilling to acknowledge the force of this objection, and recede from a pretension that had been deliberately embraced by his brother and himself, the duke was prompted by his own interest to remove from men's minds a doubt so likely to obstruct the resort of settlers to this province. Another cause seems also to have contributed to turn his thoughts to the procurement of a new investiture. The remonstrances of Colonel Nichols had led him to regard the grant he had made of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret with feelings of dissatisfaction, which were not diminished by the liberal institutions which these proprietaries had conferred on their province, and the number of inhabitants who had been attracted to it from his own dominions. Whatever were the motives that withstood the gratification of his wishes, whether he scrupled to commit the injustice and incur the dishonor of robbing two of the firmest adherents of his family, or doubted the support of the law or the king in such a transaction, it is manifest from his conduct that he entertained a desire to repossess himself of the New Jersey territory, without making any compensation to the parties who had acquired it. The Dutch conquest seemed to furnish him with an opportunity of removing the objections to which his own title was subject, without seeming to confess its original defectiveness; and to afford him, at the same time, a decent pretext for divesting Berkeley and Carteret of their property, without disowning the grant by which he had bestowed it upon them, or incurring any obligation to indemnify them for its loss. It was pretended that the Dutch conquest had extinguished the proprietary

rights, and that the country, unencumbered by them, had now reverted to the crown. In conformity with this view, the duke applied for a new investiture, and found no difficulty in obtaining from the king a second charter, which recited the former grant, and confirmed to him the whole of the territory which that grant had embraced. He now appointed Andros his lieutenant over the whole reunited province; and, investing all the functions of legislative and executive power in the governor and council, established the same arbitrary government in New Jersey that he had all along maintained in New York. But, although he could thus mediate the meanness of despoiling his friends of a property which he had sold to them, he wanted either resolution or authority to effectuate his iniquitous pretensions; and, on the application of Sir George Carteret, scrupled not to promise a renewal of the grant of New Jersey. Yet, though ashamed to acknowledge his intentions, he was unwilling to abandon them; and while the execution of the grant was delayed, he transmitted orders to Andros to maintain his prerogative over the whole territory. [1675] Even when he finally consented to restore New Jersey, he endeavored to evade the complete performance of his engagement, and pretended to have reserved certain rights of sovereignty over it, which Andros seized every opportunity of asserting.

In the beginning of the year 1675, Philip Carteret returned to New Jersey, and resumed the government of the settlements which had been formed in the eastern part of the province, and from which he had been expelled about two years before. The inhabitants, who had experienced the rigors of conquest and the arbitrary rule of Andros, now received their old governor very willingly; and, as he postponed the payment of their quit rents to a future day, and published a new set of concessions by Sir George Carteret that confirmed all their privileges, a peaceable and contented subordination was once more re-established in the colony. The only subject of disquiet that occurred for several years, arose from the arbitrary proceedings by which Andros from time to time enforced the unjust pretensions of the Duke of York. Governor Carteret, in the hope of procuring to his people a share of the advantages which the neighboring colony derived from her commerce, attempted to establish a direct trade between England and New Jersey. But Andros warmly opposed this proceeding, as an injury to the commerce and the customs of New York; [1676] and by confiscating the vessels that traded in opposition to his mandates, put an end to the New Jersey commerce in its infancy. In addition to this outrage, he endeavored by various exactions to render the colonists tributary to his government; and even proceeded to such extremity of insolence as to arrest Governor Carteret and convey him prisoner to New York. When complaints of these proceedings of his deputy were carried to the duke, he evinced the same indecision and duplicity that had characterized all his recent demeanor. He could not consent, he said, to depart from a prerogative which had always belonged to him; yet he directed that the exercise of it should be relaxed, as a matter of favor to his friend Sir George Carteret. But the province had now been divided into two proprietary jurisdictions; and it was in the western part of it, in which Carteret had ceased to have any interest, that the duke attempted to appropriate the largest share of his pretended prerogative. The circumstances that attended this partition of the territory, compose the most interesting portion of the early history of New Jersey.

Among the various sectaries who had reason to complain of the ecclesiastical policy pursued by the ministers of Charles the Second, the quakers incurred an ample share of persecution. During the last years of the protectorate of Cromwell, a number of quakers, charged with offending against public order and decency, had been committed to prison in various parts of England: and because the protector refused or delayed to pass an order for their release, one of the leaders of the sect rebuked him publicly in an angry harangue, which he concluded by tearing his own cap in two, and prophesying that the government would be rent from Cromwell and his family.* The accomplishment of this prediction

however, was the only gratification that the quakers were permitted to derive from the abolition of the protectoral government. In the interval between that event and the restoration, they experienced such additional severity as again elicited from one of their number the prophecy of another political revolution. These severities, partly occasioned by the aversion which the presbyterian ministers and magistrates entertained for the doctrines of the quakers, were also in part provoked by the frenzy and indecency with which many of the professors of these doctrines thought proper to signalise their contempt for the worship of their adversaries. [21] To the committee of safety, in whose hands the supreme power was lodged, the quakers were rendered additionally obnoxious by the progress which their tenets had made among the veteran soldiers of the commonwealth, and the success with which George Fox interposed to prevent a body of these converts from joining the parliamentary forces who were marching to suppress the insurrection of the royalists in Cheshire. They refused to interpose for the liberation of those quakers who had been imprisoned by the magistrates as vagabonds and disturbers of the peace or even to restrain the outrages of the populace, who in many places began to insult and disturb the quaker assemblies. The advancement of General Monk to the supreme direction of affairs, not only gratified these sectaries with the accomplishment of another prediction, but encouraged them to expect a favorable change in their own situation. Monk issued an order that no further disturbance should be given to the peaceable meetings of the quakers, and he listened to their complaints with a respect and attention which they had not been able to procure from his predecessors in authority. The hopes which this altered treatment gave rise to, were realised at the restoration. To the favorable regards of the king, the quakers were recommended by the complaints they preferred against every description of authority that had subsisted in England during the suspension of monarchy, and by the peculiar enmity they expressed against those who were also, in an eminent degree, the objects of his own dislike. Their accusations of the government of New England, in particular, met with a gracious acceptance, and produced an order for the suspension of all further severities against them in that quarter. Upwards of seven hundred quakers were released from various prisons in England, and an assurance was given that a complete toleration of quaker worship would be established by law. The fulfilment of this assurance, however, was obstructed by certain of the king's ministers, who, though willing by delusive pretences to tranquillise all the dissenters till the newly-restored monarchy might appear to be firmly established, were secretly determined to enforce a strict uniformity of religious worship in England; and, before many months of the new reign had elapsed, their purpose was effectually promoted by a circumstance which suddenly and completely extinguished whatever of court favor the quakers had really or seemingly enjoyed. Meanwhile, the sect, like all others, was indulged with an actual toleration, which was diligently improved by its founder and his wiser associates in multiplying their converts, and introducing into their society a system of order and discipline that tended to curb the wild spirit which had transported so many votaries of quakerism beyond the bounds of decency and sobriety, and exposed their profession, in so many places, to reproach and persecution. But this state of unmolested tranquillity, together with the hope of seeing it perpetuated by law, were quickly destroyed by a violent explosion of fury and fanaticism from a different body of sectarians. In some points, both of doctrine and practice, the "Fifth Monarchy men," or "Millenarians," bore a strong resemblance to the quakers; a temporal hierarchy, in particular, was equally odious to both, and both rejected, on all occasions, the ceremonial of an oath. The millenarians, however, went a step further than the quakers, and held themselves entitled to employ force for the overthrow of every temporal supremacy that usurped the place, and obstructed the advent, of that spiritual dominion which they eagerly expected to behold. George Fox, on the contrary, had taught, from the beginning of his ministry, that it was absolutely unlawful to employ any other than spiritual weapons for the promotion of spiritual ends, or, indeed, of any ends whatever. But he was well aware that he had collected around him many of the wildest and most

combustible spirits in the kingdom; and the exaggeration of his own principles, which he beheld in the demeanor of many of his own followers, together with numberless examples among the other sects and factions of which the times were so prolific, had forcibly taught him by what insensible gradations the minds of men, when thoroughly heated by religious or political zeal, are carried from the disapprobation of hostile institutions into the conviction of an especial call, or of a clear moral duty, to attempt their subversion. It was therefore with no small alarm that Fox had heard of the projects that the millenarians entertained some time prior to the restoration, of effecting by force of arms the establishment, or at least the recognition, of the Messiah's personal reign upon earth; and he had published, at the time, an earnest remonstrance to all his followers on the unlawfulness of designs, which, however remote from their distinctive principles, would prove, he feared, but too congenial to the spirit with which, in many instances, these principles were associated. But his endeavors, whatever effect they may have produced on his own followers, failed to convince the public that there was any radical or solid distinction between the quakers and the millenarians; and what probably contributed to sharpen his own apprehensions, as well as to increase the public prepossession, was, that the quakers were encumbered with a number of partial and temporary adherents, the limits of whose faith they were unable to ascertain by reference to a creed, and who, flitting from sect to sect, according to the ebbs and flows of their own humor and caprice, remained only long enough with any one to infect it with their own levity, and dishonor it with a share of their own reputation. The insurrection that broke forth among the millenarians, in the first year of the restored monarchy, proved highly prejudicial to the interests of the quakers, not only from the common opinion that the principles of the two sects were substantially the same, but from the plausible grounds that were afforded to the adversaries of toleration; and the pledges which the government, no less alarmed than provoked, determined to exact from every description of its subjects. The quakers now became the objects of peculiar jealousy, from their refusal to give assurance of fidelity to the king by taking the oath of allegiance, and were assailed with a rigor and reality of persecution which as yet they had never experienced in England. They were at first included along with the millenarians in a royal proclamation which forbade either of these classes of sectaries from assembling under pretence of worship elsewhere than in parochial churches, but were soon after distinguished by the provisions of an act of parliament that applied exclusively to themselves. By this statute it was enacted, that all quakers refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and assembling to the number of five persons above sixteen years of age for the purpose of divine worship, should, for the first and second offences, incur the penalty of fine and imprisonment, and, for the third, should either abjure the realm or be transported beyond it. Nay, so cordial was the dislike now entertained by the court against the quakers, that, instead of employing the complaints of this sect as the handle for a quarrel with the obnoxious province of Massachusetts, it was determined to stir up the enmity that had been expressed in this province against the quakers, and to invite the provincial government to a repetition of the severities that had been so recently prohibited. For this purpose, it was signified to the governor and assembly of Massachusetts, by a letter under the hand of the king, that his majesty, though desirous that liberty of conscience should be granted to all other religious professors in the province, would be glad to hear that a severe law were passed against the quakers, whose principles he reckoned incompatible with the existence of government. These unfavorable sentiments were very shortly after exchanged by the king for a juster estimate of quaker principles. In a conference which he granted to some of the leading members of the sect, he received assurances which satisfied him not only that this people had been unjustly confounded with the millenarians, but that their principles with respect to government, including an absolute renunciation of the right of resistance, were such as he had reason to wish more generally diffused through his dominions. But this alteration in his sentiments produced no relaxation of the legal severities to which the quakers were subjected, and was attended with no other consequence than a familiar and apparently confidential intercourse between him and some of their more eminent leaders, together with many expressions of regard and good will on his part which he was unwilling or unable to substantiate. In the

* Cromwell, though in general he treated the quakers with lenity (of which the impunity of this prophet may be adduced as an instance), could not entirely subdue his jealousy of a sect in which some of his own most determined adversaries had enrolled themselves. That restless agitator, John Lilburn, in the midst of his opposition to Cromwell, made a profession of quakerism, and yet not only continued to write against the protector's government, but long refused to promise that he would not employ his sword in aid of his pen. Gough and Sewall, i. 70. Cromwell had personally witnessed a great deal of quaker extravagance. He was interrupted

persecution that was now commenced against all classes of dissenters, the quakers were exposed to a more than equal share of severity from the unbending zeal with which they refused to conform even in appearance to any one of the obnoxious requisitions of the law, and the eagerness with which they seized every opportunity of making manifest their forbidden practices, and signaling their peculiar gifts of patient suffering and unconquerable perseverance. In every part of England the quakers were harassed with fines and imprisonments, and great numbers were transported to Barbadoes and to the American settlements,* where they formed a valuable addition to the English population, and quickly found that their persecutors in expelling them from their native land, had unconsciously contributed to the melioration of their lot. Instead of the wild enthusiasts who had formerly rushed with headlong zeal to New England in quest of persecution, there was now introduced into America a numerous body of wiser and milder professors of quakerism, whose views were confined to the enjoyment of that liberty of worship, for the sake of which they had been driven into exile. In several of the American provinces, as well as in the island of Barbadoes, they experienced an ample toleration and a friendly reception from the governments and the inhabitants; and, even in those provinces where they were still the objects of suspicion and severity, they contributed to render their principles less unpopular, by demonstrating with what useful industry and peaceful virtue the profession of them might be combined. Contented with the toleration of their worship, and diligently improving the advantages of their new lot, many of their exiles attained, in a few years, to a plentiful and prosperous estate; and so far did they carry their willingness to reconcile their own tenets with the existing institutions and practices of the countries in which they found themselves established, that in many instances they united a profession of quakerism with the purchase and employment of negro slaves. Perhaps the deceitfulness of the human heart was never more strikingly exhibited than in this monstrous association of the characters of exiles for conscience sake and the principles of universal peace and philanthropy, with the condition of slave owners and the exercise of arbitrary power. Yet, in process of time, much good was educed from this evil; and the inconsistency of one generation of quakers enabled their successors to exhibit to the world a memorable example of disinterested regard for the rights of human nature, and a magnanimous sacrifice to the requirements of piety and justice.

The principles of the sect continued meanwhile to propagate themselves in Britain, to an extent that more than supplied the losses occasioned by the banishment of so many of their professors. Almost all the other sects had suffered an abatement of piety and reputation from the furious disputes and vindictive struggles that attended the civil wars; and while the quakers were distinguished by exemption from this reproach, they were no less advantageously distinguished by a severity of persecution which enabled them to display in an eminent degree the primitive graces of christian character. It was now that their cause was espoused and their doctrines defended by writers who yielded to none of their contemporaries in learning, eloquence, or ingenuity, and who have never been equalled, or even approached, by any succeeding authors in the ranks of the quakers. The doctrines that had floated loosely through the quaker body were now collected and reduced to an orderly system; the discipline necessary to preserve from anarchy, and restrain the fantastic sallies which the genuine principle of quakerism is peculiarly apt to beget,† was explained and enforced; and, in the midst of a persecution which drove many of the presbyterians of Scotland to despair and rebellion, the quakers began to add to their zeal and resolution that mildness of address and tranquil propriety of thought and conduct by which they are now universally

characterized. Yet, it was long before the wild and enthusiastic spirit which had distinguished the rise of the society was banished entirely from its bosom: and while it continued to exert its influence, a considerable diversity of sentiment and language prevailed among the quakers. [22] This diversity, in particular, was manifest in the sentiments that were entertained with regard to the duty of confronting persecution. While all considered it unlawful to forsake their ordinances on account of the prohibition of their oppressors, there were many who esteemed it no less a dereliction of duty to abandon their country for the sake of a peaceful enjoyment of their ordinances in another land. Considering quakerism as a revival of primitive christianity, and themselves as fated to repeat the fortunes of the first Christians, and to gain the victory over the world by evincing the fortitude of martyrs, they had associated the success of their cause with the infliction and endurance of persecution, and deemed the retreating from a country where this evil impended over them, to one where they might be exempted from it, equivalent to the desertion of the contest in which the prevalence of truth or of error was to be decided. The toleration of their principles seemed to be less the object of their desire than the victorious spread of them; and the success of quakerism in England appeared to be incomplete without the downfall of the established hierarchy.* But there were others of more moderate temper, who, though willing to sustain the character of the primitive Christians deemed this character no way inconsistent with the exercise of that liberty which was expressly conceded to the objects of their imitation in the apostolic direction that when persecuted in one city they should flee to another. Disturbed in their religious assemblies, harassed and impoverished by fines and imprisonments, and withal continually exposed to a violent removal from their native land, as the consequence of a line of conduct which they held it their duty to pursue, they were led to meditate the advantage of a voluntary expatriation with their families and their substance, and naturally cast their eyes on that country which, notwithstanding the severities once inflicted on their brethren in some of its provinces, had always presented an asylum to the victims of persecution. Their regards were farther directed to this quarter by the number of their fellow sectaries who were now established in several of the North American states, and the freedom, comfort, and tranquillity which they were there enabled to enjoy.

Such was the situation of the quakers at the time when Lord Berkeley, alarmed by the insubordination of the planters of New Jersey, and dissatisfied with an acquisition which seemed likely to realize the predictions of Colonel Nichols, offered his share of the province for sale. He soon received the proposal of a price that was satisfactory from two English quakers named Fenwick and Byllinge, and in the year 1674, in conformity with their desire, conveyed the subject of the purchase to the first of these persons in trust for the other. Fenwick appears to have been unworthy of the confidence implied in this arrangement. A dispute soon arose between Byllinge and him with regard to their respective proportions of interest in the territory; and, to avoid the scandal of a law-suit, the two parties agreed to submit their pretensions to the judgment of the celebrated William Penn, who now began to occupy a conspicuous place among the leaders and champions of the quaker cause. Penn found it easier to appreciate the merits of the case than to terminate the controversy; and, after he had pronounced an award in favor of Byllinge, it required the utmost exertions of his address and authority to prevail upon Fenwick to recognize it. Yielding at length to the solemn and earnest remonstrances of Penn, Fenwick forbore to press his unjust demand any farther; and, in the year 1675, with his wife and family, and a small troop of quaker associates, he set sail from England, and established himself in the western part of New Jersey. But Byllinge was now no longer in a condition to profit by the adjustment of the dispute. He had sustained such losses in trade that it became necessary for him to divest himself of the whole of his remaining property for the indemnification of his creditors; and as the most valuable part of this property consisted of his New Jersey purchase, he

was the more naturally led to desire that its administration should be confided to the same eminent person whose good offices had so recently contributed to ascertain and preserve it. William Penn, after some consideration, agreed to undertake this duty, and, in conjunction with Gawen Laurie and Nicholas Lucas, two of the creditors of Byllinge, assumed the direction of their constituents' share of the New Jersey territory.

The first care of Penn and his associates was to effect a partition of the province between themselves and Sir George Carteret; and as all parties were sensible of the disadvantage of a joint property, the division was accomplished without difficulty. The eastern part of the province was assigned to Carteret, under the name of East New Jersey; the western, to Byllinge's assignees, who named their moiety West New Jersey. The administrators of this latter territory then proceeded to divide it into a hundred lots, or properties; ten of which they assigned to Fenwick, and the remaining ninety they reserved for sale for the benefit of the creditors of Byllinge. Their next and most important proceeding was to frame a political constitution for the purchasers and future inhabitants of the land, which was promulgated under the title of "concessions," or terms of grant and agreement, to be mutually signed by the vendors and purchasers of the territory. This instrument adopted the provisions that had been previously enacted by Berkeley and Carteret for the exemption of the provincials from all taxes but such as their own native assembly should impose on them, and for the security of religious freedom; the clause by which this latter provision was introduced being prefaced by a general declaration, "that no men, nor number of men, upon earth have power to rule over men's consciences in religious matters." It was appointed that the people should meet annually to choose one honest man for each propriety to sit in the provincial assembly; that "these elections be not determined by the common and confused way of cries and voices, but by putting balls into balloting boxes to be provided for that purpose, for the prevention of all partiality, and whereby every man may freely choose according to his own judgment and honest intention;" and that every member of assembly should be allowed a shilling a day during the session, "that thereby he may be known to be the servant of the people." Every man was to be capable of choosing and being chosen to sit in these assemblies, which were vested with the power to make, alter, and repeal laws, and to elect, from time to time a committee of assistants to carry the laws into execution. Without the verdict of a jury, no man could be arrested, confined, or deprived of life, liberty, or estate. Imprisonment for debt was disallowed: and a bankrupt, after surrendering his estate to his creditors, was set at liberty to work again for himself and his family. Such is an outline of the composition that forms the first essay of quaker legislation, and entitles its authors to no mean share in the honor of planting religious and political liberty in America. "There," said Penn and his colleagues, in allusion to this fruit of their labors, "we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and christians, that they may not be brought in bondage but by their own consent; for we put the power in the people."

The publication of this instrument, which its authors accompanied with a special recommendation of the province to the members of their own religious fraternity, produced an immediate display of that diversity of sentiment which had begun to prevail among the society of quakers. Many prepared with alacrity to embrace the proposals of the trustees, and expressed the most exaggerated expectations of the liberty, prosperity, and repose that awaited them in the new settlement; while others regarded with jealousy, and even vehemently opposed a secession which they considered pusillanimous and discreditable. To moderate the expectations of the one, and to appease the jealousy of the other of these parties, William Penn and his colleagues addressed a circular letter to the members of their sect, in which they solemnly cautioned them against leaving their country from a timid reluctance to bear testimony to their principles, from an impatient unsettled temper, or from any motive inferior to a deliberate conviction that the God of all the earth opened their way to New Jersey, and sanctioned their removal thither. They were admonished to remember that, although quaker principles were established in the province, only quaker safeguards could be interposed or relied on for their preservation; and, in particular, that the religious toleration which was to be established must depend for its continuance on the aid of that Being with whose will they believed it to concur, and could never be defended

* In one vessel alone, which was despatched from England in March 1684, sixty quaker convicts were shipped for America. Williamson's North Carolina, i. 82.

† Robert Barclay, the author of the "Apology for the Quakers," and of a treatise on "the Anarchy of the Ranters," has perhaps done more than any other writer of his persuasion to render quakerism a methodical and rational system. Yet this eminent person, though remarkably distinguished for the strength and soundness of his understanding and the sedateness of his temper, soon after his conversion to quakerism, betrayed in his conduct a strong taint of enthusiastic extravagance. He himself mentions, that on one occasion, having experienced a very vivid impression of the duty of walking through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes, he could not be easy till he had obeyed the divine call, as he conceived it to have been. Aikin's General Biography, vol. ii.

* In Neal's History of the Puritans (vol. iv.) there is preserved an account of a debate which took place in one of the churches of London between an English bishop and a party of these wilder professors of quakerism, who willingly accepted the bishop's rash challenge to a public disputation. The debate was short, and soon degenerated into a reciprocation of abuse, in which the bishop, finding himself by no means a match for his opponents, took to flight, and was pursued to his house by a mob of quakers, confederating at his heels, "The hatching dieth, the hatching dieth."

by force or violence against the arm of an oppressor. To this admonitory letter there was annexed "A Description of West New Jersey," for the better information of intending colonists, in which some trivial exaggerations that had gone abroad respecting the excellence of the soil and climate were corrected, but in the main, a most inviting representation of the settlement was conveyed. This publication was certainly not intended to repress the ardor of quaker emigration; neither had it any such effect. Numerous purchases of colonial land were made by quakers in various parts of England; and, in the course of the year 1677, upwards of four hundred persons of this persuasion transported themselves to West New Jersey. Many of these were persons of considerable substance and respectability, who carried with them their children and servants; and along with them were sent a board of commissioners appointed by Penn and his colleagues to make partition of the lands, and purchase the acquiescence and friendship of the Indians. While the ship that carried out the first detachment of these emigrants was lying in the Thames, and preparing to sail, it happened that Charles the Second was passing by in his pleasure barge. Observing a number of quakers on board, the king came alongside the vessel, and inquired whither they were bound. Informed of their purpose, he asked if they were all quakers, and, being answered in the affirmative, he gave them his blessing and departed.*

On their arrival in America, the quakers very soon discovered that the danger of a lawless encroachment on their privileges had not been suggested to them in vain. Andros summoned them to acknowledge the sovereignty of his master, the Duke of York; affirming that his own life would be endangered if he should venture to recognize their independence without an express order from the duke. When they remonstrated against this usurpation, Andros cut short the controversy by pointing to his sword; and as this was an argument which the quakers were precluded from retorting, they submitted for the present to his violence, and acknowledged themselves and their territory subject to the Duke of York, till the issue of an application for redress, which they transmitted to England. They were compelled for some time to endure the hardships inseparable from the occupation of a desert land. But these hardships were surmounted by industry and patience; and their first settlement, to which they gave the name of Burlington, quickly exhibited a thriving appearance, and was replenished with inhabitants by successive arrivals of additional quaker emigrants from the parent state. [1678] It was observed in this, as in most of the other infant settlements in America, that the success of individual colonists was in general proportioned to the original humility of their condition, and the degree of reliance which they placed on the resource of their own unassisted industry. Many who emigrated as servants were more prosperous than others who imported a considerable substance along with them. Inured to industry, they derived from it a return so ample, as soon enabled them to rise above a state of servitude, and cultivate land on their own account; while the others, subsisting too long on their imported stock, and relying too far upon the hired labor of the poor, were not unfrequently reduced to indigence. The first exertions of the colonists to procure themselves a livelihood had been facilitated by the friendly assistance of the Indians; but a hostile attack was soon threatened by these savages, who, on finding that a dangerous epidemic had broke out among them, accused their neighbors of having treacherously sold them the small-pox. The danger, however, was averted, by the influence of an Indian chief, who assured his countrymen that similar diseases had afflicted their forefathers, while as yet they had no intercourse with strangers, and that such calamities were not of earthly origin, but came down from heaven.

[1679] Sir George Carteret, the proprietary of East Jersey, died in 1679; having derived so little benefit from his American territory, that he found it necessary to bequeath it by his will to trustees, who were intrusted to dispose of it for the advantage of his creditors. The exemption which this district had been permitted to enjoy from the jurisdiction of the Duke of York, had not contributed to moderate the discontent with which the inhabitants of West Jersey submitted to an authority from which their right to be exempted

was equally clear. They had never ceased to importune the duke for a redress of this grievance; and were at length provoked to additional vehemence of complaint and urgency of solicitation, by a tax which Andros, in the exercise of his master's pretended sovereignty, imposed on the importation of European merchandise into West Jersey. Worried at length with the continual importunity of these suitors, rather than moved with a sense of honor or equity, this unjust prince consented to refer the matter of their complaint to certain commissioners, by whom it was finally remitted [1680] to the legal opinion of Sir William Jones. The argument employed in behalf of the colonists of West Jersey on this occasion, was prepared by William Penn, George Hutchinson, and several other coadjutors, chiefly of the quaker persuasion, and breathes a firm undaunted spirit of liberty, worthy of the founders of a North American commonwealth. "Thus then," they insisted, after a narrative of the tides by which the territory had been transmitted to them, "we come to buy that moiety which belonged to Lord Berkeley, for a valuable consideration: and in the conveyance he made us, powers of government are expressly granted; for that only could have induced us to buy it; and the reason is plain, because to all prudent men the government of any place is more inviting than the soil. For what is good land without good laws? the better the worse. And if we could not assure people of an easy, and free, and safe government, both with respect to their spiritual and worldly property,—that is an uninterrupted liberty of conscience, and an inviolable possession of their civil rights and freedoms, by a just and wise government,—a mere wilderness would be no encouragement: for it were a madness to leave a free, good, and improved country, to plant in a wilderness, and there adventure many thousands of pounds to give an absolute title to another person to tax us at will and pleasure." Having adverted to the argument in support of the duke's usurped authority, they continued—"Natural right and human prudence oppose such doctrine all the world over: for what is it but to say, that people free by law under their prince at home, are at his mercy in the plantations abroad. And why? because he is a conqueror there; but still at the hazard of the lives of his own people, and at the cost and charge of the public. We could say more, but choose to let it drop. But our case is better yet; for the king's grant to the Duke of York is plainly restrictive to the laws and government of England. Now the constitution and government of England, as we humbly conceive, are so far from countenancing any such authority, that it is made a fundamental in our constitution, that the king of England cannot justly take his subjects' goods without their consent. This needs no more to be proved than a principle; it is an home-born right, declared to be law by divers statutes." "To give up this," they added, "the power of making laws, is to change the government, to sell, or rather resign ourselves to the will of another; and that for nothing; For, under favor, we buy nothing of the duke, if not the right of an undisturbed colonizing, and that as Englishmen with no diminution, but rather expectation of some increase of those freedoms and privileges enjoyed in our own country: for the soil is none of his; 'tis the natives', by the *jus gentium*, the law of nations; and it would be an ill argument to convert them to Christianity, to expel instead of purchasing them out of those countries. If then the country be theirs, it is not the duke's; he cannot sell it; then what have we bought?" "To conclude this point, we humbly say that we have not lost any part of our liberty by leaving our country; for we leave not our king, nor our government, by quitting our soil; but we transplant to a place given by the same king, with express limitation to erect no polity contrary to the same established government, but as near as may be to it; and this variation is allowed but for the sake of emergencies; and that latitude bounded by these words, *for the good of the adventurer and planter*." In a subsequent part of their pleading,* they remark, that "there is no end of this power; for since we are by this precedent assessed without any

* This curious document, which (like most quaker productions) is somewhat tedious, and enriched with some display of legal knowledge, is printed at full length in *S. Smith's History*. It is remarkable that Chalmers has taken no notice of it. Winterbotham (vol. ii. p. 287.) has given an abridged and very inadequate version of it. That Penn concurred in the presentation of this pleading, is undeniable; and hence it may be fairly presumed, that he assisted in its composition. But that he was the sole author of it, as some of his modern biographers have insinuated, is strongly refuted by its style, in which not the slightest resemblance is discoverable to any of his acknowledged productions.

law, and thereby excluded our English right of common assent to taxes, what security have we of any thing we possess? We can call nothing our own, but are tenants at will, not only for the soil, but for all our personal estates. This is to transplant, not from good to better, but from good to bad. This sort of conduct has destroyed government, but never raised one to any true greatness." "Lastly, the duke's circumstances, and the people's jealousies considered, we humbly submit it, if there can be in their opinion, a greater evidence of a design to introduce an unlimited government, than both to exact an uninterminated tax from English planters, and to continue it after so many repeated complaints; and on the contrary, if there can be any thing so happy to the duke's present affairs, as the opportunity he hath to free that country with his own hand, and to make us all owners of our liberty to his favor, and justice. So will Englishmen here know what to hope for, by the justice and kindness he shows to Englishmen there; and all men see the just model of his government in New York to be the scheme and draught in little of his administration in Old England at large, if the crown should ever devolve upon his head." Unpalatable as this argument must doubtless have been to the British court, and the counsellors of the Duke of York at this period, it was attended with the most triumphant success. The commissioners to whom the case had been referred were constrained to pronounce their judgment in conformity with the opinion of Jones, "that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no profit or jurisdiction, the legality of the taxes could not be defended." In compliance with this adjudication, the duke without farther scruple resigned all his claims on West Jersey, and confirmed the province itself in the amplest terms to its new proprietaries. And as the same procedure was evidently due to East Jersey, he granted soon after a similar release in favor of the representatives of his friend Sir George Carteret. Thus the whole of New Jersey was promoted at once from the condition of a conquered country to the rank of a free and independent province; and made the adjunct, instead of the dependency, of the British empire. The powerful and spirited pleading, by which this benefit was gained, derives additional interest from the recollection of the conflict that was then carrying on in England between the advocates of liberty and the abettors of arbitrary power. I question if it be possible to point out, in any of the writings or harangues of which that period was so abundantly prolific, a more impressive or magnanimous effort for the preservation of liberty, than is evinced in this first successful vindication of the rights of New Jersey. One of the most remarkable features of the plea which the provincials had maintained, was the strong and deliberate assertion that no tax could be justly imposed on them, without their own consent and the authority of their own general assembly. The report of the commissioners in their favor, and the relief that followed, were virtual concessions in favor of this principle, which in an after age was destined to obtain a more signal triumph in the independence of North America.

West Jersey now filled apace with inhabitants, by the accession of numerous settlers, of which the greater proportion still continued to be quakers. Byllinge, who was appointed the first governor by the other proprietaries, not finding it convenient to leave England, granted a deputation of his functions to Samuel Jennings, by whom the first representative assembly of West Jersey was convoked. [1681] In this assembly, there was enacted a body of Fundamental Constitutions, and a number of laws for the protection of property and the punishment of crimes. By the Fundamental Constitutions, the assembly was empowered to appoint and displace all persons holding offices of trust in the province; and the governor was precluded from making war, or doing any act that should be obligatory on the state, without the assembly's concurrence, and from withholding his assent to any of its enactments. Assemblies were to be annually convoked; and no assembly was to have power to impose a tax which should endure longer than a year. In the laws that were passed on this occasion, the most remarkable feature is a provision, that in all criminal cases, except treason, murder, and theft, the person aggrieved should have power to pardon the offender, whether before or after condemnation—a provision of very questionable expediency, but probably intended to prevent the christian duty of forgiveness from being evacuated, as in most countries is practically done, by the supposed municipal duty which engages a man to avenge as a citizen the wrong which as a christian he is pledged to forgive. The landed property of every inhabitant was made liable for his

* S. Smith, 88—93. Proud's History of Pennsylvania, i. 138—144. This is a very scarce work. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Sims, of Cavendish Square, London, for a perusal of one of the very few copies of it that are to be found in Europe. It is a work of great research, and abounding with valuable matter; but one of the most confused and tedious compositions that ever tormented human patience.

debt; marriages were appointed to be solemnized by justices of the peace; for the prevention of disputes with the Indians, the sale of spirituous liquors to them was strictly prohibited; and for the encouragement of poor but industrious laborers, who obtained the means of emigrating from Europe by indenting themselves as servants to more wealthy settlers, every servant was entitled to claim from his master, at the expiry of his indenture, a set of implements of husbandry, certain articles of apparel, and ten bushels of corn. To prevent the resort of worthless and depraved men to the province, a law was soon after passed, requiring every new settler, under pain of a pecuniary fine, to give satisfactory evidence to a justice of the peace, that his change of residence was not the effect of crime, nor an act of fraud, but that he was reputed a person of blameless character and sober life. From this period till the dissolution of the proprietary government, the provincial assembly continued to be annually convoked. It did not always confine itself to the exercise of the ample powers with which it was constitutionally endowed. For when Byllinge soon after proposed to deprive Jennings, the deputy-governor, of his office, the assembly interposed to prevent this proceeding; declaring that Jennings gave satisfaction to the people, and desiring him to retain his situation. The rule and ordinary practice of the constitution, however, was that the council of assistants to the governor were nominated by the assembly; while the proprietaries appointed the governor; and he, with the consent of the proprietaries, named his own deputy.

The success of their experiment in West Jersey encouraged the quakers of Great Britain to avail themselves of the opportunity that was now afforded of enlarging the sphere of their enterprise by the acquisition of the eastern half of the territory. The close of Philip Carteret's administration of East Jersey was embittered by a revival of the disputes that had once rendered him a fugitive from his government. Even the concession that had been recently obtained from the Duke of York served but to afford additional materials of discord between the proprietary government and the people; and instead of mutually enjoying the important benefit which it conferred, the two parties set themselves to debate with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity, whether this instrument or the proprietary concessions in 1664 should be regarded as the foundations of their government. Disgusted with these disputes, and perceiving that they were not likely to derive either emolument or satisfaction from a prolonged administration of the proprietary government, the trustees and executors of Sir George Carteret offered the province for sale to the highest bidder; and closing with the proposals of William Penn,* conveyed their rights over East Jersey to him, [1682] and to eleven other persons of the quaker persuasion. The territory comprehended in this conveyance contained already a variety of settlements, inhabited by seven hundred families, or about three thousand five hundred persons, exclusive of the inhabitants of certain remote and scattered plantations, who were computed to amount to at least half as many more. The great majority of the settlers were not quakers; and whether with the view of allaying the jealousy with which these persons might have regarded a government wholly composed of men whose principles differed so widely from their own, or for the purpose of fortifying their own interest at the British court, by the association of persons of influence in their undertaking, the twelve purchasers made haste to assume twelve other partners in their proprietary rights, and among others the Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, and Lord Drummond of Gilston, the Secretary of State for that kingdom.† In favor of these twenty-four proprietaries, the Duke of York executed his third and last grant of East Jersey; on receiving which, they proceeded to appoint a council or committee of their own number, to whom all the functions of the proprietary government were intrusted. To facilitate the exercise of their do-

minion, they obtained from Charles the Second a royal letter, addressed to the governor, council and inhabitants of the province, stating the title of the proprietaries to the soil and jurisdiction, and requiring all to yield obedience to their government and the laws.

At the time when East Jersey thus became subject to quaker administration (for the quakers still formed a great majority of the proprietary body) the inhabitants, by a diligent improvement of their advantages, had attained a flourishing and prosperous estate. The greater number of them had emigrated from New England, or were the descendants of New Englandmen; and their laws and manners in some particulars bore the traces of this origin. The punishment of death was denounced by law against children striking or cursing their parents. Adulterers were liable to flogging or banishment. Fornication was punished, at the discretion of the magistrate, by marriage, fine, or flogging. Nightwalking, or revelling abroad, after the hour of nine, subjected the offenders to a discretionary punishment. A thief, for the first offence, was to make threefold restitution; in case of frequent repetition, he might be capitally punished, or reduced to slavery. There was no law for the public support of religion; but every township maintained a church and minister. "The people," said the first deputy who came among them from their quaker sovereigns, "are generally a sober, professing people, wise in their generation, courteous in their behavior, and respectful to us in office." So happily exempt were they from the most ordinary and forcible temptation to violence and dishonesty, that according to the same testimony there was not an industrious man among them whose own hands could not procure him a state of honest competence, and even of ease and plenty.* If we might rely implicitly on the opinion of this observer, we should impute the dissensions that had lately prevailed in the province to the folly and mismanagement of Carteret and his associates in the government. But there is reason to believe that the blame of these dissensions was more equally divided between the people and their rulers. A headstrong and turbulent disposition appears to have prevailed among some classes at least of the inhabitants; various riots and disturbances broke forth even under the new government; and the utmost exertions of quaker prudence and patience were required to compose them. A law which was passed about four years after this period reprobates the frequent occurrence of quarrels and challenges, and interdicts the inhabitants from wearing swords, pistols, or daggers.

Among the new proprietaries of East Jersey was the celebrated Robert Barclay of Urie, a Scottish gentleman, who had been converted to quakerism, and in defence of his adopted principles had published a series of works that elevated his name and his cause in the esteem of all Europe. Admired by scholars and philosophers for the stretch of his learning and the strength and subtlety of his understanding, he was endeared to the members of his religious fraternity by the liveliness of his zeal, the excellence of his character, and the services which his pen had rendered to their cause. These services consisted rather of the literary celebrity which he had given to the quaker doctrines, than of any wider diffusion of their influence among mankind. For his writings in general are much more calculated to dazzle and confound the understanding, than to produce conviction or sink into the heart. To the King and the Duke of York, he was recommended not less by his distinguished fame, and his happy genius and address, than by the principles of passive obedience professed by that sect of which he was considered a leader; and with both the royal brothers as well as with several of the most distinguished of their Scottish favorites and ministers, he maintained the most friendly and confidential intercourse. Inexplicable, as to many such a coalition of uncongenial characters may appear, it seems at least as strange a moral phenomenon to behold Barclay and Penn, the votaries of universal toleration and philanthropy, voluntarily associating in their labors for the education and happiness of an infant community, such instruments as Lord Perth and other abettors of royal tyranny and ecclesiastical persecution in Scotland. [23]

[1683] By the unanimous choice of his colleagues

* This testimony is confirmed by Gawen Laurie, who was the second deputy-governor under the quaker administration. "There is not," he says, "in all the province a poor body, or that wants." "The servants work not so much by a third as they do in England, and I think feed much better; for they have beef, pork, bacon, pudding, milk, butter, and good beer and cider to drink. When they are out of their time, they have land for themselves, and generally turn farmers for themselves. Servants' wages are not under two shillings a day, besides victuals." S. Smith, p. 177. 181.

Robert Barclay was appointed the first governor of East Jersey, under the new proprietary administration. So highly was he esteemed by his colleagues, and such advantage was anticipated from his superintendence of the colony, that his commission bestowed the office on him for life, and while it dispensed with his personal residence,* authorised him to nominate his own deputy. But the expectations which produced or attended his elevation, were disappointed by the result; his government (like that of Sir Henry Vane in Massachusetts) was brief and ill fated, and calculated rather to lower than to advance his illustrious reputation. The most signal and beneficial event of his presidency, was the emigration of a considerable number of his own countrymen the Scotch to East Jersey; a measure which, however congenial it may appear to the situation of that oppressed and persecuted people, was not recommended to their adoption but by dint of a good deal of importunity and persuasion. For although the great bulk of the people of Scotland were dissatisfied with the episcopal establishment which their kings had forced upon them, and vast multitudes were enduring the utmost rigors of tyranny for their resistance to it, it was found no easy matter to persuade them to seek a relief from their sufferings, in a distant and perpetual exile from their native land. In addition to the motives to emigration which the severities exercised by Lord Perth and the other royal ministers contributed to supply, the influence of Barclay and other Scottish quakers was more successfully employed in prevailing with their countrymen to seek an asylum in East Jersey; and thither scorchingly a body of emigrants, chiefly from Barclay's native county of Aberdeen, soon after resorted. [1684] For the purpose of rendering the Scotch more generally acquainted with the state of the colonial territory and the nature of its institutions, and of inciting them to remove thither, it was determined by the proprietaries to publish a historical and statistical account of it, with a preliminary treatise in which the prevailing objections to emigration should be combated, and this resource presented in a more desirable view than that in which the Scotch were generally disposed to regard it. From undertaking the authorship of this performance, Barclay was probably deterred by knowing that, as a quaker, his estimate of the popular objections, some of which were founded on religious considerations, would find little favor with the bulk of his countrymen; as well as by unwillingness to entangle himself with allusions to the existing persecution, which he could hardly have characterised in a manner satisfactory at once to his own conscience and to Lord Perth and others of his proprietary associates. To the work which was now composed and published, in furtherance of his and his colleagues' design, it is probable that he contributed some assistance; and indeed the inequality of the performance strongly attests that it was not wholly the composition of a single author. It was published as the production of a Scotch gentleman, George Scot of Pitlochrie, and bore the title of "The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America." From various passages in this work, it would appear that many of the Scotch were prepossessed with the notion, that to emigrate from their native land without some extraordinary sanction from the Divine will, was an impious dereliction of the lot which the Almighty had assigned to them. In opposition to this view a large and ingenious commentary was made on the Divine command to replenish and subdue the earth; and it was argued that as this was an eternal law, the duty to fulfil it was of continual obligation, and required no extraordinary manifestation from Heaven. Among other incitements to emigration, it is remarked that "We see by nature trees flourish fair, prosper well and wax fruitful in a large orchard, which would otherwise decay if they were straitened in a little nursery. Do we not see it thus fall out in our civil state, where a few men flourish best, furnished with abilities or best fitted with opportunities, and the rest wax weak and languish, as wanting room and means to nourish them? Now, that the spirits and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide, will be evident to any man who considers that the husbanding of unmanured ground and shifting into empty lands, enforceth men to frugality and quickeneth invention; and the settling of new estates requireth justice and affection to the common good; and the taking in of large countries presents a natural remedy against covetousness, fraud, and vio-

* Though Penn thus became a proprietary of East Jersey, his connexion both with its concerns, and with those of West Jersey, was henceforward almost merely nominal. He had now acquired for himself the province of Pennsylvania, which occupied all his interest, and diverted his attention from New Jersey.

† From the dedication of Scot's Model, &c. of East Jersey, it appears that Viscount Tarbet and Lord M'Leod, two other powerful Scotch nobles, became very shortly after proprietaries of this province. In one of Oldmixon's lists of the proprietaries (vol. i. p. 143), we find the name of Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, whom his contemporaries justly denominated the bloody Mackenzie; and in one of his subsequent lists we find the names of Archdale the quaker proprietary of Carolina, and of West the lawyer, who obtained so much infamous distinction as a witness for the crown on the trial of Lord Russell. 2d Edit. vol. i. p. 291.

* Oldmixon is mistaken in asserting that Barclay himself repaired, and carried his family with him to the province. Barclay never was in New Jersey. Soon after his appointment, he sent thither his brother David, some of whose letters from the province are printed in S. Smith's History.

lance, when every man may enjoy enough without wrong or injury to his neighbor." The heads of ancient families were particularly exhorted to embrace this opportunity of cheaply endowing their younger sons with a more liberal provision in America than the laws and usages of Scotland enabled them to bestow at home. In reply to an objection that had been urged that a province governed by quakers would be left unprotected of the means of military defence, it was stated that several of the proprietaries and many of the inhabitants did not belong to the quaker persuasion, and that East Jersey already numbered six hundred armed men. The argument derived from the severities inflicted by government on the presbyterians, is handled in a very courteous style. "You see it is now judged the interest of the government altogether to suppress the presbyterian principles; and that in order thereto, the whole force and bensil of the law of this kingdom are levelled at the effectual bearing them down; that the rigorous putting these laws in execution hath in a great part ruined many of these, who notwithstanding thereof find themselves in conscience obliged to retain these principles; while, on the other hand, episcopacy is by the same laws supported and protected. I would gladly know what other rational medium can be proposed in these circumstances, than either to comply with the government, by going what length is required by law, in conforming; or to retreat, where by law a toleration is by his majesty allowed. Such a retreat doth at present offer itself in America, and is nowhere else to be found in his majesty's dominions." What an encomium on America, at the expense of every other portion of the British empire! The work contains a minute account of the climate, soil, institutions and existing settlements of the province, and an elaborate panegyric on its advantages in all these particulars. As a farther recommendation of the province to the favor of the Scotch, Barclay, displacing a deputy whom he had appointed, of his own religious persuasion, conferred this office on Lord Neil Campbell, uncle of the Marquis of Argyll, who repaired to East Jersey, and remained there for some time as its lieutenant-governor.*

[1685] The efforts of Barclay and his colleagues were crowned with success. A great many inhabitants of Scotland emigrated to East Jersey, and enriched American society with a valuable accession of virtue that had been refined by adversity, and piety that was invigorated by persecution. The more wealthy of the Scotch emigrants were noted for bringing with them a great number of servants, and in some instances for transporting whole families of poor laborers whom they established on their lands for a term of years, and endowed with a competent stock; receiving in return one half of the agricultural produce.†

But James the Second had now ascended the British throne: and practically inverting the magnanimous sentiment that has been ascribed to a French monarch, he deemed it unnecessary for a King of England to respect the engagements of the Duke of York; nor could all his seeming friendship for Barclay, together with all the influence of Lord Perth and the other courtier proprietaries, deter him from involving New Jersey in the design he had formed of annulling all the charters and constitutions of the American colonies. [1686] A real or pretended complaint was preferred to the English court against the inhabitants of the Jerseys for evasion of custom-house duties; and the ministers of James eagerly seizing this handle, without farther ceremony caused writs of quo warranto to be issued both against East and West New Jersey, and directed the attorney-general to prosecute them with the utmost stretch of legal expedition; assigning as the reason for this proceeding, the necessity of checking the pretended abuses "in a country which ought to be more dependent on his majesty." Alarmed at this blow, the proprietaries of East Jersey presented a remonstrance to the king, in which they reminded him that they had not received

this province as a benevolence, but had purchased it at the price of many thousand pounds, and had been encouraged to do so by the assurances of protection which they had received from himself; that they had already sent thither several hundreds of people from Scotland; and that, if it would be satisfactory to his majesty, they would immediately propose to the New Jersey assembly to impose the same taxes there that were paid by the people of New York. They entreated that if any change should be made in the condition of their province, it might be confined to an union of East and West Jersey in one jurisdiction, to be ruled by a governor whom the king might select from the body of proprietaries. [1687.*] But James was inexorable, and to their remonstrance gave no other answer than that he had determined to unite the Jerseys with New York and the New England states in one general government dependent on the crown and to be administered by Andros. Finding it impossible to divert him from his arbitrary purpose, the proprietaries of East Jersey were so far deserted of spirit and dignity, as not only to abandon a hopeless contest for the privileges of their people, but even to facilitate the execution of the king's designs against them, as the price of his consenting to respect their own private property in the colonial soil. They made a formal surrender of their patent on this condition; and as James agreed to accept it, the proceedings in the quo warranto process were no longer needed for East Jersey, and were even suspended with regard to the western territory. Seeing no resistance opposed to his will, the king was the less intent on consummating his acquisition; and while the grant of the soil to the proprietaries, which was necessary for this purpose, still remained unexecuted, the completion of the design was abruptly intercepted by the British revolution.

Although the proprietary governments in New Jersey were preserved for a time from dissolution by this event, they never afterwards attained a state of vigor or efficiency. Robert Barclay, who seems never to have been divested of the government of East Jersey, died in 1690; but no traces of his administration are to be found after the year 1688; and from thence till 1692, it is asserted by Chalmers that no government at all existed in New Jersey. The peace of the country was preserved, and the prosperity of its inhabitants promoted by their own honesty, sobriety, and industry. Almost all the original proprietaries of both provinces had in the mean time disposed of their interests to recent purchasers; and the proprietary associations had become so numerous and so fluctuating, that their proceedings were deprived of proper concert and steadiness, and their authority possessed neither the respect nor the affection of the people. The appointment of new proprietary governors in 1692, was the commencement of a series of disputes, intrigues, and vicissitudes of office, which in a society more numerous or less virtuous would probably have been attended with civil war and bloodshed. The government of New York, which from its dependence on the crown, was encouraged by King William to arrogate a pre-eminence over the neighboring chartered colonies, seemed to have thought this a favorable opportunity of reviving, and even extending, its ancient pretensions in New Jersey, whose inhabitants learned with equal surprise and indignation that the assembly of New York had included them in a taxation which it imposed on its own constituents. This attempt, however, was not more successful than the other instances in which New York made similar efforts to usurp an undue authority. A complaint to the English government on this subject was referred to the crown lawyers, who delivered an opinion that produced an abandonment of the pretensions of New York.† [1697] At length the disagreements between the various proprietaries and their respective adherents attained such a height, and were productive of so much schism and confusion, that it was sometimes difficult, if not impossible, for the people to tell in which of two or more rival pretenders to authority the legal administration was truly invested.‡ Numerous complaints of the inconve-

nience occasioned by this state of matters, were addressed by the inhabitants of the Jerseys to the British court; and the proprietaries themselves, finding that their seigniorial functions tended only to disturb the peace of their territories, and to obstruct their own emoluments as owners of the soil, hearkened willingly to an overture from the English ministers for a surrender of their powers of government to the crown. This surrender was finally arranged and effected in the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne, who proceeded forthwith to reunite East and West Jersey into one province, and to commit the government of it, as well as of New York, to her kinsman, Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury.* [1702]

The commission and instructions which this nobleman received on his departure from England, present an abstract of the constitution and civil state of New Jersey from the resumption of its charter till the period when it ceased to be a British province. The local government was appointed to consist of a governor and twelve councillors nominated by the crown, and of a house of assembly, consisting of twenty-four members, to be elected by the people. The sessions of this assembly were to be held alternately in East and West Jersey. None were capable of voting for representatives in the assembly but persons possessing an hundred acres of land, or personal property to the value of fifty pounds; and none were eligible but persons possessing a thousand acres of land, or personal property worth five hundred pounds. The laws enacted by the council and assembly were subject to the negative of the governor; but if passed by him, they were to be immediately transmitted to England, where they were to be finally affirmed or disavowed by the crown. The governor was empowered to suspend any of the members of council from their functions, and to fill up vacancies occurring among them by death; and, with consent of this body, to constitute courts of law, to appoint all civil and military officers, and to employ the forces of the province in hostilities against public enemies. To the assembly there was to be communicated the royal desire, that it should impose sufficient taxes to afford a competent salary to the governor, to defray the salaries of its own members and of the members of council, and to support all the other provincial establishments and expenditure; the prescribed style of all money bills being, that the sums contained in them were granted to the crown, with the humble desire of the assembly, that they might be applied for the benefit of the province; and all monies so raised were to be paid into the hands of the receiver of the province till the royal pleasure should be signified with regard to their distribution. The former proprietaries of the province were confirmed in their rights to the estates and quit rents which they had formerly enjoyed; and none but they and their agents and surveyors were to be suffered to purchase land from the Indians. Liberty of conscience was assured to all men, except papists. Quakers were declared to be eligible to every office, and their affirmation accepted in lieu of the customary oaths. The governor was invested with the presentation to all ecclesiastical benefices. He was required to give particular encouragement to all ministers of religion in connexion with the church of England, and to "take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly served." It is deserving of regret rather than of surprise, to find combined with, and almost in immediate sequence to this display of royal zeal for the interests of religion and the honor of God, a requisition to the governor, that, in encouraging trade, he should give especial countenance to the Royal African Company of England—a company that had been instituted for the piratical purpose of kidnapping or buying negroes in Africa, and selling them as slaves in the American and West Indian plantations. It was declared to be the intention of her majesty "to recommend unto the said company, that the said province may have a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates;" and the governor was required to

king; to a third (notwithstanding the precedent of Lord Neil Campbell's appointment) because, being a Scotchman, it was questioned if he were legally capable of holding office in an English colony.

* Oldmixon, i. 147. S. Smith, 207—220, and Appendix. 538—573. Chalmers, 622. State Papers, apud eund. 626. Although the proprietaries persisted in terming this surrender a voluntary act, and asserting their right to have retained the government if they had pleased so to do, they appear to have been swayed in some measure by the threat of an expensive suit with the crown, which had determined to bring the validity of their pretensions to trial. In the instrument of surrender, the queen, while she declares her gracious acceptance of the powers resigned to her by the proprietaries, expressly refuses to acknowledge that these powers ever legally belonged to them.

* Oldmixon and S. Smith concur in relating that Lord Neil Campbell succeeded Barclay as governor. But this seems to have been a blunder of Oldmixon, which Smith has incautiously copied. Barclay, as we have seen, was appointed governor for life in 1683; he did not die till 1690: and from a document preserved by Smith himself (p. 196) it appears that Barclay in 1688, as governor of East Jersey, subscribed an agreement of partition between it and West Jersey.

† Scot, 24. 27. 33. 39. 45. 49. 101. 217. Oldmixon, i. 145. S. Smith, 166, 167, 181, 2. The convulsions that preceded the assassination of De Witt and the triumph of the Prince of Orange in Holland, drove many respectable Dutch families from their native land. Most of these exiles retired to North America. Sonmans, a member of the States General, had proceeded to England with this view, when he was overtaken by the sanguinary fury of the Orange faction, and murdered by their emissaries as he was riding with Robert Barclay, the quaker, in the neighborhood of London. His family, however, finally reached New Jersey. S. Smith, 423.

* This year the assembly of East Jersey, convened at Perth Amboy, granted a tax of a penny in the pound on estates to enable the governor of New York to repel a threatened invasion, "because the king had instructed him to call on other provinces for aid in case he was invaded." State Papers apud Chalmers, 629.

† Sir John Hawles and Sir Cresswell Levinz were the lawyers consulted on this occasion. The opinion they delivered was "that no customs could be imposed on the people of the Jerseys, otherwise than by act of parliament or their own assemblies."

‡ Obedience was refused by a considerable party to one governor, because it was doubted if a majority of the proprietaries had concurred in his nomination; to another, because it was denied that his appointment had been ratified by the

compel the planters duly to fulfil whatever engagements they might make with the company. He was further instructed to cause a law to be passed for restraining inhuman severity to slaves, and attaching a capital punishment to the wilful murder of them; and to take every means in his power to promote the conversion of these unhappy persons to the christian faith. All printing was prohibited in the province without a license from the governor. In all law-suits where the sum in dependence exceeded an hundred pounds, an appeal was admitted from the provincial courts to the governor and council: and when the sum exceeded two hundred pounds, a further appeal was competent to the privy council of England.

The instructions to Lord Cornbury contain reiterated intimations of the queen's sincere desire to promote peace, tranquillity and contentment, among her American subjects; but this desire accorded as ill with the disposition and qualifications of the individual to whom she remitted its accomplishment, as her anxiety to mitigate the evils of slavery will be thought to do with her earnest endeavor to diffuse this mischievous institution more widely in her dominions. Of the character and conduct of Lord Cornbury we have already seen a specimen in the history of New York. If the people of New Jersey had less reason to complain of him, it was only because his avocations at New York compelled him generally to delegate his functions in the other province to a deputy; and because the votaries of his favorite institution, the church of England, were too few in New Jersey, and perhaps too honest and unambitious, to afford him the materials of a faction whose instrumentality he might employ in oppressing and plundering the rest of the community. His distinguished name and rank, his near relationship to the queen, and the advantage he derived from appearing as the substitute of a government which had become universally unpopular, gave him at first an influence with the people of New Jersey, which a man of greater virtue might have rendered highly conducive to their felicity, and a man of greater ability might have improved to the subjugation of their spirit, and the diminution of their liberty. But all the illusions that attended his outset among them were speedily dispelled by acquaintance with his character, and experience of his administration. From the period of his appointment till his deprivation of office, the history of New Jersey consists of little else than a detail of the miserable squabbles in which he involved himself with the colonial assemblies; and a picture of the spirit and resolution with which they resisted his arbitrary violence, condemned his partial distribution of justice, and exposed his fraudulent misapplication of the public money. After repeated complaints, the queen was compelled to sacrifice him to the universal indignation which he had provoked; but not till he had very effectually, though most unintentionally, contributed, by a wholesome discipline, to awaken and fortify a vigorous and vigilant spirit of liberty, in two of the colonies which were most immediately subjected to the influence of the crown. He was superseded, in 1709, by Lord Lovelace, who was at the same time appointed his successor in the government of New York.*

The attractions which the neighboring province of Pennsylvania presented to the English quakers, and the cessation which the British revolution produced of the severities that had driven so many protestant dissenters from both England and Scotland, undoubtedly prevented the population of New Jersey from advancing with the rapidity which its increase at one period seemed to betoken. Yet, at the close of the seventeenth century, the province is said to have contained twenty thousand inhabitants, of whom twelve thousand belonged to East, and eight thousand to West Jersey.† It is more probable that the total population amounted to about fifteen thousand persons. The great bulk of them were quakers, presbyterians, and anabaptists. The militia of East Jersey amounted, at this period, to 1,400 men. There were two church of England ministers in the province; but their followers were not sufficiently numerous and wealthy to provide them with churches. New Jersey is said to have witnessed an unusually long subsistence of varieties of national

character among its inhabitants. Patriotic attachment and mutual convenience had generally induced the emigrants from different countries to settle in distinct bodies; a circumstance which strongly promoted among them the preservation of their peculiar national manners and customs. Kahn, the traveller, has preserved a very agreeable picture of the manners and habits of his countrymen, the early Swedish colonists of New Jersey and Delaware. They seem to have been less tenuous of their national peculiarities than the Dutch, and to have copied very early the manners of the English. Notwithstanding some symptoms of a turbulent and refractory disposition which were evinced by a portion of the East Jersey population during the subsistence of the proprietary government, a much more reasonable and moderate temper seems to have generally characterised the people of both parts of the united province; whereof a strong testimony is afforded in the harmony that attended their union by the act of the crown in 1702, and which even the policy of such a promoter of discord as Lord Cornbury was unable to disturb. Though separated from each other by differences of religious denomination, the inhabitants of the eastern and western territories were strongly assimilated by the habits of industry and frugality peculiar to the national character of the Scotch, and the sectarian discipline of the quakers; and the prevalence of these habits, doubtless, contributed to maintain tranquillity and harmony among the several races of people. Yet they were always distinguished by the steadiness and ardor of their attachment to liberty, and a promptitude to assert those generous principles which had been incorporated with the first foundation of political society in New Jersey. It is disagreeable to remember, that this manly appreciation of their own rights was not always accompanied with a proportionate consideration of the rights of others. Negro slavery was established in New Jersey; though at what precise period, or by what class of the planters, it was first introduced, I have not been able to ascertain. In spite of the royal patronage which we have beheld this baneful system receive, it never attained more than a very insignificant extent of prevalence throughout the territory. Even the quakers in this province, as well as in Pennsylvania, became proprietors of slaves; but their treatment of them was always distinguished by a humanity that rendered slavery little else than a name; and so early as the year 1696, the quakers of New Jersey united with their brethren in Pennsylvania in recommending to the members of their own sect to desist from the employment, or at least from the farther importation, of slaves. This interesting subject will demand more particular consideration in the history of Pennsylvania.

New Jersey had been for some time in possession of an increasing trade; but of its extent at this period no accurate estimate can be formed. Its exports consisted of agricultural produce (including rice), with which it supplied the West India islands; furs, skins, and a little tobacco for the English market; and oil, fish, and other provisions, which were sent to Spain, Portugal, and the Canary isles. Blome, whose account of the American provinces was published in 1686, says, that the town of Burlington even then gave promise of becoming a place of considerable trade. The stateliness of the public edifices, and the comfort and elegance of the private dwellings that composed this town, are highly commended by a writer whose account of the province was published about ten years later than the work of Blome. It possessed already a thriving manufactory of linen and woollen cloth. [24] This manufacture, which was also introduced into Pennsylvania by some of the earliest colonists of this province, began so soon to excite the jealousy of the parent state, that in the year 1699 an act of parliament was passed prohibiting the exportation of wool and woollen manufactures from the American colonies, under a penalty of five hundred pounds for each offence, in addition to the forfeiture of the ship and cargo.

It is alleged by some writers, that, till a very late period, the inhabitants of New Jersey evinced a general neglect of education, and indifference to all improvement in the arts of life, and particularly in their system of agricultural labor. This reproach is said to have been more especially merited by the descendants of the Dutch settlers. Yet the college of Princeton was founded so early as the year 1738; the people have always enjoyed a high reputation for piety, industry, economy, and good morals; and no community, even in North America, has witnessed a wider diffusion, among all classes of its inhabitants, of the comforts and conveniences of life. It has been noted as a singular peculiarity in their manners, that women in this state

have always engrossed a considerable share in the practice of the medical art, and, except in cases of great difficulty and importance, have been the only physicians whom the inhabitants have had recourse to.*

It was a fortunate circumstance for the inhabitants of this province, that the Indian tribes in their neighborhood were far from numerous, and were almost always willing to cultivate a friendly relation with the Europeans. The gravity, simplicity, and courtesy of quaker manners, seem to have been particularly acceptable to these savages. An historian of New Jersey has preserved an account of a visit paid by an old Indian king to the inhabitants of Burlington, in the year 1682. Being attacked with a mortal disorder, the old man sent for the heir of his authority, and delivered to him a charge replete with prudent and reasonable maxims. Thomas Budd, a quaker, and one of the proprietaries of the province, being present on this solemn occasion, "took the opportunity to remark, that there was a great God who created all things; that he gave man an understanding of what was good and bad; and after this life rewarded the good with blessings, and the bad according to their doings. The king answered, It is very true, it is so; there are two ways, a broad and a strait way; there are two paths, a broad and a strait path; the worst and the greatest number go in the broad, the best and fewest in the strait path." This king dying soon afterwards, was attended to his grave, in the quakers' burial-place in Burlington, with solemnity, by the Indians in their manner, and with great respect by many of the English settlers.

In the year 1695, the governor's salary in East Jersey was 150*l*.; in West Jersey 200*l*. In 1704, when these two provinces had been united into one state, a bill was passed for raising by tax 2000*l*. per annum for the support of government: but it does not appear what proportion of this sum was allotted to the governor.

BOOK VII. PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE. CHAPTER I.

Birth and Character of William Penn—He solicits a Grant of American Territory from Charles the Second—Charter of Pennsylvania—Object and Meaning of the Clauses peculiar to this Charter—English and American Opinions thereon—Penn's Efforts to people his Territories—Emigration of Quakers to the Province—Letter from Penn to the Indians—Penn's first Frame of Government for the Province—Grant of Delaware by the Duke of York to Penn—who sails for America—his joyful reception there—Numerous Emigrations to the Province—First Legislative Assembly—Pennsylvania and Delaware united—Controversy with Lord Baltimore—Treaty with the Indians—Second Assembly—new Frame of Government adopted—Philadelphia founded—Penn's Return to England—and Farewell to his People.

WILLIAM PENN, so renowned as a patriarch and champion of the quakers, and a founder of civilized society in North America, was the son of that naval commander who, under the protectorate of Cromwell, enlarged the British dominions by the conquest of Jamaica. This was the first colony which had been acquired by the English arms. New York was the next: for Acadia, though conquered in the interim by Cromwell's forces, did not then become an English settlement, and was surrendered by Charles the Second, soon after his restoration. It is another example of the strange concatenation of human affairs, that the second instance of the acquisition of a colony by the British arms, should have been the means of introducing the son of the first conqueror, as a quaker colonist and a preacher of peace, in America.

His father, who afterwards attained the dignity of knighthood, and the station of an admiral, was the descendant of a respectable English family. Devoting himself to the naval service of his country in the commencement of the civil wars, he embraced the cause of the parliament, and subsequently adhered to the fortunes of Cromwell. From an inferior rank in the service of these authorities, he was promoted to a dignified and important command, and enjoyed a considerable degree of favor with the Protector till the failure of the expedition which he conducted against St. Domingo. It is asserted very decidedly by some historians, and especially by all the quaker writers, that this disaster was occasioned by the fault of Venables, who

* S. Smith, 275. 352. "I confess," says Oldmixon in the 2d edition of his work, "it gives me a great deal of pain in writing this history, to see what sort of governors I meet with in the plantations."

† Warden's estimate of the population is much lower. He says (ii. 42), that until the peace of Utrecht in 1713, the province never possessed more than 16,000 inhabitants. But his account of this province evinces great negligence and inaccuracy. Holmes (i. 45) reports the population to have amounted to 15,000 in 1701.

* Warden, ii. 50. Whether this usage was the effect or the cause of the remarkable healthiness of the people of New Jersey, will admit of a doubt. But it may be regarded as the symptom of a remarkable degree of respect for the female sex. Of this sentiment another very singular testimony was afforded even so late as the commencement of the nineteenth century, by a law which extended the elective franchise in New Jersey to women. The New Jersey women, however, showed themselves worthy of the respect of their countrymen, by generally declining to avail themselves of this profligate proof of it.

commanded the land forces, and could not fairly be attributed to Admiral Penn: but Cromwell, who understood military affairs better than those writers can be supposed to have done, was so far from acquitting the admiral of blame, that he imprisoned him in the Tower, and never afterwards intrusted him with any public employ. This circumstance, perhaps, contributed to the favor which he enjoyed at court after the Restoration; when he scrupled not to accept honor and employment from a government that stigmatized the service in which he had been previously engaged, by the insults it heaped on the memory of Blake.* It is alleged by Bishop Burnet, that he obtained the friendship of the Duke of York, with whom he commanded at sea in the Dutch war of 1665, by enabling him to avoid a renewed action with the enemy's fleet, without having seemed to decline it. Other writers, and especially those who have embraced the tenets, or felt themselves interested in the fame of his son, have asserted that the admiral owed his favor with the king and the duke to no other recommendations than those of his eminent valor and abilities. He was impeached, in 1668, by the House of Commons, for embezzling prize money; but, from some unexplained circumstance, the impeachment was permitted to drop.

Whatever was the cause of the court favor which he enjoyed, it was so considerable as to authorize the most ambitious hopes of the advancement of his son, and proportionally to embitter his disappointment at beholding that son embrace a profession of faith which subjected him not only to official disability, but to the severity of penal law, the derision of courtiers, and the displeasure of the great. Young Penn's predilection for the quakers, first excited by the discourses of one of their itinerant preachers, was manifested so early, and with so much warmth, as to occasion his expulsion from the university of Oxford at the age of sixteen. His father endeavored to prevail with him to abandon principles and manners so ill calculated to promote his worldly grandeur; and, finding his arguments ineffectual, resorted to blows, and even banished him from his home, with no better effect. Along with the peculiarities of quakerism, the young convert had received the first profound impression he had ever experienced of the truth and importance of Christianity; and both were for ever inseparably blended together in his mind. The treatment he received from his father, tended to fortify his conviction that quakerism was a revival of that pure and primitive Christianity which was fated to occasion the division of households, and the dissolution of the strongest ties of natural affection. The admiral, at length, devised a method of sapping the principles which he could not overthrow; and, for this purpose, sent his son to travel, with some young men of quality, in France, then the gayest and most licentious country of Europe. This device, which reflects little credit on the purity of that natural affection by which it was suggested, was attended with apparent success. Quakerism and Christianity were checked alike, for a time, in the mind of Penn, who returned to his gratified father with the manners of an elegant gentleman, and the sentiments of a man of pleasure.† But, having repaired, in the year 1666, to Ireland, to inspect an estate that belonged to his father in this country, it was here again his fate to meet with the same itinerant preacher who had impressed his mind so powerfully ten years before, at Oxford. His former sentiments were now revived, with deeper conviction and increased zeal and energy; and quickly produced a public, solemn,

and resolute expression of his adherence to the tenets and usages of the quakers. In vain were his father's instances once more repeated, and the temporal dignities which seemed only to wait his acceptance pressed with fond and pathetic earnestness on his regard. It was even in vain that the admiral, in despair, restricted his solicitation to such a slender compliance with the usages of the world, as that his son should uncover his head in the presence of the King, the Duke of York, and his parents. Penn's eye was now elevated to the contemplation of objects so glorious, that the lustre of earthly dignities grew dim before them; and his resolution (fortified by an early experience of imprisonment, and other legal acervities) was wound up to such a pitch of firmness and intensity, that he refused to lay even a single grain of incense on what he deemed an unhallowed altar of human arrogance and vanity. He now devoted all the large resources of his capacity to the defence and propagation of the quaker tenets, and sacrificed his temporal ease and enjoyment to the illustration of the quaker virtues,—with a success that has gained for him a renown more illustrious and imperishable than the ambition of his father ever ventured to hope, or the utmost favor of his sovereign could have been able to confer. It would not be easy to figure a more interesting career than is exhibited in the greater portion of his subsequent life. He travelled over many parts of Europe, and even extended his personal labors to America: and every where, from the courts of German princes to the encampments of Indian savages, we find him overcoming evil by good, and disarming the wrath of man by gentleness, patience, and faith. In his exterior appearance and address, there were combined, in an unusual degree, a venerable dignity and gravity of aspect, with a frank cheerful simplicity of manner, and a style of expression fraught with plainness, vigor, and good humor. His face was a very uncommon one, and its lineaments, though by no means fine, were far from unpleasing, and derived from their peculiarity something impressive and memorable. With the general comeliness which his frame attained as he advanced in years, his countenance expanded to a considerable dimension; and while his eye expressed considerate thought, and strength of understanding, the amplitude and regularity of the rest of his features seemed to indicate a habitual tranquillity of spirit. A mind so contemplative, and a life so active; such a mixture of mildness and resolution; of patience and energy; of industry and genius; of lofty piety and profound agacuity, have rarely been exemplified in the records of human character. The most pious and the most voluminous, he was also, next to Robert Barclay, the most learned and ingenious writer in defence of quakerism; and, at the same time, next to George Fox, the most indefatigable minister that the quakers have ever possessed. He contrived to exhibit at once the active and passive virtues suitable to a champion and a confessor of quakerism; and the same prisons that were the scene of his patient suffering for the rights of his brethren, were also the scene of his most elaborate literary efforts for their instruction. Among other quaker peculiarities, his writings are distinguished by a tedious prolixity; yet not much more so than the productions of the most celebrated cotemporary authors. They abound with numerous passages replete alike with the finest eloquence and the most forcible reasoning, engaging benevolence, and fervent piety. He was deeply infected with the doctrinal errors of the quakers; yet more deeply imbued with the spirit of the truth than many who profess to hold it devoid of such appendages; and, notwithstanding the tendency of these doctrinal errors to lead those who have thoroughly embraced them into frantic and indecent excesses, there were none of the quaker leaders who contributed more signally than Penn to the establishment of a system of orderly discipline throughout the society. This was a work of such difficulty, and so repugnant to the sentiments of many who regarded discipline as an attempt to control the sovereignty, and obstruct the freedom of spiritual communication, that all the influence of Penn's character and address, and all the weight he derived from his labors and sufferings, were requisite to its success, and barely sufficed to effect it. Except George Fox, no other individual has ever enjoyed so much authority in this society, or realized so completely the character of a patriarch of the quakers. Though his principles excluded him from the official dignities which his father had coveted for him, they did not prevent him from attaining a remarkable degree of favor and consideration, both with Charles the Second and his successor; which he improved, to the utmost of his power, for the relief of the suffering members of the

quaker society. Whatever were the services of the admiral, the claim which they were thought to infer was extended to his son; nor was its efficacy impaired by his visible influence over a numerous body of men, whose absolute renunciation of the rights of resistance and self-defence could not fail to interest the regards of arbitrary princes.

There exists, in all mankind, a propensity to unbounded admiration, arising from an indistinct glimpse and faint remaining trace of that image of infinite majesty and purity with which their existence connects them, and to which their nature once enjoyed a more ample conformity than it has been able to retain. We may consider either as the expression of this sentiment, or the apology for indulging it, that anxiety to claim the praise of faultless perfection for the objects of our esteem, which may truly be thought to indicate a secret consciousness that it is only to excellence above the reach of humanity that our admiration can ever be justly due. This error has never been evinced in a more signal degree than by the biographers of Penn, and the historians of his labors and institutions in America. The unmixed and unmerited encomium which his character and labors have received, originated, no doubt, with the writers of his own religious persuasion; but, so far from being confined to them, it has been even exaggerated by writers of a totally different class, and whose seeming impartiality has contributed, in a remarkable degree, to fortify and propagate the illusion. The quakers have always enjoyed, with some infidel philosophers, a reputation which no other professors of Christianity have been permitted to share; partly because they were accounted the friends of unlimited toleration, and partly from an erroneous idea that their christian name was but a thin mystical covering which veiled the pure and simple light of reason and philosophy from eyes yet too gross to receive it. Refusing to define their doctrinal tenets by a creed, and having already evacuated, by allegorical interpretation, some of the plainest precepts of the gospel, the quakers were expected, by their philosophical panegyrists, to pave the way for a total dissolution of Christianity, by gradually allegorizing the whole of the Scriptures. By the united efforts of these several tributaries to his fame, William Penn has been presented to the eyes of mankind as a character nearly, if not entirely, faultless; as the author of institutions not less admirable for their wisdom than their originality, and not less amply than instantaneously productive of the gratitude and happiness of mankind. [25] How exaggerated is this picture of the merit and the effects of his institutions, will appear but too clearly from the following pages. That the dazzling light with which his character has been invested, was sullied with the specks of mortal imperfection is also a truth which it is more easy than agreeable to demonstrate. But excellence, the more credibly it is represented, is the more effectually recommended to human imitation: and those who may be conscious of such infirmities as William Penn evinced, receive an important lesson when they are taught that these imperfections neither inevitably obstruct, nor satisfactorily apologise for, deficiency of even the most exemplary virtue.

In the commencement of his career, Penn evinced, towards his opponents, an arrogance of disdain, and a coarseness of vituperation, very little consistent with the mildness of quaker manners, or even with common decency and propriety.* It rounds to his credit that he corrected this fault, and graced his wisdom by an address replete with courtesy and kindness. But another change which his disposition appears also to have undergone, presents him in an aspect which it is less agreeable to contemplate. Recommended to Charles the Second and his successor, by a hereditary claim of regard, by the principles of passive obedience, which, as a quaker, he professed, and as a writer he contributed widely to disseminate, and by the willingness with which he and his fellow sectaries alone, of all the British protestants, recognized the royal prerogative of suspending laws, he was admitted to a degree of favor and intimacy with these perfidious and tyrannical princes, which laid a dangerous snare for the integrity

* In alluding to the history and character of his father, William Penn seems to have left at once a natural sympathy with his republican honors, and an unwillingness to have him considered an associate of republicans and antagonist of royalty. "From a lieutenant," says his son, "he passed through all the eminent offices of sea employment, and arrived to that of general about the thirtieth year of his age; in a time full of the biggest sea actions that any history mentions; and when neither bribes nor alliance, favor nor affection, but ability only could promote." He adds, however,—"He was engaged both under the parliament and king; but not as an actor in the domestic troubles; his compass always steering him to eye a national concern, and not intestine wars. His service, therefore, being wholly foreign, he may be truly said to serve his country, rather than either of these interests, so far as they were distinct from each other." Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, i. 21, 22. Oldmixon thus characterizes the admiral—"He was a strong Independent, and so continued till the Restoration; when finding religion and liberty at the mercy of their enemies, he very quickly made his peace with King Charles and the Duke of York." Second edition, i. 296.

† To reconcile this well-authenticated conduct of the admiral with the interest which quaker writers have evinced in defence of his reputation, it is necessary to remember, that he is said to have died a convert to quaker principles; and to have prophesied to his son that these principles, calmly and patiently supported, would finally triumph over all opposition. Proud. Clarkson.

* In the prefatory address which he prefixed to his account of his celebrated trial at the Old Bailey, for preaching at a conventicle, he makes use of this very unquaker expression—"Magna Charta is magna — with the recorder of London." Those who are unable to conjecture the ribaldry which I forbear to transcribe, may consult the preface itself, which is reprinted in Howell's State Trials, vol. vi. p. 953. Penn had no objection to a little pleasantry. An adversary of the quakers having published an attack on them, entitled "The Quaker's last Shift found out," Penn answered it by a work bearing the ludicrous title of "Naked Truth needs no Shift." Clarkson's Life of Penn, i. 155.

of his character and the rectitude of his conduct. It was natural that he and his friends, oppressed by the parliamentary enactments, should regard with more favor the arbitrary power which was frequently interposed for their relief, than the constitutional authority which was directed to their molestation. But none of the other protestant dissenters beheld otherwise than with disgust, the boon of a temporary mitigation of legal rigor, which implied a power in the crown subversive of every bulwark of British liberty. As the political agent of his society, cultivating the friendship of a tyrant, and seeking a shelter under his power from the laws, Penn occupied a situation regulated by no ordinary duties or ascertained principles;* and becoming gradually familiarized with arbitrary power, he scrupled not to beseech its interposition in the behalf of his own private concerns, and to employ, for the enlargement of his American territory, at the expense of the prior right of Lord Baltimore, the same authority which he had accustomed himself to respect as an engine of public good, and religious toleration. Dazzled, rather than corrupted, by royal favor and confidence, he beheld nothing in the character of the princes that reproved his friendship with them, or prevented it from becoming even more intimate and confidential, when their tyrannical designs were already fully developed, their characters unmasked to every other eye, and the hands from which he solicited favors were embued with the blood of men whom he had loved as friends, and revered as the most illustrious characters in England. While as yet the struggle between the popular leaders and the abettors of arbitrary power had not terminated in favor of the crown, Penn appeared to participate in the sentiments that were cherished by the friends of liberty. He addressed his applications for repeal of the penal laws against dissenters to the House of Commons; he attached himself to Algernon Sidney, and endeavored to promote his election in a contest with a court candidate for the borough of Guildford; and we have seen how he concurred in the magnanimous vindication of the rights of West Jersey against the encroachments of the Duke of York. Yet when the cause of liberty seemed for ever to have sunk beneath the ascendancy of royal prerogative, he applied to the crown for the relief which he had already practically recognized as the province of the parliament; he beheld his friend Sidney butchered on the scaffold without any interruption of cordiality between himself and the court; and when James the Second committed a far greater outrage on the rights of Magdalen college of Oxford than the encroachment he had attempted on the liberties of New Jersey, Penn's advice to the fellows of the college was to appease the king by concessions for their past conduct, which, at the same time, he acknowledged to have been honorable and praiseworthy. Nay, as if to render the change of his disposition still more eminently conspicuous, he concurred with the other proprietaries of East Jersey in tamely surrendering the liberties of this province to the same prince, against whom, when supported by the spirit of better times, he had so strenuously defended the liberties of its sister colony. Penn was present at the execution of Mrs. Gaunt, an aged lady, renowned for her piety and charity, who was burnt alive for having given shelter to a person in distress, whom she knew not at the time to have been a fugitive from the rebel army of the Duke of Monmouth; and at the execution of Alderman Cornish, who was hanged before the door of his own house, for a pretended treason, of which nobody believed him to be guilty. The only sentiment that he is reported to have expressed, on this occasion, was that "the king was greatly to be pitied for the evil counsels that hurried him into so much effusion of blood." When it is considered that, after all this, Penn's eyes were not opened to the real character of James, and, on the contrary, his friendship with the barbarous tyrant continued to subsist, and even to increase, till the very last; it seems by no means surprising that his conten-

* That Penn did not acknowledge the same duties, as a political character, which he prescribed to himself as a quaker, appears from his withdrawing from a state warrant that was issued for his imprisonment on a political charge by King William (Proud, i. 348-350.)—an evasion which he never stooped to, when he was persecuted for his religious practices.

† He published a book in favor of the king's attempts to establish toleration, even after James had so far disclosed his real views as to have thrust papists into the government of the university of Oxford. He had recently before undertaken a secret embassy from the king to the Prince of Orange, in the hope of prevailing with the prince to give his sanction to the measures in behalf of toleration. Clarkson, i. 474, 509; ii. 5. Though unable to discern the designs of the king, he had not always been equally insensible to the dangers of popery; and in the days of his patriotic fervour, had written a pamphlet to animate the national rage against the pretended popish plot. Ibid. i. 246.

poraries should have generally regarded him as a secret abettor of all the monarch's designs for the establishment of popery and the destruction of liberty. It was perhaps fortunate for his fame that the public displeasure vented itself in this injustice; [26] the detection of which has contributed to shelter him even from the milder but more merited censure of an infatuated credulity, fortified by the vanity of supposing that he would ultimately render the royal authority entirely subservient to the accomplishment of his own religious and philanthropic views.

The character of William Penn has not escaped the charge of ambition*—a charge which admits of such variety of signification, that perhaps no human being was ever absolutely exempt from it. Assuredly, he was neither conscious nor susceptible of that vile and vulgar ambition that courts a personal distinction and elevation derived from the depression and impoverishment of mankind. Of the desire to derive a reflected lustre from the happiness and improvement which others might owe to him, it is neither so easy nor so desirable to absolve him. Nor, perhaps, was he wholly exempt from the influence of a temptation which this refined ambition is very apt to beget—the desire of magnifying and extending the power by which such benefits might continue to be conferred by himself and his posterity. William Penn, among the quakers, and that no less estimable man, John Wesley, among the methodists, have not been the only benefactors of the human race, who, confident of their good intentions, and habituated to power, have seemed to covet it somewhat too eagerly as a peculiarly efficient instrument of human welfare. But it is time to proceed from these prefatory observations on the character of this illustrious man, to a consideration of that portion of his life, which is identified with the rise of Pennsylvania and the history of Delaware.

The circumstances that first attracted the attention of Penn to the colonization of North America, have already been unfolded in the history of New Jersey. While he was engaged with his quaker associates in administering the government of that territory, he received such information of the fertility and resources of the country situated to the westward of the Delaware, as inspired him with the desire of acquiring a separate estate in this quarter. For this purpose he presented a petition to Charles the Second, [1680] stating his relationship to the deceased admiral, and his claim for a debt incurred by the crown to his father, when Shaftesbury's memorable device was adopted, of shutting the exchequer; soliciting, on these accounts, a grant of land to the northward of Maryland, and westward of the Delaware; and adding, that by his interest with the quakers, he should be able to colonize a province, which might, in time, not only extinguish his claims, but enlarge the British empire, augment its trade, and promote the glory of God by the civilization and conversion of the Indian tribes. This petition was referred to the Duke of York and Lord Baltimore, that they might report how far its object was compatible with their prior investitures. Both signified their acquiescence in Penn's demand, provided his patent should be so worded as to preclude any encroachment on their territories; and the Duke of York added his recommendation of the petition to the favor of the crown. Successful thus far, Penn transcribed from the charter of Maryland, the sketch of a patent in his own favor; but the attorney-general, Jones, to whose opinion it was remitted, declared, that certain of the clauses were "not agreeable to the laws here, though they are in Lord Baltimore's patent," and, in particular, pronounced that the exemption from British taxation, which Penn had proposed to confer on his colony, was utterly illegal. Compton, Bishop of London, at the same time, understanding that Penn, in soliciting his patent, had described himself as the head of the quakers, interposed in the proceedings, for the protection of the interests of the church of England. After some discussion of the points that had thus arisen, the committee of plantations requested chief-justice North, [1681] a personage of considerable eminence, both as

* An acute, but very partial writer, has characterised him as "a man of great depth of understanding, attended by equal dissimulation; of extreme interestedness, accompanied with insatiable ambition; and of an address in proportion to all these." Chalmers, 635. Jedediah Morse, the American geographer, has expressed an opinion equally unfavorable of the character of Penn.

† In a letter to a friend, about the same time, he declares his purpose in the acquisition of American territory to have been "so to serve the truth and people of the Lord, that an example may be set to the nations;" adding, "There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment." Proud, i. 169.

a statesman and a lawyer; to undertake the revision of the patent, and to provide, by fit clauses, for the reservation of the king's sovereignty, and the observance of acts of parliament. With his assistance, there was prepared an instrument which received the royal confirmation, and afterwards acquired so much celebrity as the charter of Pennsylvania.*

By this charter, which professed to be granted in consideration of "the merits of the father, and the good purposes of the son," there was conferred on William Penn, and his heirs and assigns, that vast region bounded on the east by the river Delaware; extending westward five degrees of longitude; stretching to the north from twelve miles northward of Newcastle, (in the Delaware territory) to the forty-third degree of latitude; limited on the south by a circle of twelve miles drawn round Newcastle to the beginning of the fortieth degree of latitude. Penn was constituted the absolute proprietary of the whole of this territory, which was erected into a province by the name of Pennsylvania,† and was to be held in free and common socage by fealty only, paying two bear skins annually, and one-fifth of all the gold and silver that might be discovered to the king. He was empowered to make laws, with the advice and assent of the freemen of the territory assembled, for the imposition of taxes and other public uses, but always in conformity to the jurisprudence of England; to appoint judges and other officers; and to pardon and reprieve, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases, reprieve might be granted only till the signification of the pleasure of the king, to whom there was also reserved the privilege of receiving appeals. The distribution of property, and the punishment of felonies, were to be regulated by the laws of England, until different ordinances should be enacted by the proprietary and freemen. Duplicates of all the provincial laws were to be transmitted to the privy council, within five years after they were passed; and if not declared void by the council within six months after transmission, they were to be considered as having been approved of, and to become valid ordinances. That the colony might increase by resort of people, liberty was given to English subjects (those only excepted who should be specially forbidden) to remove to and settle in Pennsylvania; and thence to import the productions of the province into England, "but into no other country whatsoever," and to re-export them, within one year, paying the same duties as other subjects, and observing the acts of navigation. The proprietary was empowered to divide the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; to erect and incorporate towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; and to constitute ports for the convenience of commerce, to which the officers of the customs were to have free admission. The freemen in assembly were empowered to assess reasonable duties on the commodities loaded or unloaded in the harbors of the colony; and these duties were granted to Penn, with a reservation, however, to the crown of such customs as then were, or in future might be, imposed by act of parliament. He was to appoint, from time to time, an agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanor he might commit against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanor, he was to make satisfaction within a year; in the default of which the king was to seize the government of the province, and retain it till due satisfaction were made. He was not to maintain correspondence with any king or power at war, nor to make war against any king or power in amity, with England. In case of incursion by neighboring barbarians, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all the inhabitants of the province, and to act as their captain-general, and to make war on and pursue the invaders. He was enabled to alienate the soil to the colonists, who might hold their lands under

* Oldmixon, i. 149, 159. Proud, i. 169—171. Chalmers, 635, 636. Dillwyn (see note 12.) and Winterbotham, ii. 289. Both Oldmixon (who was a personal friend of Penn) and Mr. Clarkson have asserted that Penn's efforts to obtain his charter were greatly obstructed by his profession of quakerism. Of this I can find no evidence at all. Penn himself, writing to the lords of trade in 1683, says, "I return my most humble thanks for your former favors in the passing of my patent, and pray God reward you." Chalmers, 666.

† Penn's account of this denomination is creditable to his modesty. Finding that the king proposed that the name of Penn should form a part of the appellation of the province, he requested leave to decline an honor that might be imputed to his own vanity, and proposed the name of New Wales, which was opposed by the under secretary of state, who was a Welshman. Penn then suggested Sylvania, an account of its woody surface; but the king declared that the nomination belonged to him, and that in honor of Admiral Penn, the last suggested name should be enlarged into Pennsylvania. Clarkson, i. 279.

his grants, notwithstanding the English statute prohibiting such subinfeudations. It was stipulated by the king for himself and his successors, "that no custom or other contribution shall be levied on the inhabitants or their estates, unless by the consent of the proprietary, or governor and assembly, or by act of parliament in England." It was provided (in compliance with the desire of Bishop Compton) that if any of the inhabitants, to the number of twenty, should signify their desire to the Bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, the preacher so appointed by that dignity should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without denial or molestation. If any doubt should arise with regard to the true construction of the charter, it was commanded that an interpretation favorable to the proprietary should always be made; with the exclusion, however, of any thing that might derogate from the allegiance due to the crown.*

Such is the substance of a grant on which was established the fabric of the Pennsylvanian government and laws, so renowned for their wisdom, their moderation, and the excellence of their provisions in favor of liberty. The cautious stipulations for guarding and ascertaining the British ascendancy, by which this charter was distinguished from all preceding patents, were manifestly the offspring of the disputes in which the court had been for some time engaged with the colony of Massachusetts. There, the provincial government had deemed the acts of navigation inoperative within its jurisdiction, till they were legalized by its own ordinance. But the immediate and uninterrupted observance of them in Pennsylvania, was enforced by the stipulated penalty of a forfeiture of the charter. Laws had been passed in Massachusetts for the coining of money and other purposes, which were deemed inconsistent with the prerogative of the sovereign state. For the prevention of similar abuse, or, at least, the correction of it, before inveterate prevalence could have time to beget habits of independence, it was required that all the laws of the new province should be regularly transmitted to England for the royal approbation or dissent. The inefficacy of this requisition was very soon made apparent. To obviate the difficulty that had been experienced by the English government in conducting its disputes with the people of Massachusetts, who could never be prevailed with to accredit an agent at the court, without the utmost reluctance and delay, it was now required that a standing agent should be appointed to reside in London, and be responsible for the proceedings of his colonial constituents. But the most remarkable provision, by which this charter was distinguished from all the other American patents, was that which expressly reserved a power of taxation to the British parliament. Of the import of this much agitated clause, very different opinions were entertained from the first, by the lawyers and statesmen of England, and the colonists of Pennsylvania. In England, while it was denied that the novel introduction of such a clause into the charter of this province afforded to any of the other colonies an argument against parliamentary taxation, it was with more appearance of reason maintained that its actual insertion in this charter precluded even the possibility of an honest pretension to such immunity on the part of the Pennsylvanians. Of the very opposite ideas, however, that were entertained on this subject by the colonists, an account was rendered about a century afterwards by Dr. Franklin in his celebrated examination, as the representative of America, at the bar of the British House of Commons. Being asked, how the Pennsylvanians could reconcile a pretence to be exempted from taxation, with the express words of a clause, reserving to parliament the privilege of imposing this burden upon them; he answered, "They understand it thus:—By the same charter and otherwise, they are entitled to all the privileges and liberties of Englishmen. They find in the great charters, and in the petition and declaration of rights, that one of the privileges of English subjects is, that they are not

taxed but by their common consent; they have, therefore, relied upon it from the first settlement of the province, that the parliament never would nor could, by color of that clause in the charter, tax them till it had qualified itself to exercise such right, by admitting representatives from the people to be taxed." That this reasoning was not (as some have suggested) the mere production of Franklin's own ingenuity, nor even the immediate growth of the era of American independence; but that it expressed the opinion of the earliest race of the Pennsylvanian settlers, is a point susceptible of the clearest demonstration. From the official correspondence between the royal functionaries in America and the court of London, it appears that before the Pennsylvanians had existed as a people for seventeen years, the English ministry were apprised of the general prevalence of these sentiments among them; and in the work of a contemporary historian of this province, who derived his ideas with regard to it from the communication of Penn himself, the right of the colonists to elect representatives to the British parliament is distinctly asserted [27] It was only in the year preceding the date of the Pennsylvanian charter, that Penn, in reclaiming for the colonists of New Jersey the exclusive right of imposing taxes on themselves, had protested that no reasonable men would emigrate from England to a country where this right was not to be enjoyed; and, as the argument which he maintained on that occasion, was founded entirely on general principles, and what he regarded as the constitutional rights inseparable from the character of English subjects, without reference to any peculiarities in the charter of New Jersey, it seems highly improbable that he believed the clauses peculiar to his own charter to admit of an interpretation that would have placed his favorite province beyond the pale of the English constitution, and deterred reasonable men from resorting to it. We must either believe him to have entertained the same opinion on this point, that appears to have been prevalent among the colonists of his territory, or adopt the illiberal supposition of an historian,* who charges him with making concessions, in theory, which he never intended to substantiate in practice.

Having obtained this charter, to which the king gave additional authority, by a royal letter, commanding all intending planters in the new province to render due obedience to the proprietary, the next care of Penn was to attract a population to his vacant territory. To this end, he published an account of the soil and resources of the province, together with advices to those who were inclined to become adventurers, and a sketch of the conditions on which he was willing to deal with them. The advices are almost precisely the same with those which he had previously addressed to the intending emigrants to West Jersey; and enjoin all persons, who were deliberating, to have an eye, above all things, to the providence of God; to balance present inconvenience with future ease and plenty; and to obtain the consent of their near relations, that natural affections might be preserved, and a friendly and profitable correspondence between the two countries maintained. It was intimated to all, who were disposed to become planters, that land would be sold at the price of forty shillings, for a hundred acres, together with a perpetual quit-rent of a shilling. It was required that, in disencumbering the ground of wood, care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, and especially to preserve oaks and mulberries, for the construction of ships and the manufacture of silk. It was declared, that no planter would be permitted to overreach or otherwise injure the Indians, or even to avenge, at his own hands, any wrong he might receive from them; but that, in case of disputes between the two races, the adjustment of them should, in every instance, be referred to twelve arbitrators, selected equally from the Europeans and the Indians. The reservation of quit-rents, in addition to the payment of a price, which proved ultimately so fertile a source of discord between the proprietary family and the colonists, was the only feature in this scheme that appeared objectionable to the religious fraternity, of which Penn was a member;† but his influence among them was so

great, and his description of the province so inviting, as more than to outweigh this disagreeable and unexpected requisition. Numerous applications for land were speedily made by persons, chiefly of the quaker persuasion, in London, Liverpool, and especially in Bristol, where one trading association alone became the purchasers of twenty thousand acres of the territory, and prepared for embarking in various branches of commerce related to their acquisition. The prospect thus afforded of an early replenishment of his province, enforced the immediate attention of Penn to the form and fabric of its political constitution; in the composition of which, there could be room for little other labor than the exercise of a judicious selection from the admirable theoretical models, which had employed the pens, and exhausted the invention, of contemporary writers, and the excellent institutions, by which the several proprietaries of American provinces had vied with each other for the approbation of mankind, and the attraction of inhabitants to their vacant territories. In undertaking an employment so congenial to his disposition, as the work of legislation, Penn appears to have been impressed with equal confidence in the resources of his capacity and the rectitude of his intentions, and touched at the same time with a generous sense of the value of those interests that were involved in his labors, and the expanse of liberty and happiness that might result from them. "As my understanding and inclinations," he declared, "have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege, I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." The liberal institutions that arose shortly after in Pennsylvania, and the happiness of which they were so abundantly productive, attested the sincerity and rewarded the virtue of this magnanimous design; while the partial disappointment which it sustained, and particularly the mischief and dissection that arose from the power that was actually reserved to the proprietary and his successors, forcibly exemplified the infirmity of human purpose, and the fallacy incident to all human expectations.

As several of the purchasers of land, in their eagerness to commence the new settlement, were prepared to embark before Penn had yet completed his legislative composition, it was necessary that they should be previously acquainted with the purport of a work of so much concern to their interests. A rough sketch of its principal features was accordingly prepared and mutually signed by the proprietary and these adventurers, who being now assured of unlimited toleration,* and satisfied with the structure of the political constitutions, no longer hesitated to bid adieu to a scene of tyranny, contention, and persecution, and set sail in quest of freedom and repose for Pennsylvania. Three vessels from London and Bristol carried out these first Pennsylvanian settlers, and along with them, Colonel William Markham, the kinsman and secretary of Penn, who had also appointed him deputy-governor; and certain commissioners who were appointed to confer with the Indians respecting the purchase of their lands, and to endeavor to form with them a league of perpetual peace. These commissioners were solemnly enjoined to treat the Indians with all possible candor, justice, and humanity, and were made the bearers of a letter from Penn to them, accompanied by suitable presents. The Indians were given to understand by the letter of Penn, that the great God and Power who had created all men and commanded them to love and do good to one another, had been pleased to make a connexion between Penn and America; that the king of England had bestowed on him a province there, but that he desired to enjoy it with the goodwill and consent of the Indians; that many evil disposed Europeans, he was sworn, had used the Indians very ill, but that he was a person of different disposition, and bore great love and regard to them; that the people he now sent among them were similarly disposed, and wished to live with them as neighbors and friends.

avoided to mingle the acquisition of a private estate with the purpose of making a holy experiment, and setting an example to the nations.

* It detracts not from the wisdom of Penn, but merely from the accuracy of those writers who have deemed originality indispensable requisite to the praise of virtue, that this equitable principle of toleration had been already realised in America by Lord Baltimore and the catholics of Maryland, and employed as a politic device by Lord Clarendon and his associates in Carolina, and by Lord Barkley and Sir George Carteret in New Jersey. Mr. Clarkson is the only historian of Penn who has conceded to Lord Baltimore the honor of originating toleration in America.

* Proud, i. 171. 187. Chalmers, 638, 657. "It is remarkable," says Dr. Franklin, in his Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, "that such an instrument, penned with all the appearance of candor and simplicity imaginable, and equally agreeable to law and reason, to the claims of the crown and the rights of the subject, should be the growth of an arbitrary court. Perhaps it is no less singular, that the national rights, the authority of the laws, and of the supreme legislature, should have been so carefully attended to and preserved."

† This is a mistake. The Pennsylvanian charter differs from all the others in not communicating an express assurance to the colonists of the rights and character of Englishmen. The reason for this omission is said by Chalmers (p. 639) to have been, that the eminent lawyers, who prepared the charter, considered such declarations as superfluous, and their import sufficiently inferred by law.

* Chalmers,—who, in corroboration of his opinion, remarks that not one of the laws and constitutions, enacted by Penn, or under his auspices, was ever submitted, according to the terms of the charter, to the English court.

† The apology suggested by Mr. Clarkson for this imposition, that "Whereas William Penn held of the king, by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner," (Life of Penn, i. 282.) is quite unsatisfactory. It was merely, an alibi-duty to the crown, to which Penn was subjected, for the whole province. He would have gained both in character and happiness, if he could have

Markham, at the head of one of these detachments of adventurers, proceeded, on his arrival in America, to take possession of an extensive forest, situated twelve miles northward of Newcastle on the western side of the Delaware, whose waters contributed with other streams of lesser note to the salubrity of the air and the fertility of the soil. As this situation enjoyed the advantages of a settled neighborhood on the south and east, the colonists were not embarrassed with the difficulties which depressed so many of their predecessors in similar pursuits; and, animated with hope and a spirit of steady activity, they set themselves diligently to prepare for the reception of the numerous emigrants who were expected to join them in the following year. Greater hardships were endured by another detachment of the first adventurers, who, arriving later in the season, went on shore at the place where Chester now stands: and the river having suddenly frozen before they could resume their voyage, were constrained to pass the remainder of the winter there. A discovery was now made by Colonel Markham which had a material influence on the future proceedings of Penn, who had hitherto supposed that the whole of the Delaware territory except the settlement of Newcastle and its appendages (occupied by the Duke of York as a dependency of his own province of New York), was really included in the Pennsylvanian charter—a supposition which he seems to have entertained with a great deal of satisfaction. For he was aware that this territory already contained a number of Swedish and English settlers; and though doubtless he proposed to people his domain chiefly with quakers, it was far from undesirable to obtain for himself an immediate accession of tributaries, and for his people a social connexion with a race of hardy settlers already inured to colonial life and habits. He knew that Lord Baltimore claimed the allegiance of a number of those settlers whose plantations he supposed to be included within the domain of Pennsylvania, and had instructed Markham to demand from that nobleman a relinquishment of his pretensions. Markham accordingly applied to the proprietary of Maryland, and eagerly accepted his proposal to compare the titles of the two provinces and adjust their boundaries; but discovering very speedily that Penn had in reality no other claim than what might be derived from the confused designation which his charter had given to the limits of his province, and that a literal construction of Lord Baltimore's prior charter, where the limits were indicated with great precision, would evacuate at once the pretensions both of Penn and the Duke of York, he declined all further conference, and acquainted Penn with a discovery that threatened so much obstruction to his views.

In the spring of the following year, [1682] Penn completed and delivered to the world a composition of much thought and labor, entitled "The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania." It was introduced by a noble preface containing his own thoughts on the origin, nature, and objects of government; wherein he deduces from various texts of Scripture the derivation of all power from God, the utter unlawfulness of resisting constituted authority, and, in short, "the divine right of government, and that for two ends: first, to terrify evil doers, secondly, to cherish those that do well; which," he continues, "gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end." "They weakly err," he afterwards observes, "who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarser part of it." Declining to pronounce any opinion on the comparative merit of the various political models which had been adopted by states or suggested by theorists, and remarking that not one of these had ever been realised without incurring some alteration from the lapse of time or the emergency of circumstances, he advances this position, that "any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to these laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion." "Governments," he insists, "rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their turn. I know some say, 'Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them.' But let them consider that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be invaded or abolished by ill men; but good men will

never want good laws nor suffer ill ones.* That, therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue; qualities that because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth." In conclusion he declares that, "We have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the frame of this government to the great end of all government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." This production, which will always command respect for its intrinsic merits, excited the greater interest at the time from its being regarded as the political manifesto of the party that had now become the most numerous and powerful among the quakers, and whose ascendancy continued gradually to increase till at length the whole society, by dint of conversion or expulsion, was moulded to a conformity with its opinions. Another party still existed, but was daily diminishing, which regarded with equal aversion the establishment of sectarian discipline, and the recognition of municipal government as a legitimate ordinance. The adherents of this party were willing to forbear from all forcible resistance to human violence; but were no less resolutely bent against any voluntary co-operation with human authority; and reproached the rest of their brethren with degenerating from original quaker principles, and substituting a servile obedience to the dead law without, in place of a holy conformity to the living law within.

By the frame which followed this preface, it was declared that the government of the province should be administered by the proprietary or his deputy as governor, and by the freemen formed into two separate bodies of a provincial council and a general assembly. The council was to be elected by the freemen, and to consist of seventy-two members, of whom twenty-four were annually to retire, and be replaced by the same number of new ones. Here the governor was to preside, invested with no other control than a treble vote. Thus composed, the council was to exercise not only the whole executive power, but the peculiar privilege which had been annexed to the functions of the same state organ in the Carolinian constitutions,† of preparing all the bills that were to be presented to the assembly. Not less than two-thirds of the members of council were necessary to make a quorum; and the consent of two-thirds of such quorum was indispensable in all matters of moment. The general assembly was to consist, the first year, of all the freemen; the next, of two hundred elected by the rest; and afterwards to be augmented in proportion to the increase of population. This body was not permitted to originate laws, but was restricted to a simple assent or negation in passing or rejecting the bills that might be sent to them by the governor and council. They were to present sheriffs and justices of the peace to the governor; naming double the requisite number of persons, for his choice of half. They were to be elected annually; and all elections, whether for the council or the assembly, were to be conducted by ballot. Such was the substance of the charter or frame of government, which was further declared to be incapable of alteration, change, or diminution in any part or clause, without the consent of the proprietary or his heirs, and six parts in seven of the freemen both in the provincial council and general assembly.

The mode of election by ballot, which has since become so general in North America, was first introduced

* How they could refuse to suffer bad laws, under a frame of government that excluded them from a share in legislation, is a difficulty which he has not undertaken to solve, and which, indeed, his general anathema against all resistance to constituted authority renders perfectly insoluble. It is true that he reproaches a government so framed with the character of tyranny; but this reproach merely gives additional sanction to discontent, without giving any to resistance. In order to harmonise his religious with his political creed, we must regard the forms which he depreciates, as essential to the efficacy of the virtues which he exalts with exclusive praise.

† Some of the planters had cooperated with Penn in the composition of the frame.

¶ Penn boasted that his legislative production excelled the performance of Locke; yet here he seems to have copied from it a very illiberal feature; doubtless with some improvement, inasmuch as the Carolinian council, which exercised this restriction of the topics to be discussed by the general assembly, was far less liberally constituted than the council of Pennsylvania. Penn had more occasion to boast the superior excellence than the better fate of these constitutions, which enjoyed even a shorter duration than the project of Locke.

there by the puritans, and subsequently adopted by quaker legislation—by which we have seen it established in New Jersey, and now transferred to Pennsylvania. This latter repetition of the experiment proved very unsatisfactory. The planters soon declared that they felt it repugnant to the spirit of Englishmen, to go muzzled to elections; that they scorned to give their opinions in the dark; that they would do nothing which they durst not own; and that they wished the mode of election to be so constituted as to show that their forebears and their voices agreed together. In consequence of these objections, Penn, perceiving (says Oldmixon) that the perfection of his institutions was not in accordance with the imperfect nature of human beings, consented to assimilate the Pennsylvanian to the English mode of election.

To the frame, there was appended a code of forty conditional laws which were said to have been concerted between the proprietary and divers of the planters before their departure from England,* and were to be submitted for confirmation or modification to the first provincial assembly. This code is a production very superior to the constitutional frame, and highly creditable to the sense, the spirit, and the benevolence of its authors. Among other regulations propounded in it, it was declared that the character of freemen of the province should belong to all purchasers or renters of a hundred acres of land; to all servants or bondsmen who at the expiring of their engagements should cultivate the quota of land (fifty acres) allotted to them by law, and to all artificers and other inhabitants or residents who should pay scot and lot to the government; that no public tax should be levied from the people "but by a law for that purpose made," and that whoever should collect or pay taxes not so sanctioned, should be held a public enemy of the province and a betrayer of its liberties: "that all prisons shall be workhouses;" that a thief should restore twice the value of his theft, and in default of other means adequate to such restitution, should work as a bondsman in prison for the benefit of the party injured; that the lands as well as the personal property of a debtor should be responsible for his obligations, except in the case of his having lawful children, for whose use two-thirds of the landed estate were appointed to be reserved; that all factors and correspondents in the province wronging their employers, should, in addition to complete restitution, pay a surplus amounting to a third of the sum they had unjustly detained; that all dramatic entertainments, games of hazard, sports of cruelty, and whatever else might contribute to promote ferocity of temper or habits of dissipation and irreligion, should be discouraged and punished; and "that all children within this province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich, if they become poor, may not want." This regulation, so congenial to primitive quaker sentiment and to republican spirit and simplicity, was admirably calculated not less to promote fellow-feeling than to secure independence. It contributed to preserve a sense of the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination to labor: and while it tended thus to abate the pride and insolence of wealth, it operated no less beneficially to remedy the decay of fortune peculiarly incident to wealthy settlers in a country where the dearness of all kinds of labor rendered idleness a much more expensive condition than in Europe. It was further declared, that no persons should be permitted to hold any office, or to exercise the functions of freemen, but "such as profess faith in Jesus Christ, and are not convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation;" and that all persons acknowledging the one almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and professing to be conscientiously engaged to live peaceably and justly in society, should be wholly exempted from molestation for their more particular opinions and practices, and should never at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious place, ministry, or worship whatever.

* Markham, the kinsman and secretary of Penn, and afterwards governor of the province, has ascribed the greater part of the constitution of the frame itself to the suggestions and importunity of these persons, in opposition to the original intentions of Penn. In a letter to Fletcher, the governor of New York (in May, 1696), Markham says, "I very well know that it [the frame of government] was forced from him by friends, when unless pleased and granted whatever they demanded, they would not have settled his country." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 690. It is plain from the preface, that Penn considered a future alteration of the constitutions as far from unlikely.

This composition having been published, the next care of Penn, enforced by his experience of the Duke of York's proceedings in New Jersey, was to obtain, from this prince, an express release of every claim or pretence of jurisdiction over Pennsylvania; nor did the Duke refuse a concession so manifestly just to the son of a man for whose memory he professed the highest regard. It was stronger proof of this regard, and the fruit of much more importunate solicitation, that Penn obtained at the same time, in a grant of the Delaware territory,* whose thriving plantations he had anxiously desired to annex to his immense but uncultivated domains of Pennsylvania. Yielding to the urgency of Penn, and probably awayed in some degree, both by sentiments of friendship, and by indifference about a territory which he held by a defective and uncertain title, and had never been able to render productive of a revenue—the Duke now conveyed to him, by two separate deeds of gift, the town of Newcastle, with a territory of twelve miles around it, together with the tract of land extending southward from it upon the river Delaware to Cape Henlopen. This conveyance included not only the settlements originally formed by the Swedes and afterwards conquered by the Dutch, of which the early history is blended with the annals of New York, and to which Lord Baltimore possessed a claim which he had never been able to render effectual, but a large district which this nobleman's title equally embraced, and his activity and remonstrance had actually reclaimed from Dutch and Swedish occupation. Without adopting the harsh censure of a writer who maintains that this transaction reflected dishonor both on the Duke of York and William Penn, we can hardly fail to regard it as a faulty and ambiguous proceeding, or to regret the proportions in which its attendant blame must be divided between a prince distinguished even among the Stuarts for perfidy and injustice, and a patriarch renowned even among the quakers for humanity and benevolence. The Duke's patents assuredly did not include within his boundaries what he now pretended to convey; and it was only to a part of it that he could transfer even the dubious title arising from occupancy, in opposition to the legal claim of Lord Baltimore†

All things having been now prepared for his own personal presence in America, Penn himself set sail from England to visit his transatlantic territory, in company with a hundred English quakers, who had determined to unite themselves to their friends already removed to that quarter of the world. Arriving on the banks of the Delaware, he beheld with great satisfaction the thriving settlements comprehended in his late acquisition, and the hardy, sober, and laborious race of men by whom they were inhabited. The population of that part of the Delaware territory which he ultimately succeeded in retaining against Lord Baltimore, amounted already to three thousand persons, chiefly Swedes and Dutch;‡ and by them, as well as by the English settlers who were intermixed with them, and by the quakers whom Markham had carried out in the preceding year, the proprietary was received on his arrival with a satisfaction equal to his own, and greeted with the most cordial expressions of respect and good

* Only a month before this favor was granted, Sir John Warden, the Duke's secretary, signified to Penn a repetition of former refusal of it, and at the same time wrote to Dongan, the governor of New York, cautioning him to beware of the encroachments of Penn, whom he describes as "very intent on his own interest in these parts, as you observe." State Papers, apud Chalmers, 660. The effect of the scenes of intrigue and altercation, which his views on the Delaware territory had produced, and seemed likely still further to prolong, is sufficiently visible on the mind of Penn. One of his letters to a friend, at this period, expresses an evident abatement of the fervor of his first impressions of the degree in which his colonial designs might be rendered conducive to spiritual ends. "Surely," he says, "Ood will come in for a share in this planting work, and that heaven shall lighten the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord's providence had run this way towards me, but that he has a heavenly end and service in it." Clarkon, i. § 39.

† Oldmixon, i. 165. 175. Froud, i. 200—2. Chalmers, 643. Once for all, I would observe that, in the course of this history, I have frequently illustrated particular portions of my narrative by citation of various authorities, not one of which accords entirely either with the views of the others or with my own. To explain, in every such instance, how I have been led, from comparison of the whole, to the view that I have adopted, would encumber every chapter of my work with a long series of subsidiary disquisitions. Much of the labor of an honest historian can never be known to his readers.

‡ In one of Penn's letters, the Dutch and Swedish inhabitants of Delaware are thus described:—"They are a plain, strong, industrious people, who have made no great progress in culture; desiring rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full." Froud, i. § 60, 1. The Dutch had one, and the Swedes three meeting-houses for divine worship in the Delaware territory.—ibid.

will. The English rejoiced in their deliverance from the sway of the Duke of York; and the Dutch and Swedes were glad to renounce a connexion that had originated in the conquest first of the one and afterwards of both their races. It was flattering to their importance to be united to a state that seemed then much less likely to overshadow them by superior greatness, than either New York or Maryland: and whatever they might think of the justice of Lord Baltimore's pretensions, or the equity of his administration, it was manifest that his power was unequal to wrest from the Duke of York what had now been granted to the solicitations of William Penn. Proceeding to Newcastle, where the Dutch had a court-house, the proprietary convoked here a meeting of his new subjects; and, after the formalities requisite to ascertain his legal possession of the country, he explained to them the objects of his coming among them, exhorted them to live in sobriety and mutual amity, and renewed the commissions of the existing magistrates. The number of his colonists meanwhile was fast increasing around him. In the course of this year, no fewer than two thousand persons, chiefly quakers, arrived from England on the banks of the Delaware. Many of them were persons of rank and substance, and all were men of some education and great respectability, and with whom devotion to religious liberty had been the principal inducement to forsake their native land. They needed all the influence of this noble principle, to animate them to a brave endurance of the hardships they were compelled to undergo during the rigorous winter that followed their arrival. Their sufferings were mitigated as far as possible by the hospitality of the Swedes; but many of them were compelled to pass the winter in temporary huts or sheds, and the greater number had no better lodging than caves, which they dug for themselves on the banks of the river. These hardships neither abated their zeal, nor were represented by them in such a formidable light as to repress the ardor of their friends in Europe, who, in the course of the following year, continued, by successive arrivals, to enlarge the population of Delaware and Pennsylvania. A valuable addition, in particular, was derived soon after from a numerous emigration of German quakers, who had been converted to this faith by the preaching of Penn and his associates, and whose well-timed removal from their native land happily enabled them to escape from the desolation of the Palatinate. The eminent piety and virtue by which these German colonists were distinguished in America, formed an agreeable sequel to the happy intervention of Providence by which they were snatched from the desolating rage of a tyrant, and the impending ruin of their country. There arrived also about this time, or shortly after, a number of emigrants from Holland; a country in which Penn had already preached and propagated his doctrines.*

Seeing his people thus gathering in augmenting numbers around him, Penn hastened to bind them together by some common act of social arrangement. Having distributed his territory into six counties, he summoned, at Chester,† the first general assembly, consisting of seventy-two delegates. Here, according to the frame that had been concerted in England, the freemen might have attended in their own persons. But both the sheriffs in their returns, and the inhabitants in petitions which they presented to the proprietary, declared that the fewness of the people, their inexperience in legislation, and the pressing nature of their domestic wants, rendered it inexpedient for them to exercise their privileges; and expressed their desire that the deputies they had chosen might serve both for the provincial council and the general assembly, in the proportions of three out of every county for the former, and nine for the latter of these bodies. In the circumstances of the province, the session of this first assembly was necessarily short; but it was distinguished by proceedings of considerable moment. The proprietary having expressed his approval of the representations that had been conveyed to him, an act of settlement was passed, introducing a corresponding and permanent change into the provincial constitution. With this and a few other

* In this [1682] and the two next succeeding years, arrived ships with passengers or settlers, from London, Bristol, Ireland, Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire, Holland, Germany, &c. to the number of about fifty sail.—Froud, i. 219.

† Penn, resolving to distinguish by a new name the place at which he called his first assembly, said to Thomas Pearson, a quaker, who had accompanied him from England, "Thou hast been the companion of my perils; what wilt thou that I should call this place?" Pearson suggested the name of his own native city of Chester. This friend of Penn was the maternal grandfather of Benjamin Franklin. —Froud, i. 219.

modifications, the frame of government that had previously been made public was solemnly recognized and accepted. An act of union was passed, annexing the Delaware territory to the province of Pennsylvania; and the rank of naturalized British subjects was conferred on the Dutch, the Swedes, and all other foreigners within the boundaries of the province and territory. This arrangement, which, at the time, was both the effect and the cause of mutual harmony, unfortunately contained within itself the seeds of future dissension and discontent; for Penn held the Delaware territory, not by a grant from the crown, but by an assignment from the Duke of York; and when the efficacy of such a title, to convey the rights of government, came to be questioned, the people reprobated with resentful blame the wanton rashness, as they deemed it, of building their constitutional rights and privileges on a foundation so precarious. All the laws that had been concerted in England, together with nineteen others, were proposed and enacted by the assembly, which, in three days, closed a session no less remarkable for the importance of its labors, than for the candor and harmony that prevailed among men so diversified by variety of race, habit, and religious opinion. All concurred in expressing gratitude and attachment to the proprietary; the Swedes, in particular, deputed one of their number to assure him, "that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, and that this was the best day they had ever seen."‡

Among the many praiseworthy features of the code of laws that was thus enacted for Pennsylvania and Delaware, we have already remarked the particular wisdom of the provision for educating every native-born colonist to some useful trade or employment. But the points on which this code most justly claims the praise of original excellence and enlightened humanity, are its provisions for the administration of penal law. Nor was there any point on which its regulations have been more efficacious, or more productive of lasting and extensive benefit to mankind. It was reserved for quaker wisdom to discover, and for quaker patience and benevolence to prove, that, in the treatment of criminals, justice and mercy were not inconsistent virtues, nor policy and humanity incompatible objects of pursuit. Only two capital crimes, treason and murder, were recognised by this code; and, in all other cases, the reformation of the offender was esteemed a duty not less imperative than the punishment of the offence. To this end it was enacted, that all prisons should be work-houses, where offenders might be reclaimed, by discipline and instruction, to habits of industry and morality, and political benefit deduced from the performance of christian duty. The institutions that resulted from this benevolent enterprise in legislation, have reflected honor on Pennsylvania, and diffused their advantages extensively in America and Europe. Notwithstanding the strict injunctions in the royal charter, neither the code of laws which was now enacted, nor the alteration and enlargement which it subsequently underwent, was ever submitted to the royal revision.

No sooner was the assembly adjourned, than Penn hastened to Maryland to vindicate that part of its proceedings which was necessarily offensive to Lord Baltimore, and, if possible, effect with this nobleman an amicable adjustment of their respective boundaries. But he seems, from the beginning, to have been aware that such a termination of the dispute was not to be expected; and, notwithstanding all the respect he must have felt for Lord Baltimore's tolerant policy, and the protection which the quakers had experienced from it in Maryland, he plainly regarded him with a suspicion and aptitude to surmise wrong and anticipate resistance, not very creditable to his own candour and moderation; finding matter of evil import even in the demonstrations of honor and respect which he received from his brother proprietary.* Lord Baltimore, relied on the priority and distinctness of his own title; while Penn defended a later and more indistinct grant, on a plea that had been furnished to him by the Committee of Plantations in England—that it had never been intended to confer on Lord Baltimore any other territory but such as was inhabited by savages only, at the date of his charter; and that the language of his charter was therefore inconsistent with its intentment, in so far as it seemed to authorise his claim to any part of the ter-

* In an account of their conference, which Penn transmitted to England, he says, "I met the proprietary of Maryland, attended suitably to his character, who took the occasion, by his civilities, to show me the greatness of his power." Froud, i. 156.

ritory previously colonized by the Swedes or the Dutch. Each of them tenaciously adhered to what, with more or less reason, he considered his own; and neither could suggest any mode of adjustment save a total relinquishment of the other's pretensions. To avoid the necessity of recurring again to this disagreeable controversy, I shall here overlook intervening events to relate, that it was protracted for some years without the slightest approach to mutual accommodation; that King Charles, to whom both parties had complained, vainly endeavored to prevail with the one or the other to yield; and that James the II., soon after his accession to the throne, caused an act of council to be issued for terminating the dispute by dividing the subject matter of it equally between them. By this arrangement, which had more of equitable show than of strict justice, Penn obtained the whole of the Swedish and Dutch settlements, and, in effect, preserved all that he or the Duke of York had ever been in possession of. These districts, annexed, as we have seen, to his original acquisition, received the name of the *Three Lower Counties*, or the *Territories*, in contradistinction to the remainder of the union, which was termed the *Three Upper Counties* or *Province of Pennsylvania*.*

This busy year was not yet to close without an important and memorable scene, in which the character of Penn has shone forth in a very different light from that which his controversy with Lord Baltimore reflects on it. The commissioners who had accompanied the first detachment of emigrants, had, in compliance with their instructions, negotiated a treaty with the neighboring Indian tribes, for the purchase of the lands which the colonists were to occupy, and for the preservation of perpetual friendship and peace. The time appointed for the ratification of this treaty was now arrived; and, at a spot which is now the site of Kensington, one of the suburbs of Philadelphia, the Indian sachems, at the head of their assembled warriors, awaited in arms the approach of a quaker deputation. To this scene William Penn repaired, at the head of an unarmed train of his religious associates, carrying various articles of merchandise, which, on their approach to the sachems, were spread on the ground. Distinguished from his followers by no other external appendage than a sash of blue silk, and holding in his hand a roll of parchment that contained the confirmation of the treaty, Penn exchanged salutations with the Indians, and taking his station under an elm tree,† addressed them through the intervention of an interpreter. He assured them that the Great Spirit who created all men, and beheld the thoughts of every heart, knew with what sincerity he and his people desired to live in friendship and a perpetual commerce of good offices with the Indians. It was not the custom of his friends, he said, to use hostile weapons against their fellow creatures, and for this reason they came to meet the Indians unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the Great Spirit, but to do good; and in this and every transaction, to consider the advantage of both people as inseparable, and to proceed with all openness, brotherhood, and love. Having read from the parchment record the conditions of the purchase, and the articles of compact, by which it was agreed that all disputes between the colonists and the Indians should be adjusted by arbitrators mutually chosen, he delivered to the sachems the stipulated price,‡ and farther desired their acceptance, as a friendly gift, of the additional articles of merchandise that were spread before them. He then invited them to consider the land which he had purchased, as common to the two races, and freely to use its resources whenever they might have occasion for them.¶ He added, "that he would not do as the *Marylanders* did, that is, call

them children or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts." He concluded by presenting the parchment to the sachems, and requesting, that, for the information of their posterity, they would carefully preserve it for three generations. The Indians cordially acceded to these propositions, and solemnly pledged themselves to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.

Thus ended a treaty which Voltaire has remarked, with sarcastic exultation, that it was the only one between the christians and the Indians that was not ratified by an oath, and that never was broken. In one respect, indeed, the forbearance of Penn on this occasion to introduce christianity in any other way than as a name, into his harangue, may have contributed to the cordiality with which his propositions were received. He sedulously forbore every allusion to distinctive peculiarities or offensive truths: and in addressing men whom he considered as benighted heathens,* he descended to adopt their religious nomenclature, and more than insinuated, that the Great Spirit of the Indians, and the True God of the christians, were not different, but the same. But a much more respectable peculiarity of quakerism than abstinence from oaths, formed the most remarkable feature in this treaty with the Indians, and mainly contributed to ensure its durability. Nothing could be more magnanimous than the explicit declaration of a race of civilised men, surrounded by a nation of warlike barbarians, that they renounced all the advantage of superior military skill, and even disclaimed the employment of every weapon of violence for the defence of their lives, or the vindication of their wrongs: trusting the protection of their persons and possessions against human ferocity and cupidity, to the dominion of God over the hearts of his rational creatures, and his willingness to signalize this dominion in behalf of all such as would exclusively rely on it. The singular exemplification of christian character in this respect, which the Pennsylvanian quakers continued uniformly to exhibit, was attended with an exemption no less singular, from those contentions and calamities which Indian neighborhood entailed on every other description of European colonists. The intentional injury of a quaker by an Indian is an event unknown in Pennsylvania, and very rare in American history. The probity of dealing, and courtesy of demeanor, by which the quakers endeavored to maintain this good understanding, were powerfully aided by the distinctions of dress and manners by which they were visibly disconnected with other men, and thus exempted, as a peculiar or separate tribe, from responsibility for the actions, or concern in the quarrels of their countrymen. The inhabitants of many of the other colonies were no less distinguished than the quakers for the justice and good faith that characterised their transactions with the Indians; and the catholic inhabitants of Maryland are said, in addition, to have graced these estimable qualities with the most conciliating demeanor. Yet none were able wholly to exempt themselves from Indian attack, or to refrain from retaliatory hostility. The people of Maryland were sometimes involved in the indiscriminate rage with which certain of the Indian tribes pursued the hostilities they had commenced against the colonists of Virginia. But whatever animosity the Indians might conceive against the European neighbors of the Pennsylvanians, or even against Pennsylvanian colonists who did not belong to the quaker society, they never failed to discriminate the followers of Penn, or children of *Onas*,* (which was

the denomination they gave to the quakers), as persons whom it was impossible for them to include within the pale of legitimate hostility. The friendship that was created by Penn's treaty between the province and the Indians, refreshed by successive acts of courtesy and humanity, endured for more than seventy years, and was never interrupted while the quakers retained the command of the government of Pennsylvania. Undoubtedly, the feature of quaker manners which proved most efficient in guarding them against Indian ferocity, was their rigid abstinence not only from the use, but even from the possession, of offensive weapons, arising from their conviction of the sufficiency of divine aid, and their respect to the scriptural threat, that all who take the sword shall perish by it. It was a totally different feature of christian character that was exhibited by the puritan colonists of New England in their intercourse with the Indians. They felt less indulgence for the frailty of the savages than concern for their spiritual blindness, and abhorrence of their idolatrous superstition: they displayed less meekness of wisdom than the quakers, but more of active zeal and missionary ardor. The puritans were most concerned to promote the religious interests of the Indians; the quakers to gain their good will. The puritans converted a number of their heathen neighbors; the quakers conciliated them all. It was unfortunate for the colonists of New England, that, asserting the lawfulness of defensive war, they were surrounded by numerous bold and warlike tribes, stimulated to acts of aggression, at first by their own ferocity and jealousy, and latterly by the intrigues of the French. It was a happy contingency for the planters of Pennsylvania, that the Indian tribes around them were inconsiderable in number, and either belonged to the confederacy or were subjected to the influence of the *Five Nations*, who were themselves in alliance with the sister colony of New York.

Nothing can be more exaggerated or inapplicable than the encomiums which numerous writers have bestowed on this celebrated transaction between Penn and the Indians. They have, with unhappy partiality, selected as the chief, and frequently the sole object of commendation, the supposed originality of the design of buying the lands from the savages, instead of appropriating them by fraud or force,—which last they represent as the only methods of acquisition that had been employed by the predecessors of Penn in the colonization of North America.* This is at once to reproach every one of the other christian founders of North American society with injustice and usurpation; to compliment the Indians with the gratuitous supposition that only bare justice on the part of the colonists was requisite to the preservation of peace between the two races; and to ascribe to Penn a merit which assuredly did not belong to him, and which he himself has expressly disclaimed. The example of that equitable consideration of the rights of the native owners of the soil, which has been supposed to have originated with him, was first exhibited by the planters of New England, whose deeds of conveyance from the Indians were earlier by half a century than his; and was successively repeated by the planters of Maryland, Carolina, New York, and New Jersey, before the province of Pennsylvania had a name. Penn was introduced to an acquaintance with American colonization, by succeeding to the management of New Jersey, in which Berkeley and Carteret had already established this equitable practice; and his own conformity to it in Pennsylvania had been expressly recommended by Bishop Compton (whose interference in the composition of the charter we have already witnessed) and was publicly ascribed by himself to the counsels of that prelate.†

with the influence of the peculiar dress of the quakers, as at once a segregating principle, and a bond of sectarian union; and regretted that he had not prescribed a distinctive apparel to the methodists. Wesley's Journal.

* The Abbe Raynal declares, that Penn, in purchasing a conveyance from the Indians, in addition to his charter from the king of England, "is entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so much as thought of before by the Europeans." Noble, in his *Continuation of Granger*, says, "He occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honor. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations." It would be easy to multiply similar quotations. Even Mr. Clarkson, who acknowledges that Lord Baltimore at least preceded Penn in this act of justice, cannot refrain from complimenting Penn for soaring, in this instance, "above the prejudices and customs of his time." The most modest and moderate account of Penn's treaty which I have seen, is that which claims Mr. Dillwyn (See note 25 for its author).

† In a letter from Penn to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations in England (in 1683), he declares, that "I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel by buying and not taking away the natives' land." Proud, i. 274. This

* Proud, i. 208, 293, &c. Chalmers, 647, 8, 650, &c. The Duke of York, who supported Penn's pretensions, finding it impossible otherwise to prevail over the title of Lord Baltimore, solicited from the King a new charter of the Delaware territory to himself, in order to reconvey it with more effect to his friend; and this was on the point of being done, when the Duke's accession to the throne enabled him to gratify Penn by a proceeding no less arbitrary in its import, but more equitable in its appearance.

† This tree was long regarded with universal respect. During the war of independence, General Simcoe, who commanded a British force stationed at Kensington, when his soldiers were cutting down all the trees around them for firewood, placed a sentinel under this elm to guard it from injury—a singular tribute from a man who was engaged in violating the very principles of equity and peace of which the object of his consideration was respected as a memorial.

‡ What this price amounted to has nowhere been recorded. Penn, writing in the following year to some friends in England, represents it as dear; and adds, "He will deserve the name of wise that outwits them (the Indians) in any treaty about a thing they understand." Proud, i. 258.

§ The same liberality was shown by the colonists of New England, where, as we learn from Dr. Dwight, "the Indians

were always considered as having a right to dwell and to hunt within the lands which they had sold." *Travels in New England*, &c. i. 312.

* In one of his letters to his friends in England, he says of the Indians: "These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion." Proud, i. 256. The following adventure was communicated by Penn himself to Oldmixon. He was visiting an Indian sachem, and had retired for the night, when a young woman, the sachem's daughter, approaching his bed lay down beside him. Penn was much shocked; but, unwilling to offend by rejecting an intended compliment, he lay still without taking any notice of her, till she thought proper to return to her own couch. Vol. I p. 308, 2d edition. A New England patriarch in such circumstances, would probably have excited the enmity of the whole Indian tribe by his expressions of disgust and reprobation.

† Onas, in the Indian tongue, signifies a pen. It came to be the Indian appellation of the governors of Pennsylvania, as Corlaer was of the governors of New York. Proud, i. 214. John Wesley, in the close of his life, was forcibly impressed

1683.] The continual arrival of vessels, transporting settlers to the colony from all parts of the British dominions, afforded ample occasion to Penn for the exercise of the agreeable labor of surveying his territories, and appropriating to the purchasers their respective allotments of land. One of these allotments, consisting of a thousand acres, was a gift from the proprietary to his friend George Fox, and formed the only estate which that venerable quaker patriarch was ever possessed of.* The greater number of the emigrants still continued to be quakers, with the addition of some other dissenters, withdrawing from the severities of persecution, and the contagion of European vices; and their behavior in the colony corresponding with the noble motives that had conducted them to it, [28] the domains of Penn exhibited a happy and animated scene of active industry, devotional exercise, and thankful enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. It appeared, however, that some worthless persons had already intruded themselves among the more respectable settlers; and three men, who were now brought to trial and convicted of coining adulterated money, gave occasion to the first practical display of the mildness of Pennsylvania justice.

Shortly before this judicial proceeding, the second session of the assembly of Pennsylvania and Delaware had been held. In this assembly, some new laws were passed, and certain singularities in legislation were attempted. It was proposed that all young men should be compelled by law to marry before a certain age; and that no inhabitant of the province should be permitted to have more than two suits of clothes, one for summer, and the other for winter; but these propositions were very properly rejected. More wisdom was displayed in an ordinance which abrogated the common law with regard to the descent of lands, and enacted, that, in the succession of children to a father dying intestate, the eldest son should have no farther preference than a double share. However consonant it might have been to feudal principles, to bestow the fief undiminished upon him who was first able to defend it, this policy was manifestly unsuitable to colonists who had a wilderness to cultivate, and were the more especially called to invigorate exertion by an extensive diffusion of interest and property in the soil. An impost upon goods imported and exported was voted to the proprietary,† who acknowledged the kindness of the assembly, but wisely and generously remitted the proposed burden on the province and the traders who resorted to it. But the most important business that was transacted in this session was an alteration in the constitution of the state, which, unquestionably, from whatever cause, underwent at first much greater and more frequent fluctuations than the history of any of the other colonial settlements evinces. William Penn having demanded of the members of council and assembly, "Whether they desired to preserve his first charter, or to obtain a new one?" they unanimously adopted the latter part of the alternative. With the assistance of a committee of these two bodies, a new frame or charter was accordingly prepared and executed by the proprietary. The chief purpose of this proceeding seems to have been to legalize (according to Penn's ideas) the alteration that had been effected by the "act of settlement" passed in the first session of the assembly. It was accordingly now provided, by a charter emanating from the proprietary, that the provincial council should consist of eighteen persons, three from each county, and the assembly of thirty-six; by whom, in conjunction with the governor, all laws were to be made, and public affairs transacted. But still no laws could be proposed in the assembly but such as had been prepared and pre-

pared by the governor and council. The only alteration in the distribution of power that was effected by this new charter was, that the governor, with his treble vote, necessarily possessed more control in a council of eighteen, than by the original frame he could have enjoyed in a council of seventy-two members. The interests of freedom were, however, promoted by a grant, to all the inhabitants of the province, of unlimited liberty to hunt in uninclosed lands, and to fish in all waters, "that they may be accommodated with such food and sustenance as God in his providence hath freely afforded;" and aliens were encouraged by a provision, that, in case of their dying without having been previously naturalized, their lands should nevertheless descend to their heirs. This charter was thankfully accepted by the representatives of the people, who closed their second assembly with expressions of undiminished attachment to the proprietary.

This assembly had been held at the infant city of Philadelphia. Shortly after his arrival in the province, Penn had selected a commodious situation, between the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, for the erection of the metropolis of Pennsylvania; and having regulated the model of the future city by a map,* he bestowed on it a name expressive of that brotherly love which he hoped would ever characterise its inhabitants. To many of the streets he gave names descriptive of the varieties of forest trees that had been cut down to make room for the structures of civilized life; and which still continue to commemorate the sylvan origin of the place. The progress of the buildings of Philadelphia was a favorite object of his care, and advanced with such rapidity, that, in less than a year from the time when it was begun, a hundred substantial houses overlooked the caves that had sheltered their owners but a few months before; and, in the course of the following year, [1684] the population of the city amounted to two thousand five hundred persons.

The remainder of the time occupied by the proprietary's first visit to his colony was spent in conducting his controversy with Lord Baltimore; in extending his treaties with the Indian tribes, to whom his presents from time to time amounted in value to several thousand pounds; in acting as a minister among the quaker colonists, and arranging the frame of their sectarian usages and discipline; and in impelling and directing the progress of his favorite city of Philadelphia. He saw his religious society and principles established in a land where they were likely to take a vigorous root, and expand with unbounded freedom; and institutions rising around him that promised to illustrate his name with a lasting and honorable renown. In fine, he beheld the people who acknowledged his supremacy happy and prosperous, and seemed himself to enjoy his transatlantic retirement †. The only sources of uneasiness that had yet arisen from his colonial labors, were, his dispute with Lord Baltimore, and the failure of all his efforts to guard the Indians from that destructive vice which the vicinity of Europeans has always contributed to diffuse among them. A law had been passed against supplying these savages with spirituous liquors; but the practice had been introduced by the colonists of Delaware, long before Penn's arrival, and his attempts to suppress it proved utterly ineffectual. The Europeans acknowledged the cruelty and injustice of this traffic, and the Indians confessed their experience of its baneful effects; but neither could be persuaded to refrain from it. It was attended with the additional evil of confirming the Indians in their roving habits of life; as the peltry they acquired in hunting was the only commodity they were able to exchange with the colonists for rum and brandy. The more valuable possessions and advantages by which the colonists were distinguished, were either lightly esteemed by the Indians, or reckoned unworthy of the laborious habits that were requisite to procure them. In answer to the advice of the Europeans, that they should betake themselves to a life of regular industry, one of the Indians begged to hear some satisfactory reason "why he should labor hard all his days to make his children idle all theirs."

— In the "Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament," by Dean Prideaux, there is a plan or model of the city of ancient Babylon. "Much according to this model," says the dean, "hath William Penn the quaker laid out the ground for his city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; and were it all built according to that design, it would be the fairest and best city in all America, and not much behind any other in the whole world."

† In a letter to a friend in England, he says, "Oh how sweet is the quiet of these parts, free from the anxious and troublesome solicitations, hurries, and perplexities, of woeful Europe; and God will thin her; the day hastens upon her." Proud, i. 209.

In the midst of a scene of felicity as unmixed, perhaps, as any community of human beings has ever exhibited, Penn resolved upon returning to England, in order to enforce, by personal solicitation, the interest which he possessed at the English court, and which he was desirous to employ in aid of his controversy with Lord Baltimore, as well as for the relief of a number of his quaker brethren who were suffering in the parent state from an increased strictness in the execution of the penal laws against non-conformists.* In preparation for this measure, he entrusted the administration of his proprietary functions to the provincial council, of which he appointed Thomas Lloyd, a quaker, to be president, and his own kinsman, Markham, to be secretary; and committed the execution of the laws to Nicholas Moore and four other planters whom he constituted the provincial judges. On the eve of his departure, and having already embarked, he addressed, to Lloyd and others of his more intimate associates a valedictory letter, which he desired them to communicate to all his friends in Pennsylvania and Delaware. "Dear friends," he declared to them, "my love and my life is to you, and with you; and no water can quench it, nor distance wear it out, or bring it to an end. I have been with you, cared over you, and served you with unfeigned love; and you are beloved of me, and dear to me beyond utterance. I bless you in the name and power of the Lord; and may God bless you with his righteousness, peace, and plenty, all the land over. Oh that you would eye him in all, through all! and above all, the works of your hands." After admonishing those to whom he had committed the rule, to consider it as a sacred function and heavenly trust, he thus apostrophizes his favorite city: "And thou, Philadelphia, the virgin settlement of this province, named before thou wert born, what love, what care, what service, and what travail, has there been to bring thee forth, and preserve thee from such as would abuse and defile thee! Oh that thou mayest be kept from the evil that would overwhelm thee! that, faithful to the God of thy mercies in the life of righteousness, thou mayest be preserved to the end. My soul prays to God for thee, that thou mayest stand in the day of trial, that thy children may be blessed of the Lord, and thy people saved by his power. My love to thee has been great, and the remembrance of thee affects mine heart and mine eyes! The God of eternal strength keep and preserve thee to his glory and thy peace." "So, dear friends," he thus concludes, "my love again salutes you all, wishing that grace, mercy, and peace, with all temporal blessings, may abound richly among you:—So says, so prays, your friend and lover in the truth, William Penn."

At the period of the proprietary's departure from the province, Philadelphia already contained three hundred houses, and the population of Pennsylvania amounted altogether to six thousand souls. Of the increase which the inhabitants of the Delaware territory had undergone, no memorial has been preserved.

CHAPTER II.

Penn's Favor at the Court of James the Second—Dissensions among the Colonists—their Disagreement with Penn about his Quit Rents—He appoints Five Commissioners of State—Rumour of an Indian Massacre—Penn dissatisfied with his Commissioners—appoints Blackwell Deputy Governor—Arbitrary Conduct of Blackwell—Displeasure of the Assembly—Dissension between the People of Delaware and Pennsylvania—Delaware obtains a separate Executive Government—George Keith's Schism in Pennsylvania—Penn deprived of his Authority by King William—Fletcher appointed Governor—Penn's Authority restored—Third Frame of Government—Quaker Accession to War—Penn's Second Visit to his Colony—Sentiments and Conduct of the Quakers relative to Negro Slavery—Renewal of the Disputes between Delaware and Pennsylvania—Fourth and Last Frame of Government—Penn returns to England—Union of Pennsylvania and Delaware dissolved—Complaints of the Assembly against Penn—Misconduct of Governor Evans—He is superseded by Gookin—Penn's Remonstrance to his People—State of Pennsylvania and Delaware at the Close of the Seventeenth Century.

BRINGING adieu to the peaceful scenes of Pennsylvanian life, Penn transferred his exertions to the very dissimilar theatre of the court of England. Here the interest which he possessed was soon increased to such

* The unfortunate consequences that attended Penn's withdrawal at this period from the quiet of America, to plunge again into the solicitations of woeful Europe, have rendered the cause of this step a subject of some importance. Oumixon, who derived his information from Penn himself, says, that he was determined, much against his will, to return, by tidings of the persecution of the quakers and other dissenters in England; and that "He knew he had an interest in the court of England, and was willing to employ it for the safety, ease, and welfare of his friends," i. 171. But Proud, who is by far the best authority on points of early Pennsylvanian history, declares that "the dispute between him and the Lord

letter is also printed by Chalmers, p. 661, &c. Mr. Clarkson refers to it as containing Penn's statement of his controversy with Lord Baltimore, but has not thought that the credit of Penn would be advanced by its publication. It consists chiefly of an elaborate attempt to vindicate his own pretensions to the Delaware territory, and to interest the lords of trade to support them against Lord Baltimore's claims. Hence, perhaps, the readiness he evinces to do honor to the Bishop of London.

† Fox disposed of this estate by his will. But he never was in Pennsylvania.

† This seems to refute the allegation of Dr. Franklin, in his "Historical Review of the Constitution of Pennsylvania," that Penn prevailed with his first colonists to submit to his quit rents, by holding out the delusive hope, that they would supersede all public impositions for the support of government." Franklin having engaged on the side of the Pennsylvania assembly in their disputes with the descendants of Penn, endeavored to increase the discredit of his adversaries by the barest censure of their illustrious ancestor. Yet, that Franklin really esteemed Penn, is apparent from many passages in his writings; and that he even regarded him with no common admiration, may be inferred from a curious letter of his (relative to a supposed portrait of Penn), preserved in Woodhouselee's Life of Lord Kalmie.

a degree, by the advancement of his own patron and his father's friend, the Duke of York, to the throne, that, in the hope of employing it to his own advantage, and to the general promotion of religious liberty, he abandoned all thoughts of returning to America, and continued to reside in the neighborhood, and even to employ himself in the service, of the court, as long as James the Second was permitted to wear the crown:—a policy that, in the sequel, proved equally prejudicial to his reputation in England and his interests in America. The first fruit of his enhanced influence at court was the adjudication that terminated his controversy with Lord Baltimore, and secured to him the most valuable portion of the Delaware territory.* Fruits of a more liberal description were evinced in his successful efforts to procure a suspension of the legal severities to which the members of his own religious society were obnoxious, and for the discontinuance of which he had the satisfaction of presenting an address of thanks to the king from all the quakers in England.†

This year was signalized by an attempt, that originated with the annual meeting of the quaker society at Burlington, in New Jersey, to communicate the knowledge of christian truth to the Indians. These savages readily acceded to the conferences that were proposed to them, and listened with their usual gravity and decorum to the first body of missionaries who, in professing to obey the divine command to *teach and baptize* all nations, ever ventured to teach that baptism was not an ordinance of christian appointment. Of the particular communications between these quaker teachers and the Indians, no account has been preserved; but the result, as reported by a quaker historian, was, that the Indians in general acknowledged at the time that what they heard was very wise, weighty, and true, and never afterwards thought farther about it. The first successful attempts to evangelize the Indian inhabitants of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, were not made till towards the middle of the following century, when this work was undertaken by the celebrated David Brainerd, of New England, and by a body of Moravian brethren who had emigrated from Germany.

Meanwhile, the emigrations from England to Pennsylvania continued to proceed with undiminished vigor; the stimulus that had been previously afforded by the rigors of ecclesiastical law, being amply supplied by the dislike and suspicion with which the king's civil policy was regarded, by the accounts which had been circulated of the prosperity enjoyed by the colonists of this province, and by the general belief that Penn's interest with the king would protect its liberties from the general wreck in which his tyranny had involved the other colonial constitutions. In the course of this year, about a thousand emigrants appear to have resorted to Pennsylvania alone. But this increase in the population of his territories was now the only source of satisfaction that they were to afford to the proprietary, and the remainder of his connexion with them was overclouded by disappointment, and embittered by mutual dispute. It was but a few months after his departure from the province, that a spirit of discord began to manifest itself among the planters. Moore, the chief justice, and Robinson, the clerk of the provincial court, neither of whom belonged to the quaker persuasion, had rendered themselves disagreeable to the leading persons of this society in the colony. The first was impeached by the assembly of high crimes and misdemeanors, and for refusing to answer the charge was suspended from his functions by the council; while a very disproportioned censure was passed on the other, who, for what was deemed contemptuous behavior in

answering the questions of the assembly, was not only committed to custody, but voted "a public enemy to the province and territories." Of the charges against Moore not a trace has been preserved; but it is manifest that Penn considered them frivolous or unfounded. In vain he wrote to the authors of these proceedings,* entreating them to restrain their tempers, and forbear from the indulgence of animosities so discreditable to the colony; to value themselves a little less, and to honor other men a little more than they appeared to him to have done. The assembly answered by professions of the highest reverence for himself, accompanied by entreaties (unfortunately ineffectual) that he would return to live among his people; but declared withal that they thought fit "to humble that corrupt and aspiring minister of state, Nicholas Moore." The correspondence between the proprietary and this body, as well as the council, gradually assumed an increasingly disagreeable complexion. To other causes of displeasure, were added reports of the increased consumption of spirituous liquors among the colonists—the intemperance in this respect which they propagated among the Indians thus recoiling upon themselves; and complaints of various abuses and extortions committed by the officers whom he had entrusted to conduct the sales of his land. But nothing seems to have mortified him more sensibly than the difficulty he experienced in obtaining payment of his quit rents, and the universal reluctance that was shown to comply with, or even pay any attention to, his applications for remittances on that account. The people in general had rather submitted to than approved the imposition of quit rents; and, though prospering in their circumstances, and conscious of the expenses that the proprietary had incurred for their advantage, they were only now beginning to reap the first fruits of the far greater expenses incurred by themselves in purchasing their lands from him, and in transporting themselves and their families, servants, and substance to the province. Much labor and expense was yet wanting to render more than a small portion of their lands productive of advantage to them: and to be now called on to pay quit rents for the whole, and for this purpose to surrender the first earnings of their own hazard, hardship, and toil, to be expended by their proprietary in a distant country, was a proceeding very ill calculated to obtain their favorable regard, and which the very generosity of the proprietary, that rendered it the more unavoidable on his part, had by no means prepared them to expect. Penn had, doubtless, hoped that the council to whom he had delegated his proprietary functions, would have spared him the humiliating necessity of descending to a personal altercation with his people on this subject. But, so far were the council from demonstrating any such regard for his delicacy or his interest, that they would give him no assistance whatever in the prosecution of his unpopular demand, and even forbore to take any notice of the remonstrances which he addressed to them on the neglect of their duty. Astonished and indignant to find himself treated in a manner which he deemed so ungrateful and unjust, Penn felt himself constrained at length to reproach his people in a letter, [1686] which forms a melancholy contrast to the beautiful valediction with which he had taken his leave of them, scarcely two years before. He complained that the provincial council had neglected and slighted his communications; that the labor which he had religiously consecrated to his people's good was neither valued nor understood by them; and that their proceedings in other respects had been so unwarrantable as to have put it in his power more than once to annul the charter he had bestowed on them, if he had been disposed to take advantage of their misconduct. He declared that he was suffering much embarrassment by the failure of the remittances he had expected from America, and that this was one of the causes of his detention in England. His quit rents, he said, amounted then, at the very least, to five hundred pounds a year; but he could not obtain payment of a penny of this income. "God is my witness," says he, "I lie not. I am above six thousand pounds out of pocket more than ever I saw by the province; and you may throw in my pains, cares, and hazard of life, and leaving of my family and friends to serve them." According to this statement, it would appear that he had already sold a million acres of land in the province, and devoted twenty thousand pounds (the stipulated price corresponding to sales of that extent) to the public service, besides the additional expenditure which he mentions of six thousand pounds.

* "For the love of God, me, and the poor country," he says in one of these letters, "be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open in your dissatisfactions. Some folks love hunting in government itself." Proud, i. 227.

This remonstrance, which was more especially addressed to the provincial council, having proved as ineffectual as his preceding applications, Penn determined to withdraw from that body the management of his interests and the possession of the executive power, which he had committed to its keeping on his departure from the province. Expecting more activity from fewer, and more integrity from different hands, he resolved to confine the executive power to five persons, and, in order to mark his sense of the injurious treatment which he conceived had been inflicted on an able and honorable man, he hesitated not to appoint Nicholas Moore to be one of the persons by whom this important function was to be exercised. To Lloyd, the former president of the council, and three other quakers, in conjunction with Moore, he accordingly granted a warrant or deputation investing them with their office under the title of *commissioners of state*. He commanded them, at the very first assembly that should be holden after their instalment in office, to abrogate, in the proprietary's name, every act that had been passed in his absence. He charged them to be particularly careful to repress every tendency to disorder, dispute, or collision of powers between the several organs of government, and, for this purpose, to permit no parleying or open conference between the council and the assembly, but to confine the one to the exercise of its privilege of proposing laws, and the other to a simple expression of assent or dissent. He admonished them to act with vigor in suppressing vices without respect of persons or persuasions,—adding, "Let not foolish pity rob justice of its due, and the people of proper examples. I know what malice and prejudice say; but they move me not. I know how to allow for new colonies, though others do not." He advised them, before ever "letting their spirits into any affair," to lift up their thoughts to Him who is not far from every one of us, and to beseech from that only source of intelligence and virtue, the communication of a good understanding and a temperate spirit. He recommended to them a diligent attention to the proprietary's interest, and a watchful care to the preservation of their own dignity. "I beseech you," he said, "draw not several ways; have no cabals apart, nor reserves from one another; treat with a mutual simplicity, an entire confidence, in one another; and if at any time you mistake, or misapprehend, or dissent from one another, let not that appear to the people: show your virtues but conceal your infirmities; this will make you awful and reverent with the people." "Love, forgive, help, and serve one another," he continued; "and let the people learn by your example, as well as by your power, the happy life of concord."*

[1687.] This appointment proved more conducive than might have been expected to the peace of the province, which appears for some time to have sustained no other interruption than what arose from the rumor of an Indian massacre. In the midst of the consternation which his report excited, Caleb Pusey, a quaker, volunteered to go to the spot where the Indians were said to have assembled in preparation for their bloody design, provided the council would appoint five other deputies to accompany him, and who would agree, like him, to present themselves unarmed to the Indians. On the arrival of this magnanimous deputation at the spot which had been indicated to them, they found only an Indian prince with a small retinue engaged in their usual occupations. The prince, on being apprised of the cause of their visit, informed the deputies that the Indians had indeed been disappointed to find that the price of a recent occupation of land had not yet been fully paid to them; but that, having perfect confidence in the integrity of the English, they were by no means impatient; he declared that the story of the projected massacre was a wicked fabrication, and that some Indian women who had contributed to give it currency deserved to be burned alive. One of the deputies having reminded the prince that the Indians and the English were the creatures of the same God, and equally the objects of his impartial love, which he showed by

* Proud, i. 295—300, 303—307. In a letter to these commissioners, some time after, he tells them, "They that live near to God, will live far from themselves; and, from the sense they have of his nearness and majesty, have a low opinion of themselves; and out of that low and humble frame of spirit it is that true charity grows. Oh that the people of my province felt this gracious quality abounding in them! My work would then be done, and their praise and my joy unspeakably abound. Wherefore, in the name and fear of God, let all old sores be forgotten as well as forgiven." Ibid. 333. This letter is dated from a mansion which politics and literature have since contributed to distinguish, Holland House, which Penn had made his residence on account of its vicinity to Kensington, where King James held his court

Baltimore before-mentioned was what mainly occasioned Penn's return to England, i. 288. In a letter written shortly after his arrival in England, Penn says, that "He had seen the king and the Duke of York. They and their nobles had been very kind to him, and he hoped the Lord would make way for him in their hearts to serve his suffering people, as also his own interests as it related to his American concerns." Clarkson, i. 426.

* This adjudication was not so distinct as to prevent much subsequent dispute respecting the precise boundaries between Delaware and Maryland, which continued to distract the inhabitants on the borders of these provinces, till it was finally closed in 1750, by a decree pronounced in Chancery by Lord Hardwicke. Chalmers, 651. Vesey's Reports, i. 141. Nothing was more common for a long time in the American provinces than disputes arising from uncertain boundaries. A dispute of this nature between the townships of Lyne and New Nondon, in New England, during the seventeenth century, was decided by a solemn pugilistic combat between four champions chosen by the inhabitants of the two places. Dwight's Travels, i. 498.

† Proud, i. 290—294, 308—314. "The king has given us," said Penn in the speech with which he accompanied the presentation of the quaker address, "an illustrious example in his own person; for while he was a subject he gave Caesar his tribute, and now he is Caesar he gives God his due, namely, the sovereignty over consciences."

sending dew from heaven slike on their lands, and urged that the two races ought therefore to love one another, the prince replied, "What you have said is true; and as God has given you corn, I would advise you to get it in, for we intend you no harm." This amicable assurance, repeated by the deputies to their friends, delivered the province from an apprehension that had excited general dismay.

But Penn was far from deriving the satisfaction which he had expected from his commissioners of state; and his letters continued to repeat, though in a milder manner than before, his complaints of the detention of his quit rents, the neglect of his communications, and the disregard of his services. "I believe I may say," was his expression on one of these occasions, "I am one of the unhappiest proprietaries with one of the best people." From the numerous apologies contained in these letters for his continued residence in England, and his protestations that he found attendance at court as burdensome and disagreeable as a state of slavery in Turkey could be, it would seem that the people of Pennsylvania regarded his absence from them with much dissatisfaction. At length, Lloyd and some of the other quaker commissioners desiring that he would discharge them from their functions, it appeared to him that some farther change was necessary in the form of his provincial administration; and, having determined to commit his powers and his interests to the more active management of a single individual, who should be invested with the rank of deputy governor, he selected for this purpose Captain John Blackwell, one of Cromwell's officers, who had married the daughter of General Lambert, and was residing at this time in New England. The consequences of this appointment were, in truth, the reverse in all respects of those which had resulted from the preceding one; but, unfortunately, they were much more disagreeable and pernicious. Blackwell appears to have been very highly esteemed by Penn, and he probably exerted himself much more than his predecessors in the executive authority had done to vindicate the patrimonial interest of the proprietary; but he provoked the general indignation and disgust of the people by his arbitrary and illegal proceedings. "Rule the meek meekly," was the instruction of Penn to him; "and those that will not be ruled, rule with authority." But meekness was no part of the disposition of Blackwell; and violence and intrigue were the chief engines of his policy.† He commenced his administration by endeavoring, not without effect, to sow discord among the freemen, and to overawe the timid by a display of power. But he had mistaken the real character of the people over whom he presided; and was taught, by the issue of an obstinate struggle, that the profession of quaker meekness and submission is not inconsistent with the exhibition of unhesitating firmness and determined resolution. Finding that White, the individual who had given most displeasure to Penn, by urging the impeachment of Moore, had been chosen a delegate to the assembly, he resolved to debar him from attendance there; and for this purpose caused him to be thrown into prison on the most frivolous pretences. A writ of *habeas corpus* was procured in behalf of White; but the execution of it was long impeded by the devices of Blackwell. Other practices, no less arbitrary and illegal, were employed by him for disabling men whom he disliked or suspected, from performing the duties of members of the provincial council. To give the assembly time to cool, after the commission of these outrages, he deferred the convocation of it as long as possible, and at length opened its session [1689] with a haughty and insolent harangue. His predecessors in authority had not considered it expedient to comply with the proprietary's desire of abrogating all the laws that had been made in his absence; but this measure was now announced by the deputy governor, with an insolence that would have discredited a more acceptable communication. The first proceeding of the assembly was a remonstrance against his arbitrary proceedings; and all that his utmost influence could effect on some of the members of this body, was to prevail with them to absent them-

selves from its sittings. This miserable manoeuvre had no other effect than to provoke the assembly to declare that the secession of these members was a treacherous desertion of the public service. They passed, at the same time, a series of resolutions, importing, "That the proprietary's absence, as it may be to his disappointment, so it was extremely to the peoples prejudice; that as to the project of abrogating all the laws, he had no right so to do, because every law was in force that had not been declared void by the king; that, even with the consent of the freemen, the proprietary could make no laws to bind the province, except in the way prescribed by the charter; and that as it was desirable, so it was also to be hoped, that no laws of any other make would be imposed upon the people." After a vain struggle with an opposition thus vigorously supported, Blackwell was compelled to abandon his office, and depart from the province, leaving the executive authority once more in the hands of the provincial council, of which the presidency was resumed by Thomas Lloyd.

The ferment which had been excited during Blackwell's administration, whatever evil influence it may have exercised on the tempers of some of the colonists, was not permitted to retard in the slightest degree the rapid pace with which the general prosperity was advancing. On the contrary, a more vigorous spring seemed to have been imparted to the industry and general progress and improvement of the community, as if the energy that was excited by the provocation given to the public spirit of the people, had diffused its influence through every occupation and department of life. It was in this year that the first institution for the education of youth was established in Pennsylvania. This was called "The Friends' Public School of Philadelphia;" at the head of which was placed George Keith, a celebrated quaker writer; and which was subsequently incorporated and enlarged by charters from the proprietary.

It had been happy for Penn, if he had sooner discovered how detrimental to all his interests this long absence from the colony, and residence at the English court, must inevitably prove. The revolution that had occurred in the close of the preceding year, had abruptly destroyed that precarious favor of a tyrant, for the sake of which he had risked his popularity in England and his influence in Pennsylvania, and which had infatuated his understanding to such a degree, that he even continued to correspond with the fugitive monarch after his expulsion from the throne. That he was engaged in any of the plots, that were carrying on at this period for the restoration of James, there is truly no reason to believe; but as he voluntarily lingered in England for some time after the revolution had been accomplished, and never transmitted any instruction for proclaiming William and Mary in Pennsylvania, it is not improbable that he looked with some expectation to the success of these attempts.* To return to America was soon after put out of his power, by the consequences of the general suspicion which his conduct had excited in England. He was compelled to give bail for his appearance before the privy council; [1690] and though he more than once succeeded in justifying himself from the charges adduced against him, yet, finding that farther accusations continued to be preferred, and that a warrant had at length been issued for committing him to prison, he thought proper to sequester himself from public view, and to live for some time in a state of concealment. His name was occasionally inserted in the proclamations for the apprehension of suspected persons, that were issued, from time to time by the English ministers; who were, however, too deeply engaged in more pressing and important affairs, to have leisure as yet to attend to the concerns of his Pennsylvanian sovereignty. During this retirement, his repose was invaded very disagreeably by tidings of factious disputes and dissensions among his people, and particularly by the rupture that took place between Pennsylvania and Delaware, and separated from each other two communities, for the conjunction of which he had labored with a zeal that outstripped his usual equity and moderation.

The increasing greatness of Pennsylvania had gradually excited the jealousy of the people of Delaware, who beheld with impatience their more ancient settlement dwindling into comparative insignificance, and verging into a mere fraction of a younger but more thriving community. The members deputed to the provincial council at Philadelphia from Delaware complained that they were deprived of a just share in the appointment of public officers, and at length endeavored by intrigue to counterbalance the preponderance of their associates. Privately assembling, without the usual formality of an official summons, in the council-room, they proceeded to exercise the executive functions vested in the whole body, and issued warrants for displacing a number of public officers, and appointing others to fill their places. This proceeding was almost instantly declared illegal and void by a council more regularly convoked; but the waters of strife had now been let out, and could no longer be stayed. Penn, alarmed at the account of these dissensions, endeavored to mediate between the parties, and desired them to make choice of any one of the three forms of executive administration which they had already respectively tried. He was willing, he said, to invest the executive power either in the council, or in five commissioners, or in a deputy governor; and their choice would be determined by the recollection of which of these they had found the most impartial in the distribution of public offices. [1691] The Pennsylvanians at once declared themselves in favor of a deputy governor, and, anticipating the proprietary's approbation of their wishes, desired Lloyd to perform the duties of this office. The Delaware counsellors, on the contrary, protested against this choice, and declared their own preference of a board of commissioners. They refused to submit to the government of Lloyd, and, withdrawing from the council, they returned to Delaware, where their countrymen were easily prevailed on to approve and support their secession. In vain Lloyd endeavored, by the most liberal and generous offers to the Delaware colonists, to prevail with them to submit to an administration which he had reluctantly assumed in obedience to the urgent and unanimous desire of the Pennsylvanians; they rejected all his offers; and, countenanced by Colonel Markham, the kinsman of the proprietary, declared that they were determined to have an executive government separate from that of Pennsylvania. Stung with vexation and disappointment at this result, Penn was at first inclined to impute the blame of it to Lloyd; but soon ascertaining how perfectly disinterested and well-meaning the conduct of this worthy man had been, he transferred his censure to the Delaware counsellors, and bitterly reproached them with selfish ambition and ingratitude. Hoping, however, by gratifying them in their present desire, to prevent the rupture from extending any farther, he granted separate commissions for the executive government of Pennsylvania and Delaware to Lloyd and Markham; the functions of the legislature still remaining united in a council and assembly common to the two settlements. By the friendly co-operation of Lloyd and Markham, this singular machinery of government was conducted with much greater harmony and success than the peculiarities of its structure, and the causes from which they had arisen, would have prepared us to expect.*

The following year [1692] was signalled in a manner still more discreditable to the province, and disagreeable to the proprietary, by a violent dissension among the quakers of Pennsylvania. This has been represented, by the party that proved weakest in the struggle, as a purely ecclesiastical quarrel, in which their adversaries, worsted in spiritual, had resorted to carnal weapons; and by the stronger, as a political effervescence which the power of the magistrate was rightfully employed to compose. The disturbance originated with George Keith, a man eminently distinguished by the vigor and subtlety of his apprehension, by an insatiable appetite for controversy, a copious eloquence, and a vehement temper. To his religious associates, the quakers, he was recommended by his numerous writings in defence of their tenets, and more particularly endeared as the champion of their quarrel with the churches, ministers and magis-

* "It is none of the endearingest considerations," he adds in the same letter, "that I have not had the present of a skin, or a pound of tobacco, since I came over." Froude, i. 334.

† Penn appears to have been deceived into this appointment by a repute of which Blackwell proved to have been totally undeserving. He apologized to the people of Pennsylvania for the unhappy consequences that resulted from it, by stating that he had acted for the best, and had not selected Blackwell till he had found it impossible to prevail with any quaker to accept the office of deputy governor; yet, he added withal, "I must say, I fear his peevishness to some friends (quakers) has not risen out of the dust without occasion." Froude, i. 340.

* In a letter, written by him to his friends in Pennsylvania in January, 1689, he says, "Great revolutions have been of late in this land of your nativity, and where they may period the Lord knows." He adds, that "to improve my interest with King James for tender consciences" had been the main cause of his detention so long in England. Froude, i. 341. From a letter of Leisler, who at this period acquired so much celebrity at New York (ante, B. v. cap. ii.), to Bishop Burnet, it appears that he considered Pennsylvania as one of the strongholds of the Jacobites in America, and that a considerable number of this party were then retiring from the other provinces to Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Chalmers, 697.

* Froude, i. 346-62. Clarkson, ii. 61. Penn seems to have expressed no disapprobation whatever of the conduct of Markham, of whom Proud indeed reports (i. 236) that "he had the proprietary's confidence and esteem till his death;" whence perhaps it may be inferred that the real purpose of Markham, in placing himself at the head of the factious counsellors of Delaware, was to retain over them an influence favorable to the authority of the proprietary.

trates of New England—a country which, by a numerous body of the quakers, was long regarded with a feeling to which it is difficult to give any other name than that of a vindictive dislike. [29] He had travelled in that country as a quaker preacher: and, adding the smart of personal controversy with the people to a resentment of the well-remembered wrongs which they had wreaked on his religious fraternity, he had accumulated against them a hoard of animosity, which all the prolixity of his publications seemed to be incapable of exhausting. With an animated vituperation, which was thought very savoury by the quakers as long as it was directed against their adversaries,* he had condemned the government of New England for the severities inflicted by it heretofore upon enthusiasts, with whose extravagance, as well as whose sufferings, it appeared that he himself was too much inclined to sympathise. Even those quakers, who were possessed of that moderate spirit which was gradually leavening the whole of their society, and was utterly opposed to the wild extravagance by which their brethren in New England had provoked their fate, were flattered by publications which artfully turned the shame of quakerism into its glory, and added the honors of martyrdom to the other evidences of their claim to a revival of primitive christianity. His eminent repute with his fellow sectaries had recommended him first to the appointment of surveyor-general of East Jersey, and more recently to the mastership of the quaker seminary of education established at Philadelphia. From real conviction, from an inveterate habit of controversy, or from ambitious desire to gain a still higher eminence among the quakers than he had already attained, he began at length to utter censures upon various particulars in the conduct and usage of his fellow sectaries in Pennsylvania. He complained that there was a great deal too much slackness in the system of quaker discipline, and that very loose and erroneous doctrine was taught by many of the quaker preachers. He insisted that, as the infliction and even the violent resistance of evil was inconsistent with Christian meekness and brotherly love, no quaker ought to be concerned in "the compelling part of government," and much less ought any such to retain negroes in a state of slavery.† His censures had in some respects a substantial reality, and in others at least a reasonable show, of just application, that rendered them only the more irritating to the minds of those whom he rebuked without being able to convince. Supported by a respectable company of adherents, and particularly in some of his views by the German emigrants, who from the first had protested against negro slavery as utterly inconsistent with quaker christianity, Keith appears to have encountered the opposition which his new doctrines received from the majority of the quakers, with as much vehemence as he had displayed in his previous contests with their common enemies. A regular trial of strength ensued between the two parties in the quaker society; and the adversaries of Keith, finding themselves supported by a majority, published a declaration or testimony of denial against him. In this curious production they expressed their deep regret of "the tedious exercise and vexatious perplexity" which their late friend, George Keith, had brought upon them. "With mourning," they declared, "and lamentation do we say,—How is this mighty man fallen!—How is his shield cast away!—How shall it be told in Gath!—Will not the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph?" They proceeded to accuse him of uttering against themselves "such unsavoury words and abusive language, as a person of common civility would loath;" and in particular with having assailed them on various occasions, "and upon small provocations, if any, that they were fools, ignorant heathens, silly souls, rotten ranters, and Muggletonians,

* On a retrospect of his character, however, after they themselves had become his adversaries, the quakers discovered that, even before his schism with them, and even in his treatment of the people of New England, he had "bad too much life in argument," had "exhibited an unbecoming vanity on victory thereby obtained by him over his opponents," and altogether conducted himself "in a very extravagant manner." Proud, i. 364.

† It is less remarkable that this latter feature of his doctrine should have been unnoticed by Proud, than that it should have escaped the observation of Clarkson, who, in his life of Penn, speaks of Keith with unmixed contempt; and in his history of the Abolition of the Slave Trade refers to a period four years later, as the era of the first effort of the American quakers to mitigate the evil of negro slavery. Gabriel Thomas, a quaker, contemporary with Keith, the friend of Penn, and the earliest historian of Pennsylvania, expressly ascribes to Keith the particular doctrine to which I allude; and Dr. Franklin, in one of his letters, mentions that he had seen the protestation against negro slavery, that was issued at this period by Keith and his followers.

with other names of that infamous strain, thereby to our grief, foaming out his own shame." They accused him of asserting that quakerism was too often a cloak of heresy and hypocrisy: and that more diabolical doctrine passed current among the quakers than among any other description of Protestant professors. As the climax of his contumacy, they alleged, that when they had "tenderly dealt" with him for his abusive language and disorderly behavior, he had insultingly answered, "that he trampled their judgment under his feet as dirt;" and that he had since set up a separate meeting, whose proceedings had rendered the religious reputation of the bulk of the quakers "a scorn to the profane, and the song of the drunkard."

Keith who had by this time collected around him a numerous concourse of adherents, whom he styled "Christian quakers," while he bestowed on all the rest of the quaker community the opprobrious title of "apostates," did not fail in answer this declaration by an address which contained a defence of himself and his principles, and an illustration of the various acts of apostasy committed by his adversaries. This publication presented so ludicrous a contrast between the sectarian principles and the magisterial conduct of these persons, that it fairly transported them beyond the bounds of quaker patience, and convinced them that what had been hitherto regarded as a mere ecclesiastical dispute, ought now to be resented as a political quarrel. They declared, that though a tender meekness should undoubtedly characterize their notice of offences committed against them in their capacity of quakers, yet a magisterial sternness was no less incumbent upon them, in the visitation of offences that tended to "lessen the lawful authority of the magistracy in the view of the baser sort of the people." Keith, the author of the address, and Bradford, the printer of it, were both (after an examination which the other magistrates refused to share with their quaker brethren) committed to prison; Bradford's printing press was seized, and both Keith and he were denounced, by proclamation, as seditious persons, and enemies of the royal authority in Pennsylvania. Bradford, who relied on the protection of English constitutional law, compelled his prosecutors to bring him to trial for the offences they had laid to his charge; but though he was acquitted by the verdict of a jury, he had incurred such pecuniary loss, and found himself the object of so much active dislike, that he was compelled to remove his printing establishment from Pennsylvania. Keith was brought to trial shortly after, along with Francis Budd, another quaker, for having, in a little work which was their joint production, falsely defamed a quaker magistrate, whom they had described as too high and imperious in worldly courts. They were found guilty, and sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds.† Retiring soon after to England, Keith published an account of the whole proceedings against him, in a pamphlet which he entitled "New England spirit of persecution transmitted to Pennsylvania, and the pretended quaker found persecuting the true quaker." So extensive was his influence, both in England and America, that for some time it was doubted whether he and his friends, or the party opposed to them, would succeed in eclipsing the others, and securing to themselves the exclusive possession of the quaker name. But the career of Keith, as a quaker, was suddenly abridged, and his influence in the society completely overthrown, by a consequence which it is probable that neither he nor his opponents anticipated from the commencement of their disputes. In the course of his labors in that wide field of controversy, which the attacks of his various adversaries in Pennsylvania and New England spread before him, Keith succeeded (to his own satisfaction at least) in refuting all the peculiar tenets, that had ever been common to himself and the quakers; and scorning to conceal the desertion of his original opinions, he hesitated

* These very words, long before addressed by William Penn to an English magistrate, who was committing him to Newgate (Clarkson, i. 100) for refusing to take an oath, had been hitherto current and respected among the quakers, as importing no more than a magnanimous contempt, or decent disdain. However deficient in meekness and courtesy, they were certainly much less so than a great deal of the language that, about this period, was exchanged between many of the quaker writers and their adversaries. One Bugg, a quaker, having about this time deserted the society and quarrelled with his friends, maintained a literary warfare with them that tended much more to promote the truth than the edification of mankind. I have seen an address to Bugg, from his ancient associates, in which they greeted him with numerous abusive allusions to the unseemliness of his name.

† Penn, writing to a friend in America, declares that the report of this trial had excited much disgust in England, and induced many to exclaim against the fitness of quakers to administer municipal authority. Proud, i. 376.

not to declare himself a convert from the quaker society, to the church of England. This secession was a death-blow to the influence of that party, which had hitherto espoused his sentiments; and which henceforward, either gradually coalescing with a more powerful majority, or peaceably submitting to a sentence of expulsion, contributed alike to the ascendancy of principles which originally it had hoped and intended to subvert. When Keith finally declared himself the antagonist of quakerism, he encountered the most active opposition from William Penn; but till then, the treatment which he had experienced in Pennsylvania, had been a source of the utmost regret and disapprobation to the proprietary.*

[1693.] The government that had been formed in England by the revolution, having now completed the arrangements that were necessary for its establishment and security at home, had leisure to extend its cares to the colonial communities at the extremity of the empire. In the histories of the other American settlements, we have seen instances of the eagerness which King William and his ministers evinced to appropriate to the crown the appointment of the provincial governors. The situation of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, together with various circumstances in the recent history of this province, presented a favorable opportunity of repeating the same policy, and, indeed, furnished a much more decent pretext for it than had been deemed sufficient to warrant an invasion of the rights of the proprietary of Maryland. Penn was generally suspected by the English people of adherence to the interests of his ancient patron James the Second; and in consequence of a charge of this nature (though supported only by falsehood and perjury†) he had absconded from judicial inquiry, and was living in concealment. In Pennsylvania the laws had been administered in the name of the banished king, long after the government of William and Mary had been recognised in the other colonies; and the dissensions which Keith's schism had excited were magnified into the appearance of disorders inconsistent with the honor of the British crown. Fortified with such pretexts for the royal interposition, King William issued a commission, depriving Penn of all authority in America, and investing the government of his territories in Colonel Fletcher, who had also been appointed the governor of New York. Penn, who regarded this proceeding as a tyrannical usurpation of his rights, adopted the strange defensive precaution of writing to Fletcher, beseeching him, on the score of private friendship, to refuse compliance with the king's commission; but an effort of this irregular description could not possibly avail him, and the government was quietly surrendered to Fletcher, who appointed, first Lloyd, and afterwards Markham, to act as his deputy. In the commission to Fletcher, no manner of regard had been expressed to the charter of Pennsylvania, and the main object of his policy was to obtain a recognition of the dependence of the province on the crown. This involved him in a series of disputes with the assembly, who passed an unanimous resolution, "that the laws of this province, which were in force and practice before the arrival of this present governor, are still in force;" but afterwards judged it expedient to acquiesce in the arrogation, that the liberty of conscience which they owed to the wisdom and virtue of William Penn and themselves, was bestowed on them by the grace and favor of the king. Farther than this, the governor found it impossible to bend them to his wishes. One object to which he strenuously labored to obtain their concurrence, [1694] was a general contribution in aid of the defence of the frontiers of New York against the arms of the French. Finding it necessary to reinforce, by argument, the authority of a royal letter which he produced for this purpose, he reminded them that the military operations carried on at this frontier contributed to the defence of the other colonies as well as New York, and that it was unjust to burden this province with the sole charge of proceedings which

* G. Thomas' Hist. of Pennsylvania, 52, 1. Proud, i. 345, 361.—376. Clarkson's Hist. of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, i. 136. Thomas' Hist. of Printing in America, ii. 10, 24. Proud's account of these proceedings bears evident marks of partiality. It is amusing to observe his grudge against Keith and Bradford for having dated a paper, which they published, from the prison to which they had been committed.

George Keith, after his embroilment of the doctrines of the Church of England, was sent back again as a missionary to America, by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and in his labors to convert the Indians, is said to have been much more successful than any of the votaries of his torquer tenets. Oldmixon, i. 146.

† The author of the charge from which Penn withdrew himself, was the notorious Fuller, who was afterwards condemned to the pillory, for the detected falsehood of the charges which he had preferred against other distinguished persons.

were indispensable to the general safety. He was aware, he said, that the quaker principles which prevailed among them forbade not only the carrying of arms, but the levying of money even for the support of defensive war; but he hoped they would not refuse to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, which were certainly Christian virtues, and which the hunger and nakedness of the Indian allies of New York now presented them with a favorable opportunity of exercising. This ingenious casuistry, which the quakers might well have regarded rather as an affront to their understandings than a concession to their principles, proved on the present occasion, quite unavailing; to the no small displeasure of William Penn, who, on being reinstated in his government, reproached the assembly with their refusal to contribute towards the common defence, and desired that a sum of money for this purpose should forthwith be levied and remitted to New York.

In addition to the other disappointments and misfortunes that had recently befallen the proprietary of Pennsylvania, he had now to lament a sensible diminution of the esteem he had enjoyed with the members of his religious society in England. They reproached him with having meddled more with politics, and the concerns of the English government, than became a member of their Christian body; and would not admit the benevolent motives of his conduct, or the benefit which they themselves had personally reaped from it, as a sufficient apology for the scandal it had created, and the evil example it had afforded.* In the midst of so many adverse circumstances, involving the desertion of ancient friends, and the disappointment of almost every object of temporal satisfaction which he had proposed to himself, his retirement was penetrated by the grateful kindness of that illustrious man, whom once, in circumstances resembling his own present situation, he had endeavored to befriend. John Locke, who was now in the enjoyment of considerable favor at the English court, convinced of Penn's innocence, and mindful of the friendly intercession which Penn had made in his behalf with King James, when he was an exile in Holland, offered to employ his interest to procure him a pardon from King William. But the dignity of Penn's virtue was rather elevated than depressed by adversity; and emulating the magnanimity by which his own similar kindness had been formerly rejected by Locke, he declared, that, as he had done nothing unworthy, he would not consent to stain his reputation by accepting a pardon.† The retirement thus virtuously preserved, contributed no less to the refinement of his character than to the extension of his fame: and was signalled by the publication of a series of literary performances replete with learning, genius, and mild benevolence.

In a short time, the clouds that had gathered around his fortune began to disperse; the quakers became completely reconciled, and as much attached as ever to him; and the good offices of Lord Somers, Locke, and other friends, concurring with the justice of his cause, and the detection of impostures committed by one of his accusers, succeeded in undeceiving the English court, and obviated every pretence for continuing to exclude him from the enjoyment of the privileges conferred on him by the charter of Pennsylvania. A royal warrant was accordingly issued for reinstating him in his proprietary functions; in the exercise of which he proceeded forthwith to invest his kinsman, Markham, with the office of deputy-governor, of his whole territories—thus again re-uniting the executive administration of Pennsylvania and Delaware.‡

* Lower, a quaker, the friend of Penn, and in good repute with the rest of the society, undertook to mediate a reconciliation between them, and for this purpose drew up the following apology, which was to be subscribed and distributed by Penn: "If any things, during these late revolutions, I have concerned myself, either by words or writings (in love, pity, or good-will to any in distress), farther than consisted with truth's honor or the church's peace, I am sorry for it; and the government having passed it by, I desire that it may be by you also." Clarkson, i. 98. Whether this apology was presented or not, is unknown: but a reconciliation took place shortly after between Penn and the quakers.

† This was not the only point of similarity in the histories of these distinguished persons. Both had been the dupes of very bad men (Shaftesbury and James the Second), and both suffered unjustly for their connexion with them. Both were expelled from the university of Oxford.

‡ Proud, i. 400—404. Clarkson, 277. 97. Mr. Clarkson's statements that this warrant was expressed in a manner particularly creditable to William Penn, is erroneous. The abstract he has given of its import is equally so, and shows him to have been misled by some defective copy of the instrument, which in reality commenced in this manner:—"Whereas upon information, that, by reason of great miscarriages in the government of our province of Pennsylvania, in America, and the absence of the proprietor, the same was fallen into disorder and confusion," &c. The reason assigned for restoring him is, that he "has given us good assurance that he will take care of the government of our said province and territories, and provide for the safety and security thereof."

Pennsylvania, meanwhile, continued to increase its population with such rapidity, that, about this period, [1695] the number of inhabitants (exclusive of negro slaves), was estimated at twenty thousand. A considerable change was observed soon after the English Revolution in the character of the emigrants, who, though generally respectable persons, yet showed very plainly, in many parts of their conduct, and especially in their reluctance to embrace the measures that were proposed for mitigating the evils of negro slavery, that views of temporal enrichment had much more powerfully influenced them in resorting to America than religious zeal. The formality of apparel and simplicity of manners peculiar to the constitutions of the quakers, served to purify their body by confining its attractions to sober-minded men; and enforced the example of industry; by increasing its efficacy in conducting to a plentiful estate. But the temporal advantages thus closely associated with quaker manners had latterly tended to produce a practical relaxation of the strictness and spirituality of quaker principles, and to adulterate the motives from which the profession of these principles was embraced. The attractions of Pennsylvania as a sanctuary of liberty of conscience had been comparatively diminished to the English dissenters by the Revolution; but its attractions, in other respects, continued unabated, and, by the widely-diffused influence and correspondence of Penn, were circulated through all parts of the British empire. Already many persons who in England had found it difficult to gain a livelihood, had in Pennsylvania amassed estates, to the value, some, of many thousands, more of many hundreds of pounds. The accounts that were published in England of the wages of labor in the province attracted thither a considerable number of persons in the humblest walks of life, who had the expenses of their transportation defrayed by the wealthier individuals, to whom for a series of years, they engaged themselves as servants. But the improvement in the condition of these people was so rapid, that a want of laborers, and the exorbitance of the wages that were necessary to retain free men in that condition, were continual subjects of complaint. These circumstances, concurring with the example of the neighboring colonies, had originally introduced, and now continued to prolong, the subsistence of negro slavery in the province; and this vile institution, by degrading servitude, and rendering it a condition still more undesirable to free men, promoted the causes from which itself had arisen. It required more virtue than even the quakers were yet capable of exerting to defend themselves from the contagion of this evil, and to induce them to divide the produce of their lands with their laborers, in such proportions as might have enabled them to employ only free labor in their cultivation.

During the interval that elapsed between the restoration of Penn to his proprietary authority, and his second visit to his people, [1696] some change was introduced into the form of the provincial constitution. Markham had repeatedly pressed the assembly to authorize the levy of a sum of money, to be remitted to the governor of New York, for the support of the war; or, as it was decently declared, for the relief of the poor Indians; and Penn, in his letters from England, had reinforced this application by declaring, that the preservation of the proprietary government would again be endangered by their refusal to comply with it. This appeared to the assembly a favorable opportunity of obtaining a change which they had long desired to effect, in the distribution of the legislative functions between themselves and the governor and council; and showing plainly that, without this equivalent, they were determined not to waive their scruples to a contribution for hostile purposes, they compelled Markham to consent to the passing of a new act of settlement, which formed the third frame or charter of the Pennsylvanian constitution. By this new compact, it was provided, that from each county there should be chosen only two persons to represent the people in council, and four as their representatives in assembly; the council being thus reduced in number from eighteen to twelve, and the assembly from thirty-six to twenty-four. It was further stipulated, that the assembly should regulate its own adjournments, and should be no longer confined to a simple assent or negation to legislative propositions originating with the governor and council, but should share with them the privilege of preparing and proposing laws. On receiving this boon, the assembly passed an order for raising the sum of three hundred pounds, to be remitted to the governor of New York, for the relief of the distressed Indians on the frontiers of his province.* Governor Fletcher wrote

to Markham in the following year, [1697] declaring that the money had been faithfully applied to the feeding and clothing of the Indians, and desiring a fresh supply for the same benevolent purpose. The assembly, in reply to this proposition, desired that their thanks might be conveyed to Fletcher for "his regard and candor to them" in applying their former remittance to the use they had intended; adding, that although, for the present, they must decline to impose farther burdens on the province, they would always be ready to observe the king's farther commands, "according to their religious persuasions and abilities." Thus early did the quakers experience the difficulty of reconciling their religious principles with the administration of political power. It was but a few years after, when, in answer to a requisition from William Penn, in the king's name, for a sum expressly intended for the erection of forts and batteries at New York, the Pennsylvanian assembly assigned their poverty, and the partiality which imposed upon them so many exactions from which other and older colonies were exempted, as the only reasons for deferring to comply with the king's commands, "so far as their abilities and religious persuasions shall permit." This *salvo*, which was always inserted on such occasions, for the honor of quaker consistency, never prevented the quakers of Pennsylvania from contributing, as the subjects of a military government, their full contingent to the sinews of war. In voting grants of money which were expressly demanded, and which they well knew would be employed to impel the rage of war, and reward the ferocity of savages whom they had professed their anxious desire to convert and civilize, it was always attempted by the substitution of some other alleged purpose, to shift the sin from themselves to their military superiors, or at least to draw a decent veil over concessions which they could neither withhold nor avow.* This veil was not without its use, if it contributed to maintain among the Pennsylvanian quakers that respect for their pacific tenets which they displayed in the following century, when the English government, endeavoring to push them into a still more active and unequivocal co-operation with military measures, they sacrificed to their principles the possession of political power. To the real dereliction of these principles, however, which was suffered to gain admission among them under the cover of this veil, may perhaps, in part, be ascribed that schism which produced the sect or party of *Free Quakers*, who, during the war of independence, took arms against Great Britain, and have since continued to profess the lawfulness of defensive war.

1698—99.] The colony continued to glide on for some time in a course of tranquil prosperity, interrupted at length by an event which had been now too long deferred to be capable of producing the beneficial consequences which at one time were fondly expected to ensue from it—the return of the proprietary to his American dominions. On this second occasion, accompanied by his family, and professing his intention to spend the remainder of his life in Pennsylvania, his arrival was hailed with general, if not universal satisfaction,—of which the only visible abatement was created by the first visitation of that dreadful epidemic the yellow fever (since so fatally prevalent) at Philadelphia.† Some young men having ventured, in opposition to the commands of the magistrates, to salute the proprietary on his arrival with a discharge of artillery, performed this operation so awkwardly, as to occasion a severe injury to themselves; which the quakers seem to have regarded as a providential rebuke of a tribute so unsuitable to a member of their fraternity. The very first transactions that took place between Penn and his provincial assembly were but ill calculated

governor of Carolina, introduced into this province a law for the formation of a militia.

* Dr. Franklin mentions an instance some years after, of a requisition addressed to the assembly of Pennsylvania, of a grant of £2000 for the purchase of gunpowder; to which the assembly replied, that, consistently with quaker principles, they could not grant a farthing for such a purpose, but had voted £2000 for the purchase of grain. Various instances of accession to war, still more unambiguous, on the part of the American quakers, are related in Kalin's Travels in North America, vol. i.

† Thomas Story, an eminent preacher among the quakers, and afterwards recorder of Philadelphia, thus describes the impression produced by the prevalence of this epidemic:—"Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord; great was the fear that fell upon all flesh; I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor extravagant feasting to excite above measure the lusts of the flesh; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar." Proud, vol. i. p. 422. How different this from Thucydides' description of the increased gaiety and profligacy produced by the plague at Athens.

* It was almost at the same time that Archdale, the quaker

ted to promote their mutual satisfaction. In the history of some of the other settlements (and particularly of Carolina and New York,) we have seen that the American seas were at this time infested by pirates, whose prodigal expenditure of money among their entertainers, and whose readiness to assist in evading the obnoxious acts of navigation, recommended them too successfully to the countenance of many of the North American colonists. Pennsylvania had not escaped this reproach, which Penn had communicated in letters to the assembly; by whom, while laws were readily enacted against the practices imputed to them, proclamations had at the same time been issued, declaring in the strongest terms that these imputations were unfounded. This disagreeable subject was resumed immediately after the arrival of Penn; and though the assembly still complained of the injustice of the reproach, it was found necessary to expel from it one of its members, the son-in-law of Colonel Markham, who was suspected of participating, or at least countenancing piracy. Still more productive of uneasiness were the applications which Penn was compelled by the British government to address to his assembly for levying money to be expended on military operations at New York; and which were answered only by complaints of the hardship of these exactions, and protestations of the inability of the province to comply with them. But the most signal and unhappy disagreement that occurred between Penn and the assembly, arose from the measures which he now suggested for improving the treatment of negro slaves, and correcting abuses that had occurred in the intercourse between the colonists and the Indians.

It was impossible that the evils of slavery, and the repugnance of such an inhuman institution to the duties of Christianity, which Baxter, Tryon, and other writers had already pressed upon the attention of the protestant inhabitants of Christendom, could escape the sense of those benevolent sectaries, who professed to exhibit a peculiar conformity to the mildest and most self-denying precepts of the gospel. When George Fox, the founder of this sect, paid a visit to Barbadoes in 1671, he found the quakers, as well as the other white inhabitants, in possession of slaves. "Respecting their negroes," he relates among his other admonitions to the quaker planters, "I desired them to endeavor to train them up in the fear of God, as well those that were bought with their money, as those that were born in their families. I desired also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude, they should make them free.*" How conscientiously the quakers complied with this admonition is apparent, from a law passed by the legislature of Barbadoes five years after, commanding them to desist from giving instruction to negroes, and in particular from admitting them to their religious assemblages;† and how magnanimously they persisted to do their duty in the face of this unchristian command, may be inferred from an enactment of the same legislature in the following year, imposing a penalty on any shipmaster who should bring a quaker to the island. The prosecution of such measures, and the adoption of a similar policy in others of the West India plantations, succeeded in banishing from these settlements an example which might have been attended with the most beneficial consequences to the interests of the planters and the happiness of the negroes; and compelled many quaker planters to emigrate to America, where they brought with them their modified opinions on the subject of slavery. Many of them probably entertained the intention of an entire compliance with the admonition of Fox, by setting their negroes at liberty after certain years of servitude; but this purpose was easily overpowered by the sophistry and temptation of self-inter-

rest, the contagion of general example, and the influence of habit in blunting the feelings of humanity.

By his acquisition of the Delaware territory, it is probable that Penn, on coming to the possession of his American domains, found the system of negro slavery already established within them. During his first visit, it appears that a few negroes were imported into Pennsylvania, and were purchased by the quakers, as well as the other settlers. While the scarcity of laborers enforced the temptation to this practice, the kindness of quaker manners contributed to soften its evil and veil its iniquity; and it was not till the year 1688, that the repugnance of slavery itself, however disguised to the tenets of Christianity, was first suggested to the Pennsylvanians by the emigrants who had resorted to them from Germany. Whatever taint the practice of the quakers might have derived from human infirmity, they were still anxious as a body to maintain the theoretical purity of their principles; and accordingly, in compliance with the suggestion of the Germans, a resolution declaratory of this undeniable truth was passed in the same year, by the annual meeting of the quakers of Pennsylvania. The effect of this generous homage to religious truth and the rights of human nature, however, was not carried beyond a practical exemption of the slaves of the quakers, from evils not inevitably inherent in the system of bondage. George Keith, as we have seen, made an attempt, in 1692, to bring the practice of his fellow-sectaries into a closer accommodation to their theory. But his violence and irregularity were not calculated to recommend his dictates to general esteem; and the increasing number of the slaves, together with the diversities of character among the colonists (to which I have already adverted), rendered the emancipation of the negroes increasingly improbable. In the year 1696, the annual meeting of the Pennsylvanian quakers repeated their former declaration, adding to it an earnest admonition to the members of their society, to refrain from all farther importations of negro slaves; but no other immediate effect seems to have resulted from this measure, than an increased concern for the welfare of the negroes, who in some instances were admitted to attend divine worship in the same meeting-houses with their quaker masters.

On his second arrival in America, [1700] Penn seems very soon to have perceived, that from the varieties of character among his colonists, and the inevitable tendency of absolute power to abuse, the negro slavery of Pennsylvania too much resembled, in some instances, the features of the same institution in other places. He was mortified with the discovery, at the same time, of numerous frauds and abuses that disgraced the character of the colonists in their traffic with the Indians. With the view of providing a remedy for both these evils, he presented to the assembly three bills which he had himself prepared; the first, for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes; the second, for regulating the trials and punishments of the negroes; and the third, for preventing abuses and frauds upon the Indians. The assembly instantly negatived the first and last of these bills; acceding only to that which related to the trial and the punishment of their slaves. No account is transmitted of any discussion or debate on the bills which were rejected; and indeed it is probable that the assembly, in this instance, were glad to confine themselves to the ancient formula of simply approving or rejecting the bills presented to them. But it is said by one of the biographers of Penn, that the feelings of the proprietary received a convulsive shock on the occasion. He had indeed been unanimously supported by his council, which consisted entirely of quakers, in proposing the bills; but he had seen them decisively negatived by an assembly, of which a great majority consisted of persons of the same religious persuasion. Though disappointed of the more extensive influence, which as a political legislator he had hoped to exercise, he was yet able, in his ecclesiastical ministry among the quakers, to introduce into their discipline regulations and practices relative to the purposes of the rejected bills, the spirit of which, at least, was by the example of this powerful sect forcibly recommended to general imitation. Monthly meetings were enacted among the quakers, for the religious and moral education of their negro slaves; and regular conferences were arranged with the Indians, for communicating to them whatever instruction they could be prevailed on to accept. Penn finally obtained leave, or at least, took it upon himself to make a treaty with the Indians, by which they acknowledged themselves subjects of the British crown, and amenable to the provincial laws; and by which certain regulations were prescribed, for

preventing frauds upon them in their commercial dealings with the white population.

Thus was cherished in the quaker society a principle which about fifty years after obtained the signal triumph of procuring emancipation to all the negroes in America belonging to quakers; and thus, meanwhile, was cherished in the general body of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania a sense of what was due to the claims of human nature, which obtained for the slaves in this province a treatment far kinder and more equitable than they enjoyed in any other of the American states. Notwithstanding the encouragement afforded by the British government to the importation of negroes into all the American settlements, the slaves in Pennsylvania never formed more than a very insignificant fraction of the whole population of the province. Slavery subsisted longer in Delaware; and the slaves in this settlement, though not numerous, were rather more so than in the larger province of Pennsylvania.*

In addition to the other disagreeable impressions of which his second visit to America had been productive, William Penn had now the mortification of witnessing a revival of the jealousies between Delaware and Pennsylvania, and the inefficacy of all his efforts to promote a cordial union between the inhabitants of these countries. As a remedy for their mutual dissatisfaction, he had prepared a change in the frame of government; but the adjustment of this compact tended rather to inflame than allay the existing disputes. He endeavored to defer the extremity to which their disputes manifestly tended, by various acts of conciliation towards the weaker and more jealous party, and particularly by convoking at Newcastle, the metropolis of Delaware, another assembly, which was held in the close of this year. But although he succeeded after many efforts in obtaining from this assembly a subsidy for the support of his government, and made some progress in arranging with them the terms of a new charter or frame of government, the mutual jealousies between the two settlements were displayed with such unreserve, that in almost every topic of consideration, the Delaware representatives, to a man, voted exactly the reverse of whatever was proposed or approved by the Pennsylvanians. The subsidy amounted to 2000*l.* of which 1573*l.* was the proportion imposed upon Pennsylvania, and the remainder upon Delaware. It was unwise, perhaps, of Penn to invite his people to the acceptance of a new social compact, at a time when they were so much heated by mutual jealousy, and when the union between the two settlements was evidently so precarious. It afforded a pretext not long after for taxing him with converting the public distractions to his own advantage, and effectuating devices for the enlargement of his own power, while the minds of his people were too much occupied [1701] with their mutual dissensions to perceive the drift of his propositions.

But Penn had now determined again to leave America, and return to England; and while he naturally desired to have some frame of government finally established before his departure, his recent experience had doubtless impressed him with the conviction, that an extension of his own authority would render the constitution more subservient to the welfare of the people, and afford a freer scope to the promotion of views, and the exertion of influence, which must always be impartially directed to the general advantage.

In the last assembly, which he held before his departure, he had occasion to exert all his authority and address to prevent the representatives of Delaware and Pennsylvania from coming to an open rupture, and also to guard his own interests in the sale and lease of vacant lands, from an attempt of the assembly to exercise a

* Fox's Journal (3d edit.) 431. An earlier and more uncompromising resistance to slavery was made by some of the clergy of the church of Rome. At St. Luiz, in the year 1653, the celebrated Jesuit Vieira scrupled not from the pulpit to declare, to a congregation of slave owners, that no man could hold a negro in slavery, without devoting his own soul to eternal slavery in hell. Southey's History of Brazil. Part II. cap. 25. This discourse, which Mr. Southey has preserved at full length, is, perhaps, the most eloquent and powerful denunciation of the system of slavery that ever was uttered or written by priest or layman.

† Oldmixon, vol. ii. p. 38. The preamble of this law sets forth, that "Whereas many negroes have suffered to remain at the meeting of quakers as hearers of their doctrine, and taught in their principles, whereby the safety of this island may be much hazarded," &c. We find the legislature of Barbadoes, an hundred and fifty years after, enacting similar laws against the methodist teachers and preachers, and declaring that their doctrines were fitted to turn the world upside down,

* Proud, vol. i. p. 423. 428—432. Clarkson's Abolition of the Slave Trade, vol. i. p. 136, 137. Ibid. Life of Penn, vol. ii. p. 218, 219, 225. Winterbotham, vol. ii. p. 417. Warden, vol. ii. p. 69, 125. In the course of his ministerial labors at this time, Penn visited his quaker brethren in Maryland, and appears to have been received in a friendly manner by his ancient adversary Lord Baltimore, who with his lady accompanied him to a quaker meeting. Penn regretted, for the sake of his noble companions, that the fervor of the meeting had subsided before their entrance; and lady Baltimore declared herself disappointed of the diversion she had expected. He had also various interviews with the Indians, who listened to him willingly as long as he confined himself to general allusions to religion. But when he desired on one occasion to direct their minds to the search of an internal manifestation of the Redeemer of the human race, his interpreter declared that there were no words in the Indian tongue that were capable of conveying such a notion.

To Penn, himself, the Indians very readily paid a degree of respect, which they refused to extend to his religious tenets. Many of them believed him a being of a higher order than the rest of mankind; "nor could they for a long time credit the news of his death, not believing him subject to the accidents of nature." Farmer's View of the Policy of Great Britain, &c. (A. D. 1764.) p. 60.

control over them. A great many laws were passed; of which the most remarkable were, for the establishment of a post-office, for the punishment of the vices of scolding and drunkenness; for restraining the practice of drinking healths, and for the destruction of wolves. But the most important proceeding on this occasion was the enactment of the new charter or frame of government, which Penn finally tendered to the assembly, and prevailed with six parts in seven of that body to accept, and even thankfully acknowledge. By this charter, it was provided (in conformity with the frame of 1696) that an assembly should be annually chosen by the freemen, to consist of four persons out of each county, or of a greater number, if the governor and assembly should so agree; that this assembly should choose its own officers, and be the sole judges of the qualifications and elections of the members; that it should prepare bills, impeach criminals, and redress grievances; and possess all the other powers and privileges of an assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and the customs observed in any of the king's plantations in America. The governor was empowered to summon, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly; to nominate his council; to discharge singly the whole executive functions of government, and to share the legislative, by affirming or rejecting the bills of the assembly.* It was declared that liberty of conscience should be inviolably preserved; that Christians of every denomination should be qualified to fill the offices of government; and that no act or ordinance should ever be made to alter or diminish the form or effect of this charter, without the consent of the governor for the time being, and six parts in seven of the assembly. But as it was now plainly foreseen that the representatives of the province, and those of the territories, would not long continue to unite in legislation, it was provided that they should be allowed to separate within three years from the date of the charter; and should enjoy the same privileges when separated as when connected. In the exercise of the new authority thus invested in himself, Penn proceeded to nominate a council of state, to consult with and assist the governor or his deputy, and to exercise his functions in case of his death or absence. The office of deputy-governor he bestowed on Colonel Andrew Hamilton, who had formerly been governor of New Jersey.

One of the last acts which he performed before his departure, the incorporation, by charter, of the city of Philadelphia, has been justly charged with great illiberality: though, according to the apology that has been suggested for it, the blame must be divided between himself and others. By this charter, he nominated the first mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common councilmen of the city; and among other privileges and franchises, empowered them to elect their successors in office, and even to increase their own number at pleasure. The city lands were granted to them, by the style of the mayor and commonalty of the city of Philadelphia; but the commonalty had no share in the government or estate of the city; the civic functionaries being self-elective, and not accountable to their fellow-citizens in any respect. It has been said that this municipal constitution, which was copied from the charter of the town of Bristol in England, was accorded by Penn to the desires of certain of his colonists who were natives of that place; and it is admitted that the functionaries whom he himself named, were men of integrity and abilities. But the possession of power, divested of control and responsibility, produced its usual effect on this corporate body; and the abuse engendered by its administration, were from a very early period a continual theme of discontent and complaint to the inhabitants of the city and the provincial assembly. Having finished these proceedings, and once more renewed a friendly league with the Indians, Penn communicated to his people an adieu, friendly and benevolent, but far less affectionate than his former valediction; and embarking with his family, returned to England.

The only reason that Penn assigned to his people for this second departure was the intelligence he had re-

ceived of a project of the English ministers to abolish all the proprietary jurisdictions in North America, and the necessity of his own appearance in England to oppose a proceeding so derogatory to his interest: but as he found on his arrival in this country, that the measure had been abandoned, and yet never again returned to America, it seems very unlikely that this was the sole or even the chief reason for his conduct. The disagreements that had taken place between himself and his colonists, had rendered their intercourse far less satisfactory than he could have desired, and induced him to supply the inadequacy of his own personal influence by a large addition to his political power; and from the numerous demands of the British government for contributions, in aid of military purposes, it was manifest that this power must be frequently exerted for the attainment of objects which, as a professor of quakerism, he could pursue with more decency and more vigor by the intervention of a deputy, than by his own personal agency. The disagreeable tidings that pursued him from America must have increased his aversion to return thither: and the favor he enjoyed with queen Anne on her accession, [1702] perhaps reawakened the views and hopes that had led him once before to prefer the courtly shades of Kensington, to the wild woods of Pennsylvania. His attendance at court, however, was soon interrupted by the perplexity and embarrassment of his private affairs (arising from the fraud of his steward), which compelled him to mortgage his American territory; and the same cause, concurring with increased dissensions between him and the colonists, induced him subsequently to bargain with the British government for a sale of his proprietary functions.* The completion of the bargain, however, was prevented by his death, which transmitted the proprietary government to his descendants, by whom it was enjoyed till the period of the American revolution.

Penn had scarcely quitted America when the disputes between the province and the territories broke forth with greater bitterness than ever. The Delaware representatives protested against the charter; and, refusing to sit in the same assembly with the Pennsylvanian representatives, chose a separate place of meeting for themselves in Philadelphia. After continuing for some time to indulge their jealous humor, and to enjoy whatever satisfaction they could find in separate legislation, [1703] they were persuaded by the successor of Hamilton, Governor Evans (who was much more agreeable to them than to the people of Pennsylvania,) to evince a more reasonable temper, and to propose a reunion with the Pennsylvanian assembly. But this body, provoked with the refractoriness which the Delaware representatives had already displayed, now refused to listen to their overtures of reconciliation. The breach thus became irreparable, and in the following year [1704] the separate legislature of Delaware was permanently established at Newcastle. In addition to the tidings of these prolonged disagreements and final rupture between the two settlements, Penn was harassed by complaints against the government of Evans, whose exertions to promote a militia, though they rendered him popular in Delaware, made him odious in Pennsylvania. Deriding the pious scruples of the quakers, [1706] Evans falsely proclaimed the approach of a hostile invasion, and invited all who were willing to join him to take arms against the enemy. A few individuals, and among these, four quakers, duped by this stratagem, flew to arms, and prepared to repel the threatened attack. But the chief effect of the proclamation was to cause many persons to bury their plate and money, and to fly from their homes; and the detection of the falsehood was followed by an impeachment of the governor, and of Logan the secretary of the province, who though innocent of accession to the fraud, made himself suspected, by endeavoring to palliate the guilt of it. Penn, however, supported these accused officers, and thereby increased the displeasure that was beginning to prevail in the province against himself. He was now very little disposed to look with favor on the proceedings of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania; who, no longer engrossed with their disputes with the people of Delaware, began to scan with very dissatisfied eyes the whole course of his proceedings with respect to themselves. The assembly of Pennsylvania not only assailed him with repeated demands, that the quit-rents, which he deemed his own private estate, should be appropriated to the support of the provincial government, but transmitted to him a remonstrance, entitled *Heads of Complaint*, in which they alleged that it was by his artifices that the several char-

ters granted at the first settling of the province had been defeated; that he had violated his original compact by the recent stretch of his authority so far beyond the limits within which he had engaged to confine it; and that he had received large sums of money during his last visit to the province, in return for benefits which he had promised to procure, but had never yet obtained for the people from the English government. They censured the original annexation of Delaware to Pennsylvania; reminding him that his title to the government of Delaware, not having been founded on a royal grant, was from the first very precarious; and lamenting with great grief that the privileges granted to the Pennsylvanians by his first charters, had been exposed to perish with the baseless fabric of the Delaware institutions with which he had associated them. Numerous extortions of his officers were at the same time complained of; and these were attributed to his refusal, in the year 1701, to affirm a bill that had been framed by the assembly for the regulation of official fees. Probably some of these complaints were founded in misapprehension, or suggested by factions malignity; and doubtless the discontent, which both on this and other occasions was expressed towards the proprietary, owed in some degree its origin to the peculiar relation which he held with the members of his own religious society in the province. They had always regarded the civil and political institutions of Pennsylvania as subordinate to the establishment and liberal encouragement of quakerism, and expected a degree of equality to result from the legislation of a quaker minister, which they would never have looked for from a lawgiver of any other persuasion. His own assurances, at the beginning, that in acquiring the province, his main purpose was to serve the truth and people of God, (which they understood to signify quakerism and the quakers,) contributed to exaggerate their expectations in this respect.

Indignant at these charges against himself, and prejudiced by this feeling against the accusers of Evans, Penn continued to maintain this worthless individual in the office he had conferred on him, till his conduct had gone far to excite the people of Delaware to actual hostilities against their Pennsylvanian neighbors, in prosecution of an unjust demand for a toll on the navigation of the Delaware, which Evans had suggested to them. Receiving complaints of this, as well as of other instances of official malversation, on the part of his deputy-governor, and having ascertained, by a deliberate examination of them, that they were too well founded, Penn hesitated no longer to supersede Evans, and appointed in his place Charles Gookin, a gentleman of ancient Irish family, sometime retired from the army, in which he had served with repute; and who seemed qualified, by his age, experience, and the mildness of his manners, to give satisfaction to the people over whom he was sent to preside. Gookin carried out with him an affectionate letter from Penn to the assembly, in which their recent disagreements were passed over without any other notice than what may be inferred from a recommendation to his people as well as himself, of that humility with which men ought to remember their own imperfections, and that charity with which they ought to cover the infirmities of others. But the assembly were not so to be pacified. While they congratulated Gookin on his arrival, [1709] they revived in their address every topic of complaint that they had ever before preferred. Their ill-humor was augmented by the number of applications which Gookin was from time to time compelled to make, in the queen's name, for contributions in aid of the various military operations that related more immediately to the American colonies. To all these applications, the assembly invariably answered, that their religious principles would not suffer them to contribute to the support of war; but they voted the sums that were demanded as *pre-sents* to the queen.

Finding his people not so easily intreated to conciliation as he had hoped, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year,* for the last time addressed the assembly, in a letter replete with calm solemnity, and dignified concern. It was a mournful consideration to him, he said, that he was forced by the oppressions and disappointments which had fallen to his share in this life, to speak to the people of that province in a language he once hoped never to have occasion to employ. [1710] In a style of serious remonstrance he appealed to them, if, at the expense of his own fortune and personal care, he had not conducted them into a land where prosperity

* Mr. Clarkson has omitted to notice this important innovation, in his abstract of their charter. Dr. Franklin (in his *Historical Review*, &c.) comparing it with the corresponding innovation in favor of the assembly, admits, that, "upon the whole there was much more reason for acknowledgments than complaints."

† No mention is made of the royal approbation of this appointment, which is expressly referred to in the appointment of Evans, the successor of Hamilton. By an act of parliament, already noticed in the history of Maryland, it was requisite now that all the acting governors in the proprietary jurisdictions should be approved by the king.

* He demanded as the price of this surrender £20,000, but agreed to accept £12,000.

* Mr. Clarkson has miscalculated in supposing that Penn was in his seventieth year when he wrote this letter. Penn was born on the 14th October, 1644.

and liberty, far beyond the common lot of mankind, had been made their portion; and if this work of his hand, had yielded him aught else than the sorrow, disquiet, and poverty, that now depressed his old age.* "I must desire you all," he proceeded, "in a serious and true weightiness of mind, to consider what you are, or have been doing; why matters must be carried on with these divisions and contentions; and what real causes have been given on my side for that opposition to me and my interest which I have met with, as if I were an enemy, and not a friend, after all I have done. I am sure I know not of any cause whatsoever. Were I sensible you really wanted any thing of me, in the relation between us, that would make you happier, I could readily grant it, if any reasonable man would say it were fit for you to demand." He entered into a long deduction of the various alterations that the constitution of the province had received, and endeavored to show that every one had arisen out of inconveniences of which all had been sensible at the time, and which all had willingly united in thus correcting. It was right, he contended, that the proprietary, who was personally responsible to the crown, for an administration conformable to the provincial charter, should be vested exclusively with the executive power. He could no longer, he said, impute the treatment he had met with, to mistakes in judgment,—seeing that he had such injuries to complain of as repeated attacks on his reputation; numerous indignities offered to him in papers sent over to England, by the hands of men who could not be expected to make the most discreet and charitable use of them; insinuations against his integrity; attempts upon his estate; and disfavor shown to individuals (particularly Logan, the secretary of the province) on account of their well known attachment to him. "I cannot but mourn," he added, "the unhappiness of my portion dealt to me from those, of whom I had reason to expect much better and different things; nor can I but lament the unhappiness that too many are bringing on themselves, who, instead of pursuing the amicable ways of peace, love, and unity, which I at first hoped to find in that retirement, are cherishing a spirit of contention and opposition, and, blind to their own interest, are oversetting that foundation on which your happiness might be built. Friends! the eyes of many are upon you: the people of many nations of Europe look on that country as a land of ease and quiet, wishing to themselves in vain the same blessings they conceive you may enjoy: but to see the use you make of them, is no less the cause of surprise." He concluded by declaring, that the opposition he had received from them, must at length force him to consider more closely his own private and declining circumstances in relation to the province. He was willing to continue his kindness to them, if they should think him deserving of reciprocal regard. If it should be otherwise deemed by a majority among them, let them say so at once; and he would know what he had to rely on. And yet he would hope that God might so direct them by the impartment of heavenly wisdom and holy fear, that "we may once more meet good friends, and live so to the end."

This letter is said to have produced a deep and powerful impression on the more considerate part of the assembly, who now began to feel for the father of his country, and regard with tenderness his venerable age; to remember his long labors, and to appreciate their own interest in his distinguished fame. These sentiments were rapidly propagated throughout the province; and their effect was apparent at the next annual election, when not one of the persons who had demonstrated enmity to Penn, and excited the rest of their countrymen to think unfavorably of him, was returned to the provincial assembly. But it is more than doubtful if this change of sentiment was ever known to its illustrious object, who was attacked shortly after by a succession of apoplectic fits, which suspending in a great degree the exercise of his memory and understanding, prevented him alike from completing an arrangement he had made with the crown for the sale of his proprietary rights, and from receiving the intelligence that would have induced him to consider such an arrangement unnecessary. [30.]

* Notwithstanding this desponding strain, it is manifest from Penn's competition with Locke for the praise of superior legislation (see a note to B. III. ante), that he was by no means insensible to the imperishable fame assured to him as the founder of Pennsylvania. The services of Penn were not only more liberally remunerated, but more gratefully remembered by his people, than were those of Lord Baltimore by the colonists of Maryland.

Little remains to be added to the view that has already been exhibited of the civil and political institutions of Pennsylvania and Delaware, at the close of the seventeenth century. Pennsylvania continued to retain the constitution enacted by Penn's last charter, in 1701, till the era of American independence; and Delaware continued to enjoy its own assembly, and to be subject to the executive administration of the governor of Pennsylvania till the year 1755, when it was formally erected into a separate state, and endowed with a separate government. No fixed salary seems to have been allotted to the governor of Pennsylvania; but sums of money were voted to him, from time to time, to defray the expenses of his government; and the amount of these was proportioned, in a great degree, to the favor he enjoyed with the representatives of the people. At the assembly which was held by Penn at Newcastle in the close of the year 1709, the remuneration allotted to the members consisted of six shillings a day for attendance, and three pence per mile for travelling charges. The speaker's daily allowance was ten shillings. The meeting of the assembly was indicated by the ringing of a bell; and any member entering half an hour after the appointed time, was fined tenpence. The humane code of criminal law, that was coeval with the first instance of Pennsylvania legislation, continued in force till the year 1705, when it was abolished by Queen Anne as too little consonant with the spirit of English jurisprudence. But it was soon after re-established by the same princess, on the intercession of William Penn.

Although quakerism continued long to be the most prevalent religious profession in Pennsylvania, yet from a very early period the province had been resorted to by sectaries of various other denominations, and a church had already been built in Philadelphia for the reception of a congregation of 709 persons attached to the tenets and discipline of the church of England. Some displeasure is said to have been evinced by the quakers at the first proposal of this episcopal party to erect an organ in their church. The episcopalians, and all the other sectaries unconnected with the quakers, made frequent propositions for the establishment of a militia; but the quakers steadily refused to sanction such a proceeding, by an act of the provincial government; though all who deemed the use of arms lawful, were permitted to train themselves, and to adopt every military precaution for their defence that should not be inconsistent with the peace of the province. Most of the offices of government were filled by quakers; and neither the duties of the bar, nor the functions of the bench, were deemed incompatible with their religious profession. So early as the year 1686, a printing press was established at Philadelphia; and an almanac, for the following year, was printed at this press by Bradford.

When the Swedish colonists first occupied Delaware, they found the country infested with wolves, whose ferocity was soon after inflamed to an extraordinary pitch, by the mortality which the small-pox occasioned among the Indians, and the increased quantity of prey that they derived from the unburied corpses of the victims of this pestilence. Both in Pennsylvania and Delaware, bounties continued to be paid for the destruction of wolves so late as the middle of the eighteenth century.

The province and the territories, but especially the former, appear to have enjoyed very soon a thriving trade with England, with the southern colonies of America, and with the West India settlements. Their exports consisted of corn, beef, pork, fish, pipe staves; hides, tallow, and wool to the West India settlements; horses and other live cattle to the southern plantations; and peltry to England. Their direct trade with England was afterward increased by the cultivation of tobacco, which was begun under Blackwell's administration, and so rapidly extended, that in the beginning of the eighteenth century, fourteen ships sailed annually with that commodity from Pennsylvania. Their exports, however, were abridged in the year 1699, by an act of parliament (already noticed in the history of New Jersey) which prohibited the exportation of wool, whether raw or manufactured, from the American colonies. The province, at the same time, imported the produce of various English manufactures, to the value of about £18,000 a year, and yielded a revenue of £3,000 to the customs of the crown. The consumption of English

manufactures would probably have been larger, but that the German colonists had imported with them into Pennsylvania, the manufactures of paper, linen, and woollen cloth.

According to Oldmixon, whose history was published in 1703, the total number of inhabitants within the domains of William Penn then amounted to 35,000; a computation which the author himself terms a modest one, and which, as it includes Indians and negroes, is probably short of the truth. The town of Philadelphia, in 1696, contained two thousand houses, most of which are described as stately structures of brick; and Newcastle, the metropolis of Delaware, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, possessed 2500 inhabitants. For many years after its first occupation by the English, Pennsylvania continued to witness a rapid growth of its people, not only from a constant resort of emigrants, whom its attractions invited from all parts of Europe, but from a native increase more vigorous than any society since the infancy of the world, has ever exhibited. Gabriel Thomas, who published his account of this province in 1696, declares that barrenness among women was unknown in Pennsylvania, and their celibacy, after twenty years of age, not less so; adding, with quaker plainness, that it was impossible to meet a young married woman there who had not a child in her body or one in her arms. The children born in the province he describes as in general "better natured, milder, and more tender hearted than those born in England." The fertility of the soil, the general healthiness of the climate (notwithstanding the severe epidemics occasionally prevalent at Philadelphia), the liberal reward of labor, and the frugal, industrious, and regular habits diffused by the powerful example of the quakers, contributed to the promotion of this large increase, and rendered the people of Pennsylvania distinguished, even among the North American communities, as a moral and a happy race. The manners of a great proportion of the first race of quaker settlers, and of their immediate descendants, are said to have formed a pleasing exhibition of courteous benevolence, corresponding to the purpose with which their removal to America had been undertaken,—of facilitating the enjoyment of that affectionate intercourse which their tenets peculiarly enjoined. Some of the leading persons among the earliest quaker settlers were men who traced their lineage to the stock of the most ancient nobility of England, and in whom a sense of ancestral distinction was so tempered with the meekness of genuine quakerism, as to impart only a patriarchal dignity to their manners. Their hospitality, in particular, was conducted with a grace and simplicity entirely patriarchal. The people of Delaware appear to have been, in general, a less refined and enterprising, but not a less virtuous race. Penn himself has celebrated the good morals and sobriety of deportment of the Swedish and Dutch agriculturists. The Swedish church at Wilmington is reputed one of the oldest churches in North America.

Among the first race of Pennsylvanian settlers were many persons whose attainments in science and literature would have done honor to the most enlightened communities. James Logan, a quaker, and secretary of the province, was the correspondent of the most learned men in Europe; and several of his works, written in the Latin tongue, (particularly a treatise on the generation of plants, and one on the properties of light,) were published with much applause at Leyden. He enriched Philadelphia with a valuable library; and, in his old age, executed an admirable translation of Cicero's treatise *De Senectute*, which was afterward printed with an encomiastic preface by Dr. Franklin. Thomas Makin, another quaker, and one of the earliest settlers in Pennsylvania, produced, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, a descriptive and historical account of the province, in a Latin poem, entitled, *Descriptio Pennsylvaniae*, exhibiting with great force of thought, and beauty of language, one of the most delightful pictures of national virtue and happiness, that ever was presented to the admiration of mankind.

† In the year 1729 alone the number of emigrants from various parts of Europe to Pennsylvania amounted to 6200. The greater part of these were Germans and Irish. Douglas's Summary.

§ Warden, ii. 98. Galt's Life of West, Part I. p. 11-14 "In the houses of the principal families, the patriars of the country," says Mr. Galt, "unlimited hospitality formed a part of their regular economy. It was the custom among those who resided near the highways, after supper, and the last religious exercises of the evening, to make a large fire in the hall, and to set out a table with refreshments for such travellers as might have occasion to pass during the night; and when the families assembled in the morning, they seldom found that their tables had been unvisited."

† In the case of Kinsey, a quaker lawyer (afterward attorney-general, and finally chief-justice of Pennsylvania,) it was determined, after solemn debate, by the provincial government, that quaker lawyers should not be obliged to uncover their heads in addressing the judges. Proud, ii. 196, 197, 231.

APPENDIX.

State and Prospects of the North American Provinces at the Close of the Seventeenth Century—Sentiments and Opinions of the Colonists respecting the Sovereignty and the Policy of Great Britain, &c.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the British settlements in North America contained a population of more than three hundred thousand persons, distributed among the various colonial establishments, whose origin and early progress I have endeavored to illustrate.* The formation of these colonies is by far the most interesting event of that remarkable age.

"Speculative reasoners during that age," says a great historian, "raised many objections to the planting of those remote colonies, and foretold that, after draining their mother country of inhabitants, they would soon shake off her yoke, and erect an independent government in America; but time has shown that the views entertained by those who encouraged such undertakings, were more just and solid. A mild government, and great naval force, have preserved, and may still preserve, during some time, the dominion of England over her colonies. And such advantages have commerce and navigation reaped from these establishments, that more than a fourth of the English shipping is at present computed to be employed in carrying on the trade with the American settlements." The apprehensions of depopulation, alluded to by this author, are noticed at greater length in the prior work of Oldmixon, who asserts, that "on this argument are founded all the reasons to excuse the ill-usage the plantations have met with;" and after demonstrating the absurdity of such a notion, appeals to the large increase which the trade and the revenue of England had already derived from the colonies, as affording a juster and more powerful argument for repairing this ill-usage, and introducing more liberal provisions into the English commercial code.† The apprehensions of American independence were no less the object of ridicule to the best informed writers, in the beginning of that century which was destined to witness the American revolution. "It will be impossible," says Neal, "for New England to subsist of itself for some centuries of years; for, though they might maintain themselves against their neighbors on the continent, they must starve without a free trade with Europe, the manufactures of the country being very inconsiderable; so that if we could suppose them to rebel against England, they must throw themselves into the arms of some other potentate, who would protect them no longer than he could sell them with advantage." So slightly were the colonies connected with each other, and so much of mutual repugnance had been created by religious and political distinctions between them, that the probability of their uniting together for common defence against the parent state never occurred to this author. Nor will this be thought any great impeachment of his sagacity, when we consider that seventy years afterward, the prospect, which had then begun to dawn, of an effectual confederacy of these colonies against England, was declared by a philosophical historian to be perfectly delusive and chimerical.

If Hume had studied the history and condition of the colonies, or if Neal and Oldmixon had added to this acquirement the sagacity of Hume, it is probable that he would not have adduced the *mildness* of the English government as one of the causes that were likely to retard the independence of America, which he perceived must ere long ensue; and that they would have discerned, in the policy of the English government, an influence that powerfully tended to counteract the principles that separated the American communities from each other,

* From a comparison of the calculations of various writers, each of whom, almost invariably, contradicts all the others, and not unfrequently contradicts himself, I am inclined to think the following estimate of the population of the colonies at this period nearly, if not entirely correct. Virginia, 60,000; Massachusetts (to which Maine was then attached), between 70,000 and 80,000; Connecticut, 30,000; Rhode Island, 10,000; New Hampshire, 10,000; Maryland, 30,000; North and South Carolina, 10,000; New York, 30,000; New Jersey, 15,000; and Pennsylvania, 35,000. Even writers so accurate and sagacious as Dwight and Holmes have been led to underrate the early population of North America, by relying too far on the estimates which the local governments furnished to the British ministry for the ascertainment of the numbers of men whom they were to be required to supply for the purposes of naval and military expeditions.

† Oldmixon, *Introduct.* 19, &c. This author refers to a still earlier work in which the same topics had been enforced, entitled "Groans of the Plantations," by Judge Littleton, of Barbadoes. A still more distinguished writer on the same side of the question was Sir Dalby Thomas, an eminent merchant, who wrote an *Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West India Colonies*,

and to unite them by a strong sense of common interest and common injury in a confederacy fatal to the pretensions of the parent state. Every added year tended no less to weaken the divisive influence of the distinctions imported by the original colonists into their settlements, than to enhance the sense of a common interest, and to fortify the power by which that interest might be defended. The character of *generous undertakings*, which Hume very justly accords to these colonial establishments, expresses a praise which the English government had no pretensions to share with the private individuals by whom they were founded; ‡ and the mild policy, whether voluntary or not, which permitted the liberal institutions erected for themselves by these men to continue in existence, tended rather to abridge than to prolong the British dominion, by cherishing in the colonies a spirit and habit of liberty repugnant to the unjust and oppressive tenor of the English commercial restrictions.§ The colonial empire of Spain would not have boasted a longer duration than that of England if her settlements in South America had enjoyed as liberal constitutions as the North American colonies. "The policy of Europe," says a writer who perhaps equalled Hume in political sagacity, and certainly excelled him in acquaintance with colonial history, "has very little to boast of, either in the original establishment, or, so far as concerns their internal government, in the subsequent prosperity of the colonies of America." Folly and injustice, he pronounces, were the principles that presided over the formation of all the colonial establishments; avarice of gold impelling the adventurers to the southern, and tyranny and persecution promoting the emigrations to the northern parts of America. The governments of the several parent states, he observes, contributed little or nothing towards effectuating the establishments of their colonies, and yet invariably attempted to enrich their own exchequers, and secure to themselves a monopoly of the colonial commerce. [31.] by regulations injurious to the freedom and prosperity of the colonists—a procedure, in which the particular policy of England was only somewhat less illiberal and oppressive than that of the other European states. "In what way, therefore," he demands, "has the policy of Europe contributed either to the first establishment, or to the present grandeur of the colonies of America? In one way, and in one way only, it has contributed a great deal. *Magna mater virum!* It bred and formed the men who were capable of achieving such great actions, and of laying the foundations of so great an empire; and there is no other quarter of the world of which the policy is capable of forming, or has ever actually and in fact formed such men. The colonies owe to the policy of Europe the education and great views of their active and enterprising founders; and some of the greatest and most important of them, so far as concerns their internal government, owe to it scarce any thing else."

In the colonial establishments of the French, the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the royal government was stronger and more arbitrary, and subordination more strictly enforced, than in the parent states. Illiberal institutions, remote from the power and splendor of the thrones to which they were allied, required to be guarded with peculiar strictness from the intrusion of opinions and practices that savored of freedom. It was otherwise in the British colonies, where the grafts of constitutional liberty that had been transplanted from the parent state, expanded with a vigor proportioned to their distance from the rival shoots of royalty and aristocracy with which they were theoretically connected. Not only did these colonies enjoy domestic constitutions favorable to liberty, but there existed in the minds of the great bulk of the people, a democratic spirit and resolution that practically reduced the power of the pa-

‡ The colonization of Georgia which was not effected till 1732, was the only instance in which the English government contributed to the foundation of any of the North American states.

§ See an account of the commercial restrictions that were imposed prior to the English Revolution, and an examination of their policy, ante, B. I. cap. 3. To the restrictions there described, there was added, before the close of the seventeenth century, a prohibition (noticed in the histories of New Jersey and Pennsylvania) of the exportation of wool from the colonies.

I have some doubts of the accuracy of a statement (derived from Neal) in B. II. cap. v. ante. of the colonists having been at one time restrained from working mines of iron and copper. Till the year 1750, the export of American iron was restrained by heavy duties, Raynal, B. IV. cap. vii.; and even the manufacture appears to have been subject to some inconvenient regulations, Oldmixon, (2d Edit.) vol. i. p. 286. But even then, both iron and copper mines were worked in several of the states; and the success of these undertakings seems to have been chiefly obstructed by the dearthness of labor. Douglas, vol. ii. p. 109. Winterbotham, vol. ii. p. 368,

rent state even below the standard of its theory. Many causes seem to have contributed to the formation of this spirit, and to the production of sentiments and habits conducive to its efficacy. All the colonial charters were extorted, by interest or importunity, from princes noted for arbitrary designs or perfidious characters; and no sooner had these charters produced the effect of collecting numerous and thriving communities in America, than some of them were, and all of them would have been, annulled, if the dynasty of the Stuarts had been much farther prolonged. The designs of these princes were not entirely abandoned by their successors at the British Revolution. For many years after, the American colonists were roused to continual contests in defence of their charters, which the English court made successive attempts to qualify or annul. These defensive efforts, and the success with which they were generally crowned, tended powerfully to keep alive an active and vigilant spirit of liberty in America. The ecclesiastical constitutions and the religious sentiments that prevailed in the majority of the provinces, were no less favorable to the nurture of liberal and independent sentiments. In Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, alone of all the states:—in the first, from its earliest settlement, and in the two others by a most unjust usurpation; the church of England was possessed of a legal pre-eminence, and maintained at the expense, not only of its own adherents, but of all the other inhabitants, of whatever christian denomination.¶ In all the other states there existed, about the close of the seventeenth century, either an entire political equality of religious sects, or at least a very near approach to it; and in all these, not only were the inhabitants, by their general character of protestants, the votaries of a system founded on the rights of private judgment, but the majority of them belonging to that class which in England received the name of protestant dissenters, professed tenets which have been termed the *protestantism of the protestant faith*, and which peculiarly predisposed to a jealousy of civil liberty, and a promptitude to repel every arbitrary exertion of authority. Even the episcopal church where it existed, whether as the pre-eminent establishment, or as one among many co-equal associations, was stripped of its aristocratical appendages, and exhibited neither a titled hierarchy nor a gradation of ranks among the ministers of religion. In civil life, a similar equality of ranks universally prevailed. No attempt was ever made to plant the proud distinction of *nobility* in any of the provinces, except in Carolina, where the institution soon withered and died.⌘ Unaccustomed to that distinction of ranks which the policy of Europe has established, the people were generally impressed with an opinion of the natural equality of all freemen; and even in those provinces where negro slavery had the greatest prevalence, the possession of this tyrannical privilege seems rather to have adulterated the spirit of freedom with a considerable tinge of arrogance, than to have contributed at all to mitigate or depress it. Except this inhuman institution, every circumstance in the domestic or relative condition of these provinces had a tendency to promote industry, good morals, and impressions of equality. The liberal reward of labor and the cheapness of land, placed the enjoyment of comfort, and the dignity of independence, within the reach of all; the luxuries and honors of England attracted the wealthy voluptuary and the votary of ambition to that more inviting sphere of enjoyment and intrigue; and the vast *wastes* or uncultivated districts attached to every province served as salutary outlets by which the population was drained of those restless disorderly adventurers who were averse to legal restraint and patient labor, and who, in the roving occupation of hunters and *backwoodsmen* (as they have been termed,) found a resource that diverted them from more lawless and dangerous pursuits, and even rendered them useful as a body of pioneers, who paved the way for an extension

⌘ The most remarkable dispute that occurred during the eighteenth century between England and Virginia, prior to the Revolution, was occasioned by an attempt of the English government to support the episcopal clergy of the province in a pretension which was disagreeable to the bulk of the people. The English government interfered to prevent the operation of a law prejudicial to the emoluments of the clergy; but the provincial tribunals refused to pay any attention to its mandate.

¶ Yet the mysterious nonsense of free masonry seems to have been introduced pretty early, and has continued to maintain a footing among the Americans. This is perhaps the only instance of the successful importation into America of one of these institutions so frequent in European states, which have become absurd by surviving the manners and principles in which they originated, but which are consecrated by time and the passion that mankind have for connecting themselves with antiquity.

and multiplication of the colonial settlements. No trading corporations or monopolies restrained the freedom with which every man might employ his industry, capital, and skill; and no forest laws nor game laws confined the sports of the field to a privileged class of the community. No entails were admitted to give adventitious aid to natural inequalities, and perpetuate, in the hands of idleness and folly, the substance that had been amassed by industry and ability.* Happily for the stability of American freedom, it was impossible for the first generation of colonists to succeed in effectuating their settlements, and attaining a secure and prosperous establishment, without the exercise of virtues, and the formation of a character, that guaranteed the preservation of the blessings to which they had conducted. Even the calamities of French and Indian war with which some of the provinces long continued to be harassed, contributed to preserve a spirit and habits without which their people might have been unable in the eighteenth century to achieve their independence. If the latter settlements of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were exempted in some degree from the discipline of those hardships and difficulties with which the commencement of all the other settlements was attended, they were happily peopled, in a great degree, by a class of settlers whose habits and manners were peculiarly favorable to industry and good morals, and congenial to the spirit of republican constitutions. The quakers, indeed, have been much more successful in breathing American society with manners favorable to liberty, than with principles allied to their own political doctrines.

To England, the acquisition of these colonial settlements was highly advantageous. They enlarged her trade and revenues; they afford a vast field in which her needy and superfluous population might improve their condition and dissipate their discontent; and finally, they created for her a new nation of friends interested in her happiness and glory, and of customers, whose growing wants and wealth excited and rewarded the manufacturing industry of her people. All the nations of Europe derived advantage from the formation of these establishments, which disburdened their territories of great numbers of men, whom the pressure of poverty, aggravated by defective civil institutions, and an aversion to the systems of their national churches inflamed by ecclesiastical intolerance, must have rendered either martyrs or rebels in their native land. The emigration from the continent of Europe, and especially from Germany to America, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, was much more copious than the emigration from England. To the colonists, the subsistence of their peculiar connexion with England was likewise attended with some advantages. The acknowledged right and implied protection of England deterred all other European powers who were not at war with her from molesting them; while their chartered or traditional constitutions opposed (after the English Revolution) a barrier to gross and open encroachments of the parent state herself on colonial rights and liberties. As their own strength and resources increased, the benefit of English protection was proportionally diminished, while the inconvenience of her commercial restrictions, and of participation in her politics and wars, was more sensibly experienced.

A considerable variety and indistinctness of opinion prevailed both in England and America, respecting the precise import of the political relation subsisting between the two countries. It was at first the maxim of the English court, that the crown was the only member of the British constitution which possessed jurisdiction over the colonies.† All the charters were framed in conformity with this maxim, except the charter of Pennsylvania. The colonies were by no means uniform in the sentiments which they expressed on this subject. They complained very generally of an unjust usurpation of power over them by the British parliament, when the navigation laws were passed; and openly maintained on many occasions, that an act of the British parliament was not binding on America. Yet they scrupled not to complain of their grievances to the houses of parliament, and to invoke, from time to time, parliamentary

interposition in their behalf. The New England states alone seem to have perceived from the first the advantage they might one day derive from adhering to the maxim, that they were politically connected only with the king, and not at all with the parliament; and with singular prudence forbore to ask favors from a parliament by which they were regarded with especial favor, lest they should seem to sanction parliamentary interference with their concerns. When the parliament enjoyed but an occasional existence, and was frequently, indeed generally, opposed to the court, the English monarchs resolutely maintained their exclusive jurisdiction over the colonies. When the parliament acquired greater power and permanence it enforced, both on the court and the colonies, the acknowledgment of its supreme legislative jurisdiction. The colonies murmured against the trade laws: they often evaded them; and many persons still maintained that the parliament had no right to impose them. This opinion kept its ground, and would have been more generally and openly asserted, if the colonies had been able to enforce it, or had received encouragement from the crown. But the English ministers were now always (by a necessity of the constitution) in possession of a majority in parliament, and found it easier and safer to act on all occasions through the instrumentality of this organ, than through a prerogative employed on a number of distant provincial assemblies. The revolution of 1688 established firmly the supreme power of the parliament, and enforced the submission of America to its legislative control; and from this period, all the measures by which the British government proposed to affect the public interest of the colonists, were pursued through the medium of parliamentary enactments. No taxation of the colonies was *practically attempted* by the parliament, except what arose from the regulation of commerce; but a power was assumed to alter the American charters, or at least to modify the constitutions which these charters had created. There was one point, indeed, in which the relation of the colonies to the royal prerogative, seemed still to be acknowledged. It was not to the House of Lords, or to any of the ordinary tribunals of England, that appeals were carried from the judgments of American courts, but to the king in council; and it was the same organ that enjoyed the power of modifying and rescinding the provincial laws which were deemed repugnant to English jurisprudence.‡

Yielding not to conviction but to necessity, overawed by the strength of Britain, and encumbered by the dangerous vicinity of the French in Canada, the colonists submitted to the power of parliament, and rendered to it even that degree of voluntary acknowledgment which may be inferred from numerous petitions for the redress of grievances.§ Yet the submission that was actually enforced, was yielded with manifest reluctance, and the pretensions by which that submission might in after times be extended, were regarded with the most jealous apprehension. So early as the year 1696, a pamphlet was published in England, recommending the imposition of a parliamentary tax on one of the colonies. This was immediately answered by two other publications, in which the power of taxing the colonies was utterly denied to a parliament in which they were not represented.||

There were various particulars in the supremacy that was exercised and the policy that was pursued by the parent state, that were offensive to the colonists, and regarded by them as humiliating badges of dependence. The appointment of certain of the provincial governors by the crown, not only created discontent in the provinces which beheld this privilege enjoyed by the inhabitants of the other states, but excited in these others

† Lord Mansfield repeatedly pronounced that it was within the competency of the English court of King's Bench to send a writ of habeas corpus into America; but he declared that this was a power which could rarely if ever be exercised with propriety. Stokes on the Constitution of the British Colonies, p. 5, 6.

§ When they became more wealthy and powerful, and found that the parliament was about to usurp their domestic taxation, they refrained from sending petitions to it, and presented them only to the king—See Franklin's Works, iii. 336—and at length boldly revived the ancient maxim, "that the king, and not the king, lords, and commons collectively, is their sovereign; and that the king with their respective assemblies is their only legislator." Ibid. 381. Thus the Americans in contending for their independence, finally took their stand on a principle originally introduced by despotic princes, and intended to secure their subjection to arbitrary government and royal prerogative.

|| Gordon's Hist. of the United States, vol. i. Letter ii. "The pamphlets against taxation (said Lord Camden in his speech in the House of Lords, April, 1766) were much read, and no answer was given to them, no censure passed upon them; nor were men startled at the doctrine." Ibid.

a continual apprehension of being levelled in this respect with the condition of their neighbors. The manner in which this branch of the royal prerogative was too often exercised, tended to render it additionally disagreeable. It was the general practice of the English ministers to commit the royal governments to needy dependents, whose chief aim was to repair a shattered fortune and to recommend themselves to their patrons by a headlong zeal for the assertion of every real or pretended prerogative of the crown.¶ The transportation of English felons to America, was also a practice of the British government, which the lapse of time rendered increasingly offensive to the colonists. We have seen the assembly of Maryland, as early as the year 1676, endeavour to stem the torrent of vicious and profligate example which was thus directed by the parent state among the laboring classes of her colonial subjects. The assembly of Pennsylvania made an attempt to obstruct the importation of convicts into that state by imposing a duty of five pounds on every convict that should be imported. But it was not till a later period that the practice was generally objected to by the colonists. So pressing in most places was the demand for laborers, that their moral characters and the terms on which they were obtained, were considerations to which the planters had not leisure to attend. Nay, in some instances, felons were not the only involuntary emigrants from England whose labor they appropriated. It became at one time a common practice for captains of vessels to entice ignorant persons, by flattering promises of wealth and preferment, to accompany them to America, where they had no sooner arrived, than they were sold as bondsmen to defray the cost of their passage and entertainment. [32.] So early as the year 1686 an order of council** was issued for the prevention of this practice. In process of time all the local governments and all the respectable inhabitants of the provinces united in petitioning the English government to discontinue the practice of sending felons to America;†† but their complaints of this evil, as well as of the continued importation of additional negro slaves, experienced the most contemptuous disregard. One consequence that is said to have resulted from this arbitrary treatment, was the existence of very general ignorance or very illiberal prejudices, with regard to the condition of North America, in the minds of all classes of people in England. Though persons connected with the colonies, by commerce or otherwise, might entertain juster ideas of their condition, it is certain that till a very late period these territories were generally regarded in England as wild inhospitable deserts, infested by savages and beasts of prey, and cultivated only by criminals or by kidnapped negroes and Europeans. Though Bishop Berkeley had prophesied a destiny of unequalled splendor to this region, in his "Verses on the prospect of planting arts and literature in America," and though Thomson had celebrated the happiness of the colonies, and their subservience to the greatness of the British empire,‡‡ the encomiastic strains of these writers were more than counteracted by the sarcastic and opprobrious imputations which were sanctioned by others and more

¶ Sir William Keith's Hist. of Virginia, 184. Williamson's North Carolina, ii. 15. We have already seen abundant confirmation of the testimony of these writers in the histories of Virginia, New York, and New Jersey. See the observations on the general effect of the English Revolution on the American colonies, at the close of the history of Virginia, B. I. cap. 3, ante.

In some instances, the government was bestowed as a sinecure office on a courtier who resided in England, while his deputy (appointed also by the crown) performed the duty, and received a part of the salary. The Earl of Orkney, in particular, who was appointed governor of Virginia in 1704, held this appointment so long that he received 42,000*l.* of salary from a people who never once beheld him among them. Oldmixon, (2d Edit.) vol. i. p. 400. His place in the province, however, was very well supplied for nearly twenty years by a distinguished officer and man of science, Colonel Alexander Spotswood, (of the Scotch family of that name,) to whom, among other benefits, the colonists were indebted for the expedition in 1714, by which a passage over the Apalachian mountains was first ascertained. Ibid. p. 401, 402. In honor of his services, one of the counties of Virginia is called Spotsylvania.

** This document is preserved in the British Museum. The system of inveigling and kidnapping was not confined to England. It was carried on to a great extent in Suabia and other German cantons by Dutch factors, whom Raynal asserts to have been hired by the British government. British Settlements in America, B. IV. cap. 9.

†† An American patriot humorously proposed that a reciprocal transportation of American felons to England should in equity be indulged to the colonists. Franklin's Memoirs.

‡‡ "Lo! swarming o'er the new-discovered world, Gay colonies extend; the calm retreat Of undeserved distress—"

—Bound by social freedom, firm they rise;
Of Britain's empire the support and strength."
THOMSON.

* At a subsequent period, the system of entails became prevalent in Virginia. Wirt's Life of Henry, p. 33. It was productive of great dislike and jealousy between the aristocracy and the yeomanry of the province. Ibid. *passim*.

† A bill having been introduced into the House of Commons in the reign of James the First, for regulating the American fisheries, Sir George Calvert, the secretary of state, conveyed to the house the following intimation from the king: "A *no* *re* *ca* is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament; you have, therefore, no right to interfere." Colonial Tracts in Harvard Library, apud Holmes, i. 195.

only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to provide them with safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident to a planter's life, and enforces his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill-bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content." B. VI. To gentlemen he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to laborers, the blessings of a vacant soil, of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate climate, and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence; the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a very general outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting, and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the "Essay on Plantations," and the "Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But I think I can foresee its revival. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will become more interesting. Romulus, I doubt not, was an object of greater interest in the Angustan æra than in the preceding ages of Rome. The age of Smith's fame has in like manner yet to come; an age when there will be inscribed by the Americans, on tablets more lasting than Carthaginian gold,

"Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,
Per tot ducta viros prima ab origine gentis;"

and he will then be thought as far to excel Romulus in true glory, as America has excelled, and is yet likely to excel old Rome in happiness and virtue.

He was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

Nothing can be more erroneous or unjust than Winterbotham's Chronological Catalogue of the American States, in which Lord Delaware is recorded as the founder of Virginia. If this honor belong to any individual, it is to Captain Smith.

NOTE [3] p. 203.—The history of Lord Delaware's government, and the more recent example of the settlement formed by Lord Selkirk in Prince Edward's Island, demonstrate very strongly the beneficial influence, to which noblemen may render their rank subservient, in the promotion and support of such establishments. The mass of mankind bear very little resemblance to the original colonists of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They are utterly incapable of appreciating superior piety, and yield (especially in small bodies) a very reluctant deference to the pretensions of superior wisdom and ability. The claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation have the advantage of being more certain and manifest, more adapted to their habits, and less offensive to their self-complacency. Lord Bacon observes, that plantations are most frequent in the earlier stages of society; that is, in the period when superior birth, united (as it then commonly is) with a monopoly of the little knowledge

that exists, exercises the strongest influence on mankind. The colony conducted by Lord Selkirk to Prince Edward's Island consisted of Highlanders, a race of men peculiarly distinguished by, what Burke has termed, "the proud submission and generous loyalty to rank." When their countrymen in the Hebrides beheld Dr. Johnson, they made little account of the intellectual superiority which had gained him a sort of monarchical influence in England; but desiring to know what were his claims to respect, inquired of him if he could recount a long genealogy.

NOTE [4] p. 203.—The surprising errors that Robertson has committed in his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration may well seem to detract, in no small degree, from the credit of history. He not only imputes to the Company the enactment and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to which Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons which he assigns, is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and the Company with having eagerly approved. In support of a charge so decided and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported by such evidence. For *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law, and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a colonial government should "have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation;" a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James' second charter to the Company had already invested the colonial governors with "full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or rebellion;" and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them, "in case of necessity," to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own "good discretions." No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the former constitution, and for the purposes of the ordinary administration of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this proceeding to the act of the Council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well if the Council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that "those who plant colonies must be endued with great patience."

The inaccuracy and misrepresentation in which Dr. Robertson has indulged, in his history of South America, has been detected by Mr. Southey, and exposed in the *History of Brazil*, Part I. note 58.

NOTE [5] p. 224.—Chalmers and Robertson have imputed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to "the unsocial character of their religious confederacy." As the charge of entertaining antisocial principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blameworthy acceptance, the charge of unsocial principles most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries, may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow men. Mr. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New Plymouth, in his account of the colony declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every

reformed church to communion with them. "We ever placed," he continues, "a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in anti-christian opposition to it, and persecution of it. It is true we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the new settlers who are admitted into the church of New Plymouth are encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the Church of England or any other reformed establishment. (Mather. B. I. cap. iii.) It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a Christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honorably social or more eminently charitable, may be gathered from a passage in Howel's *Familiar Letters*, where this defender of church and state thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind. "I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." (vol. i. let. 31.) The policy of the ecclesiastical administration of England gave a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervor for the church party did not survive the power of that party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy, he became the defender and peneuryist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Water and Dryden, he returned in the train of Fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

NOTE [6] p. 229.—The introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet, (followed by Hume,) who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind; and, with the glowing sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scorning to plead, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, "Alas!" said he, "what ado they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour. I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart." Even Burnet admits that the resolution he summoned up at the last prompted him "to some very extraordinary acts, though they cannot be mentioned." Oldmixon, less scrupulous, has satisfied the curiosity that Burnet excited, by relating that "Lady Vane began her reckoning for her son, the Lord Barnard, from the night before Sir Henry lost his head on Tower Hill." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself, by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events this cloud, whether truly belonging to his character, or raised by the envious breath of his detractors, has, from the admirable vigor of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanor, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

NOTE [7] p. 236.—The accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various bodies of these heathens, abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians? A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? A third proposed this question,

How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment! On another occasion, after Mr. Elliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he who was near death, to repent and seek after God? A second asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one Father? A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for facilitating the end which it was the purpose of God to effect! One woman asked, Whether she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side? Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife? Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they had formerly served had in reality great power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powaws for their apostacy, they said, We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above yours that he can defend us from them, and enable even us to tread upon them all. One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had! When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, Is that all! I have thirty-seven! Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one!

NOTE [8] p. 239.—The character of George Fox is by no means generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous, and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few, and wholly read by still fewer. Many form their opinions of him from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries: and of the quakers there are many who derive their opinions of him from the passages of a very different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here subjoin some extracts from his Journal, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text: premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent quaker, for the purpose of proving that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1618 he found his nature so completely new-modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterward held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being by cultivation of the spiritual principle within him might become like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterward that it was an angel or spirit that had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great steeple-house; and the Lord said unto me, thou must cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly, entered the church, and hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the Scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines, religions, and

opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh no; it is not the Scriptures; it is the Holy Spirit.'" On another occasion, having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, &c.* Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Litchfield, he declares he found himself directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walked through the streets, exclaiming, "Wo to the bloody city of Litchfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns those whom he terms *ranters*, and relates in various places the attempts he had made to convince them of their delusion. Journal, 3d edit. 1765, pp. 16. 24. 27. 34. 49. 50. 51.

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this Journal, informs us that these ranters were persons who "for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme." (Preface, p. 7.)

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the ranters, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses to give assurance to the people that these deluded persons were quakers only in name (Journal, p. 399.) He applies the epithet of ranters to many of those who called themselves quakers in America (443.) Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end ranters, or something worse. Of these was James Nayler, who was long the fellow-laborer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a quaker, at the same time when he was in prison for his horrible enormities. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Nayler's errors and disobedience to himself. When he found that Nayler would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Nayler that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." (Journal, p. 205.) Nayler had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers making the most blasphemous proclamations before him, and had committed the most profligate immoralities. On his trial he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who deposed that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Nayler.

It is impossible to discover what part of the extravagance of Nayler was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he says, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." (Journal, p. 386.) Many such instances he relates in the Journal (p. 323, &c.) with cordial approbation of the conduct of the quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking naked.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil, (Journal, p. 140.) Yet though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage, (p. 315,) from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's real opinion was that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own act into a wicked one. He sets down every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he used for their relief. It is not easy to discover

if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were, to his knowledge, so regarded by his followers; and the editor of his journal refers to them in the index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider quakerism the growth of a protestant country, and quietism, which arose among catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connexion; but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be powerfully effected when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain, by a sect called the Illuminati or Alambrados, who sprung up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances, and some of them became notorious for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It re-appeared again with a system of doctrine considerably purified, yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible direction, towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fenelon. Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix. p. 156, and xv. p. 766.

NOTE [9] p. 240.—Besse, in his voluminous "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relates that Lydia Wardell, of Newbury in New England, a convert to quakerism, at length found herself concerned to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behavior. The duty and concerns she lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. Vol. ii. p. 235. He also notices the case of Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers." 236.

George Bishop, another quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt." New England judged, p. 388. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern quakers, who praise instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola and Xavier and still commended by their successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by these writers, without extending its severity to the bare profession of quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of quaker principles; a conviction which, it appears the language even of those quakers who were themselves guiltless of such outrages, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the inhuman absurdity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The sentiments of the people of New England are thus strongly expressed by Cotton Mather: "I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and

only passed their own lives in slothful indulgence, but retained the poor in factious idleness, by neglecting to provide them with safe and useful employment; and strongly urges the wealthy capitalists of England to provide for their own security, by facilitating every foreign vent to the energies of active and indigent men. He enlarges on the pleasures incident to a planter's life, and enforces his description by the testimony of his own experience. "I have not been so ill bred," he declares, "but I have tasted of plenty and pleasure, as well as want and misery. And lest any should think the toil might be insupportable, I assure myself there are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it, than I should do there to gain wealth sufficient; and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content." B. VI. To gentlemen he proposes, among other inducements, the pleasures of fishing, fowling, and hunting, to an unbounded extent; and to laborers, the blessings of a vacant soil, of unequalled cheapness and unsurpassed fertility. He promises no mines to tempt sordid avarice, nor conquests to allure profligate ambition; but the advantages of a temperate climate, and of a secure and exhaustless subsistence; the wealth that agriculture may extract from the land, and fisheries from the sea. "Therefore," he concludes, "honorable and worthy countrymen, let not the meanness of the word fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potosi, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."

I have given but a very general outline of Smith's exposition of this subject. The details with which he has filled it up are highly interesting, and well deserving of perusal. I think there can be no doubt that he has treated the subject of colonization with more both of the skill of a politician and the profound sagacity of a philosopher, than Lord Bacon has shown in either or both of his productions, the "Essay on Plantations," and the "Considerations touching the Plantation in Ireland."

The name of Smith has not yet gathered all its fame. The lustre it once possessed is somewhat obscured by time, and by the circumstances that left America so long to depend on England for the sentiments and opinions that literature preserves or produces, and consequently led her to rate her eminent men rather by the importance of their achievements in the scale of British than of American history. But I think I can foresee its revival. It will grow with the growth of men and letters in America; and whole nations of its admirers have yet to be born. As the stream becomes more illustrious, the springs will become more interesting. Romulus, I doubt not, was an object of greater interest in the Augustan era than in the preceding ages of Rome. The age of Smith's fame has in like manner yet to come; an age when there will be inscribed by the Americans, on tablets more lasting than Carthaginian gold,

"Fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum,
Per tot ducta viros prima ab origine gentis;"

and he will then be thought as far to excel Romulus in true glory, as America has excelled, and is yet likely to excel old Rome in happiness and virtue.

He was born in the year 1579, and died on the 21st of June, 1631.

Nothing can be more erroneous or unjust than Winterbotham's Chronological Catalogue of the American States, in which Lord Delaware is recorded as the founder of Virginia. If this honor belong to any individual, it is to Captain Smith.

NOTE [3] p. 203.—The history of Lord Delaware's government, and the more recent example of the settlement formed by Lord Selkirk in Prince Edward's Island, demonstrate very strongly the beneficial influence, to which noblemen may render their rank subservient, in the promotion and support of such establishments. The mass of mankind bear very little resemblance to the original colonists of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. They are utterly incapable of appreciating superior piety, and yield (especially in small bodies) a very reluctant deference to the pretensions of superior wisdom and ability. The claims of superior birth and hereditary elevation have the advantage of being more certain and manifest, more adapted to their habits, and less offensive to their self-complacency. Lord Bacon observes, that plantations are most frequent in the earlier stages of society; that is, in the period when superior birth, united (as it then commonly is) with a monopoly of the little knowledge

that exists, exercises the strongest influence on mankind. The colony conducted by Lord Selkirk to Prince Edward's Island consisted of Highlanders, a race of men peculiarly distinguished by, what Burke has termed, "the proud submission and generous loyalty to rank." When their countrymen in the Hebrides beheld Dr. Johnson, they made little account of the intellectual superiority which had gained him a sort of monarchical influence in England; but desiring to know what were his claims to respect, inquired of him if he could recount a long genealogy.

NOTE [4] p. 203.—The surprising errors that Robertson has committed in his account of Sir Thomas Dale's administration may well seem to detract, in no small degree, from the credit of history. He not only imputes to the Company the enactment and introduction of the arbitrary code transmitted by Sir Thomas Smith, but unfolds at length the (imaginary) reasons that prevailed with them to adopt a measure so harsh and sanguinary; though of this measure itself they are expressly acquitted by Stith, the only authority on the subject that exists, and the very authority to which Robertson himself refers. Among the other reasons which he assigns, is the advice of Lord Bacon, which he unhesitatingly charges this eminent person with having communicated, and the Company with having eagerly approved. In support of a charge so decided and so remarkable, he refers merely to a passage in Lord Bacon's *Essay on Plantations*. It would be well for the fame of Bacon if all the charges with which his character is loaded were supported by such evidence. For *supposing* (which is doubtful) that this essay was published before the collection of Sir Thomas Smith's system of martial law, and *supposing* it to have been read by the compiler of that system, it is surely more than doubtful if the passage alluded to would yet support Dr. Robertson's imputation. It merely recommends that a colonial government should "have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation;" a power inseparable from such, and indeed from every system of government. The twenty-fourth section of King James' second charter to the Company had already invested the colonial governors with "full power and authority to use and exercise martial law, in cases of mutiny or rebellion;" and the preceding section of the same charter authorizes them, "in case of necessity," to rule, correct, and punish, according to their own "good discretions." No blame can attach to the bare authorization of an extraordinary power, reserved in every society, for extraordinary occasions. What alone seems deserving of blame is Sir Thomas Smith's violent and illegal substitution of the most sanguinary code of martial law that was ever framed, in the room of the former constitution, and for the purposes of the ordinary administration of the colony; and Dr. Robertson's very hasty and unfounded imputation of this proceeding to the act of the Council and the advice of Lord Bacon. It had been well if the Council had paid more attention to the maxim of this great man, that "those who plant colonies must be ended with great patience."

The inaccuracy and misrepresentation in which Dr. Robertson has indulged, in his history of South America, has been detected by Mr. Southey, and exposed in the History of Brazil, Part I. note 58.

NOTE [5] p. 224.—Chalmers and Robertson have imputed the slow increase of the colonists of New Plymouth to "the unsocial character of their religious confederacy." As the charge of entertaining anti-social principles was preferred against the first Christians by men who plumed themselves on exercising *hospitality to the gods of all nations*, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning of this imputation, if we would know whether it be praise or blame that it involves. Whether, in a truly blameworthy acceptance, the charge of unsocial principles most properly belongs to these people or to their adversaries, may be collected from the statements they have respectively made of the terms on which they were willing to hold a companionable intercourse with their fellow men. Mr. Winslow, who was for some time governor of New Plymouth, in his account of the colony declares that the faith of the people was in all respects the same with that of the reformed churches of Europe, from which they differed only in their opinion of church government, wherein they pursued a more thorough reformation. They disclaimed, however, any uncharitable separation from those with whom they differed on this point, and freely admitted the members of every

reformed church to communion with them. "We ever placed," he continues, "a large difference between those that grounded their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition and understanding of it, and those that hated such reformers and reformation, and went on in anti-christian opposition to it, and persecution of it. It is true we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world; and as the churches of Christ are all saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of God shining forth (at least seemingly, leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into church fellowship with us, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of God nor the communion of saints may be leavened or polluted thereby." He adds, that none of the new settlers who are admitted into the church of New Plymouth are encouraged, or even permitted, to insert in the declaration of their faith a renunciation of the Church of England or any other reformed establishment. (Mather, B. I. cap. iii.) It does not appear to me that these sentiments warrant the charge of unsocial principles in any sense which a Christian will feel himself at all concerned to disclaim. Whether the adversaries of these men were distinguished for principles more honorably social or more eminently charitable, may be gathered from a passage in Howel's Familiar Letters, where this defender of church and state thus expresses the sentiments of his party respecting religious differences between mankind. "I rather pity than hate Turk or infidel, for they are of the same metal and bear the same stamp as I do, though the inscriptions differ. If I hate any, it is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our church; so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to hell on a Brownist's back." (vol. i. let. 31.) The policy of the ecclesiastical administration of England gave a premium to the production of such sentiments. Howel's fervor for the church party did not survive the power of that party to reward him. After the fall of the English church and monarchy, he became the defender and panegyrist of the administration of Cromwell; though, like Waller and Dryden, he returned in the train of Fortune, when she returned to his original friends.

NOTE [6] p. 229.—The introduction of this feature into the portrait of Sir Henry Vane rests entirely on the authority of Burnet and Kennet, (followed by Hume,) who speak from hearsay. Ludlow, who knew Vane personally, bestows the highest praise on his imperturbable serenity and presence of mind; and, with the glowing sympathy of a kindred spirit, describes the resolute magnanimity with which at his trial he sealed his own fate by scornfully pleading, like Lambert, for his life, and gallantly pleading for the dying liberties of his country. At his execution, when some of his friends expressed resentment of the injuries that were heaped upon him, "Alas!" said he, "what add they keep to make a poor creature like his Saviour. I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted at death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it. Ten thousand deaths for me, before I will defile the chastity and purity of my conscience; nor would I for ten thousand worlds part with the peace and satisfaction I have now in my heart." Even Burnet admits that the resolution he summoned up at the last prompted him "to some very extraordinary acts, though they cannot be mentioned." Oldmixon, less scrupulous, has satisfied the curiosity that Burnet excited, by relating that "Lady Vane began her reckoning for her son, the Lord Barnard, from the night before Sir Henry lost his head on Tower Hill." Perhaps the deep piety and constant negation of all merit in himself, by which the heroism of Vane was softened and ennobled, may have suggested to minds unacquainted with these principles the imputation of constitutional timidity. At all events this cloud, whether truly belonging to his character, or raised by the envious breath of his detractors, has, from the admirable vigor of his mind and the unquestioned courage of his demeanor, served rather to embellish than to obscure the lustre of his fame.

NOTE [7] p. 236.—The accounts of the first conversations which the missionaries held with various bodies of these heathens, abound with curious questions and observations that proceeded from the Indians in relation to the tidings that were brought to their ears. One man asked, Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians? A second, Whether Jesus Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? A third proposed this question,

How there could be an image of God, since it was forbidden in the second commandment! On another occasion, after Mr. Elliot had done speaking, an aged Indian started up, and with tears in his eyes asked, Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was near death, to repent and seek after God? A second asked, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one Father? A third desired to be informed, How it came to pass that sea water was salt, and river water fresh? Several inquired, How Judas could deserve blame for facilitating the end which it was the purpose of God to effect? One woman asked, Whether she was entitled to consider herself as having prayed, when she merely joined in her mind with her husband who prayed by her side? Another, If her husband's prayer signified any thing while he continued to beat his wife? Many of the converts continued to believe that the gods whom they had formerly served had in reality great power, but were spirits subordinate to the true and only God; and when threatened with witchcraft by the Powaws for their apostasy, they said, We do not deny your power, but we serve a greater God, who is so much above yours that he can defend us from them, and enable even us to tread upon them all. One sachem sent for an Indian convert, and desired to know how many gods the English had! When he heard they had but one, he replied scornfully, Is that all? I have thirty-seven! Do they suppose I would exchange so many for one!

NOTE [8] p. 239.—The character of George Fox is by no means generally understood in the present day. His writings are so voluminous, and there is such a mixture of good and evil in them, that every reader finds it easy to justify his preconceived opinion, and to fortify it by appropriate quotations. His works are read by few, and wholly read by still fewer. Many form their opinions of him from the passages which are cited from his writings by his adversaries: and of the quakers there are many who derive their opinions of him from the passages of a very different complexion which are cited in the works of the modern writers of their own sect. I shall here subjoin some extracts from his Journal, which will verify some of the remarks I have made in the text: premising this observation, that the book itself was first put into my hands by a zealous and intelligent quaker, for the purpose of proving that it contained no such passages as some of those which I am now to transcribe from it.

Fox relates, that in the year 1618 he found his nature so completely new-modelled, that "I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practice physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit to see another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus that should never fall. The Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell; in which the admirable works of the creation and the virtues thereof may be known through the openings of that divine Word of wisdom and power by which they were made." In many of the disputes which he afterward held with ministers and doctors, he maintained that he was, and that every human being by cultivation of the spiritual principle within him might become like him, perfectly pure and free from all dregs of sin. He relates with complacency and approbation, that having one day addressed a congregation of people at Beverley in Yorkshire, the audience declared afterward that it was an angel or spirit that had suddenly appeared among them and spoken to them. He conceived himself warranted by his endowments to trample on all order and decency. One Sunday as he approached the town of Nottingham, he tells, "I espied the great steeple-house; and the Lord said unto me, thou must go cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He accordingly, entered the church, and hearing the minister announce the text, *We have also a more sure word of prophecy*, and tell the people that by this was meant the Scriptures, whereby they were to try all doctrines, religions, and

opinions, Fox adds, "I could not hold, but was made to cry out, 'Oh no; it is not the Scriptures; it is the Holy Spirit.'" On another occasion, having entered a church, and hearing the preacher read for his text, *Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, &c.*, Fox called out to him, "Come down, thou deceiver! dost thou bid people come freely and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them for preaching the scriptures to them?" Approaching the town of Litchfield, he declares he found himself directed to cast off his shoes, and in that condition walked through the streets, exclaiming, "Wo to the bloody city of Litchfield!" which he accordingly did. These examples are selected almost at random from numberless instances of similar proceedings recorded in his voluminous journal. Yet he strongly condemns those whom he terms *ranters*, and relates in various places the attempts he had made to convince them of their delusion. Journal, 3d edit. 1765, pp. 16. 24. 27. 34. 49. 50. 51.

William Penn, in the beautiful Preface which he wrote for this Journal, informs us that these ranters were persons who "for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon him that opened their understandings to see great things in his law, ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with these divine openings, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God." "Divers," he adds, "fell into gross and enormous practices, pretending in excuse thereof that they could without evil commit the same act which was sin in another to do." "I say," he continues, "this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the better sort of people, and furnished the looser with an occasion to blaspheme." (Preface, p. 7.)

Fox himself relates some horrid immoralities of the ranters, and that he had found it necessary to publish addresses to give assurance to the people that these deluded persons were quakers only in name (Journal, p. 399.) He applies the epithet of ranters to many of those who called themselves quakers in America (443.) Some of Fox's chief associates and coadjutors appear to have become in the end ranters, or something worse. Of these was James Nayler, who was long the fellow-laborer and fellow-sufferer of Fox, and whom Fox still terms a quaker, at the same time when he was in prison for his horrible enormities. Fox alludes vaguely and sorrowfully to Nayler's errors and disobedience to himself. When he found that Nayler would not give heed to his rebukes, Fox told him that "the Lord moved me to slight him, and to set the power of God over him." He adds, that it soon after happened to Nayler that "his resisting the power of God in me, and the truth of God that was declared to him by me, became one of his greatest burdens." (Journal, p. 205.) Nayler had ridden naked into Bristol with a crew of insane followers making the most blasphemous proclamations before him, and had committed the most profligate immoralities. On his trial he produced a woman, one Dorcas Earberry, who deposed that she had been dead two days, and was recalled to life by Nayler.

It is impossible to discover what part of the extravagance of Nayler was condemned by Fox and the proper body of the quakers. We find Fox relating with great approbation many wild and absurd exhibitions by which quakers were moved, as they said, to show themselves as signs of the times. "Some," he says, "have been moved to go naked in the streets, and have declared amongst them that God would strip them of their hypocritical professions, and make them as bare and naked as they were. But instead of considering it, they have frequently whipped, or otherwise abused them." (Journal, p. 386.) Many such instances he relates in the Journal (p. 323, &c.) with cordial approbation of the conduct of the quakers, and the strongest reprobation of the persecutors who punished them for walking naked.

Fox taught that God did not create the devil, (Journal, p. 140.) Yet though the reasoning by which he defends this gross heresy would plainly seem to imply that the devil was a self-created being, there is another passage, (p. 343,) from which we may perhaps conclude that Fox's real opinion was that the devil was created by God a good spirit, but transformed himself by his own act into a wicked one. He sets down every misfortune that happened to any of his adversaries or persecutors as a judgment of Heaven upon them. He relates various cures of sick and wounded persons that ensued on his prayers, and on more ordinary means that he used for their relief. It is not easy to discover

if he himself regarded these as the exertions of miraculous power; but from many passages it is plain that they were, to his knowledge, so regarded by his followers; and the editor of his journal refers to them in the index under the head of "Miracles."

I think it not unreasonable to consider quakerism the growth of a protestant country, and quietism, which arose among catholics, as branches of a system essentially the same; and Madame Guyon and Molinos as the counterparts of Fox and Barclay. The moral resemblance is plainer than the historical connexion; but the propagation of sentiment and opinion may be powerfully effected when it is not visibly indicated. Quietism was first engendered in Spain, by a sect called the Illuminati or Alambrosos, who sprung up about the year 1575. They rejected sacraments and other ordinances, and some of them became notorious for indecent and immoral extravagances. This sect was revived in France in the year 1634, but quickly disappeared under a hot persecution. It re-appeared again with a system of doctrine considerably purified, yet still inculcating the distinctive principle of exclusive teaching by an inward light and sensible direction, towards the close of the seventeenth century, both at Rome in the writings of Molinos, and in France under the auspices of Madame Guyon and Fenelon. Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. ix. p. 156, and xv. p. 766.

NOTE [9] p. 240.—Besse, in his voluminous "Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers," relates that Lydia Wardell, of Newbury in New England, a convert to quakerism, at length found herself concerned to appear in a public assembly "in a very unusual manner, and such as was exceeding hard and self-denying to her natural disposition, she being a woman of exemplary modesty in all her behavior. The duty and concern she lay under was that of going into their church at Newbury naked, as a token of that miserable condition which she esteemed them in." "But they, instead of religiously reflecting on their own condition, which she came in that manner to represent to them, fell into a rage and presently laid hands on her," &c. Vol. ii. p. 235. He also notices the case of Deborah Wilson, a young woman of very modest and retired life, and of a sober conversation, having passed naked through the streets as a sign against the cruelty and oppression of the rulers." 236.

George Bishop, another quaker writer, thus relates the case of Deborah Wilson. "She was a modest woman, of a retired life and sober conversation; and bearing a great burden for the hardness and cruelty of the people, she went through the town of Salem naked as a sign; which she having in part performed, was laid hold on, and bound over to appear at the next court of Salem, where the wicked rulers sentenced her to be whipt." New England judged, p. 388. The writings of Besse, Bishop, and some others, who were foolish enough to defend the extravagance that they had too much sense to commit, were the expiring sighs of quaker nonsense and frenzy. They are still mentioned with respect by some modern quakers, who praise instead of reading them; as the sincere but frantic zeal of Loyola and Xavier and still commended by their silly successors, who have inherited the name and the manners, without the spirit that distinguished the original Jesuits.

It had been well if the government of Massachusetts had inflicted punishment on the disgusting violations of decency avowed by these writers, without extending its severity to the bare profession of quakerism. This injustice was occasioned by the conviction that these outrages were the legitimate fruits of quaker principles; a conviction which, it appears the language even of those quakers who were themselves guiltless of such outrages, tended strongly to confirm. It is only such language on the part of the quakers that can acquit their adversaries of the inhuman absurdity that pervades the reasoning of persecutors, and holds men responsible for all the consequences that may be logically deduced from their principles, though rejected and denied by themselves. The sentiments of the people of New England are thus strongly expressed by Cotton Mather: "I appeal to all the reasonable part of mankind whether the infant colonies of New England had not cause to guard themselves against these dangerous villains. It was also thought that the very quakers themselves would say, that if they had got into a corner of the world, and with immense toil and charge made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercises of their worship, they would never bear to have New Englanders come among them and

interrupt their public worship, and endeavor to seduce their children from it; yea and repeat such endeavors after mild entreaties first, and then just banishments to oblige their departure." B. VII. cap. iv. Yet Mather deplores and condemns the extreme severities which were ultimately inflicted by his countrymen upon the quakers. It was one of the privileges of Israel that *the people shall dwell alone*; and the hope of enjoying a similar privilege was one of the motives that led the puritans to exchange the pleasures of their native land for the labors of desolate wilderness.

NOTE [10] p. 243.—Upon this occasion Cotton Mather observes—"Such has been the jealous disposition of our New Englanders about their dearly-bought privileges, and such also has been the various understanding of the people about the extent of those privileges, that of all the agents which they have sent over unto the court of England for now forty years together, I know not any one who did not at his return meet with some very forward entertainment among his countrymen; and there may be the Wisdom of the Holy and Righteous God, as well as the malice of the Evil One, acknowledged in the ordering of such temptations."

Mr. Norton, before his departure for England, expressed a strong apprehension that the affair he was required to engage in would issue disastrously to himself. Mather adds, "In the spring before his going for England he preached an excellent sermon unto the representatives of the whole colony assembled at the Court of Election, wherein I take particular notice of this passage—Moses was the meekest man on earth, yet it went ill with Moses, 'tis said, for their sakes. How long did Moses live at Meribah? Sure I am, it killed him in a short time; a man of as good a temper as could be expected from a mere man."

It might have been thought that Mr. Norton, whose death was thus in a manner the fruit of his exertions to extend religious liberty in the colony, would have escaped the reproach of persecution. But he had given great offence to some of the quakers, by writing and preaching against their tenets. And after his death, certain of that body published at London, *A representation to the King and Parliament*, wherein, pretending to report some *Remarkable judgments upon their Persecutors*, they inserted the following passage: "John Norton, chief priest in Boston, by the immediate power of the Lord, was smitten and as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." Mather, B. III. cap. ii. sect. 21, 22, 23. The popish fables respecting the deaths of Luther, Calvin, Bucer, and Beza, are hardly more replete with folly, untruth, and presumption, than some of these quaker interpretations of providence. Their authors, like many other persons involved in religious contentions, or exposed to persecution for religion's sake, mistook an ardent zeal for God, for a complete subjection of mind to his will, and an entire identification of their views and purposes with his; practically regardless of their own remaining infirmity and corruption, and of that important truth, that while we continue in this veil of flesh we know only in part, and can see but through a glass darkly. Among other evil consequences, this error begets a contracted or perverted view of the administration of divine justice. It was when the royal psalmist, impatient of his own sufferings, and of the prosperity of oppressors, perplexed himself with endeavors to find within the compass of this life a visible display of the whole scene of divine justice, that he uttered the words of folly and ignorance, and offended against the generation of the children of God.

NOTE [11] p. 243.—Mr. Winthrop the younger was in the bloom of manhood, accomplished by learning and travel, and the heir of a large estate, when he readily joined with his father in promoting and accompanying an emigration to New England. Cotton Mather has preserved a letter written by Winthrop the elder to his son, while the one was governor of Massachusetts, and the other of Connecticut. I shall be excused for transcribing some part of an epistle so beautiful in itself, and so strikingly characteristic of the fathers of New England. "You are the chief of two families. I had by your mother three sons, and three daughters; and I had with her a large portion of outward estate. These now are all gone; mother gone; brethren and sisters gone; you only are left to see the vanity of these temporal things and learn wisdom thereby; which may be of more use to you, through the Lord's

blessing, than all that inheritance which might have befallen you; and for which this may stay and quiet your heart, that God is able to give you more than this; and that it being spent in the furtherance of his work, which has here prospered so well through his power hitherto, you and yours may certainly expect a liberal portion in the prosperity and blessing thereof hereafter; and the rather, because it was not forced from you by a father's power, but freely resigned by yourself, out of a loving and filial respect unto me, and your own readiness unto the work itself. From whence, as I do often take occasion to bless the Lord for you, so do I also commend you and yours to his fatherly blessing, for a plentiful reward to be rendered unto you. And doubt not my dear son, but let your faith be built upon his promise and faithfulness, that as he hath carried you hitherto through many perils, and provided liberally for you, so he will do for the time to come, and will never fail you nor forsake you. My son the Lord knows how dear thou art to me, and that my care has been more for thee than for myself. But I know thy prosperity depend not on my care, nor on thine own, but on the blessing of our heavenly Father: neither doth it on the things of this world, but on the light of God's countenance, through the merit and mediation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is that only which can give us peace of conscience with contentation; which can as well make our lives happy and comfortable in a mean estate as in a great abundance. But if you weigh things aright, and sum up all the turnings of divine providence together, you shall find great advantage. The Lord hath brought us to a good land; a land where we enjoy outward peace and liberty, and above all, the blessing of the gospel, without the burthen of impositions in matters of religion. Many thousands there are who would give great estates to enjoy our condition. Labor, therefore, my good son, to increase our thankfulness to God for all his mercies to thee, especially for that he hath revealed his everlasting good will to thee in Jesus Christ, and joined thee to the visible body of his church, in the fellowship of his people, and hath saved thee in all thy travels abroad from being infected with the vices of these countries where thou hast been, (a mercy vouchsafed but unto few young gentlemen travellers.) Let Him have the honor of it who kept thee. He it was who gave thee favor in the eyes of all with whom thou hadst to do, both by sea and land; He it is who hath given thee a gift in understanding and art; and he it is who hath provided thee a blessing in marriage, a comfortable help and many sweet children. And therefore I would have you to love him again, and serve him, and trust him for the time to come."—Mather, B. II. cap. xi. sect. 9.

The wife of the writer of the foregoing letter, and the mother of the person to whom it was addressed, was a daughter of the celebrated Hugh Peters.—Savage's Notes to Winthrop's Hist. vol. i. p. 65.

Winthrop the elder not only performed actions worthy to be written, but produced writings worthy to be read. Yet his Journal, or History as it has been termed, in the late edition by Mr. Savage, is, I think, very inferior in spirit and interest to his letters. I hope that Mr. Savage has expressed rather his own editorial partiality than the prevalent taste of New England, in preferring this performance to the work of Cotton Mather. It would seem indeed that Winthrop's Journal has not derived much support from its own popularity, since "the liberal aid" of the legislature of Massachusetts is acknowledged to have been requisite to its publication.

I must regret that I had not an earlier opportunity of perusing the performance of Mr. Savage, to whose sagacity I owe the detection of an error into which I have been betrayed by the authorities on which I have hitherto relied. At present it is not in my power to correct it otherwise than by noticing (in conformity with Lt. Savage's note, vol. ii. p. 159), that although Sir John Harvey was displaced from the office of Governor of Virginia in 1639, Sir William Berkeley, whom I have supposed to have been his immediate successor was not appointed till 1641. The government in the interim was held by Sir Francis Wyatt.

NOTE [12] p. 247.—Among many interesting and romantic adventures and escapes related by Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Dwight, and other New England writers, as having occurred during the continuance of Philip's war, there is one incident which excited much marvelling at the time, and has since derived an increase of interest from the explanation which it received after the death of the party principally concerned in it. In 1675 the town of Hadley was alarmed by the

sudden approach of a body of Indians in the time of public worship, and the people were thrown into a confusion that betokened an unresisted massacre. Suddenly a grave elderly person appeared in the midst of them. Whence he came or who he was, nobody could tell. In his mein and dress he differed from the rest of the people. He not only encouraged them to defend themselves, but putting himself at their head, he rallied, instructed, and led them on to encounter the enemy, who by this means were repulsed. As suddenly the deliverer of Hadley disappeared; and the people were left in a state of perplexity and amazement, and utterly unable to account for this singular phenomenon. After his death it was known to have been Goffe the regicide, who resided somewhere in the neighborhood, but in such deep sequestration that none but those who were intrusted with the secret were ever able to make the remotest approach to a discovery of his retreat. Whaley resided with him; and they had some years before been joined by another of the regicides, Colonel Dixwell. They frequently changed their place of abode, and gave the name of *Ebenezer* to every spot that afforded them shelter. They had many friends both in England and in the New England states, and with some they maintained a pretty close correspondence. They had constant and exact intelligence of every thing that passed in England, and were unwilling to give up all hopes of deliverance. Their greatest expectations were from the fulfilment of the prophecies of scripture, which they had intently studied. They had no doubt that the execution of the judges was *the slaying of the witnesses*; and were much disappointed when the year 1666 had passed without any remarkable event, but still flattered themselves with the hope that common chronology might be erroneous. The strict inquisition that was made for them by the royal commissioners and others, renders their concealment in a country so thinly peopled, and where every stranger was the object of immediate and curious notice, truly surprising. It appears that they were befriended and much esteemed for their piety by persons who regarded the great action in which they had participated with the strongest disapprobation. Hutchinson, 215—219.

It requires less sense and humanity than were common in New England to perceive that the capital trial of a king must ever be a mockery of justice, and practically refutes the plea of necessity that is sometimes made the apology for defect of justice. No man will accept a commission to sit as judge of his king without, previously determining for his own safety to convict him, and to guard the sentence from being infringed by pardon; and the authority that is powerful enough to bring the king to trial has nothing to apprehend from his hostility in exile. How different was the situation of Charles and his persecutors, from the relations which courts of justice commonly imply, was strongly expressed by Cook, the Solicitor for the People of England, who declared, that although in ordinary trials he had often trembled to think how much easier it would be to account to God for mercy and indulgence than for justice and rigor, yet now it was meat and drink to him to ask judgment against the king. Howell's State Trials, iv. 1045.

In such, as in all cases, to be brave and generous is the safest course. While the deposed king lives, the demerits that have procured his deposition attach to his cause; but when his blood is shed, his faults seem to be washed away, and the cause which he maintained, purified from much of his odium by compassion, is transmitted to his unoffending descendants.

NOTE [13] p. 255.—In every state of human society, and under every form of faith, the belief of witchcraft has prevailed. Heathens, who are represented in scripture as serving demons, have respected and sought to propitiate the powers of witchcraft. Christians, or persons professing the service of the true God, have condemned and punished the practice. It has prevailed from time immemorial in Africa, which is generally considered by the learned as its cradle. Bryan Edwards has given a curious account of the witchcraft or Obeah practices believed and cultivated among the negroes in the West Indies. He states that the term Obeah, Obiah, or Obia (for it is variously written), is the adjective, and Obe or Obi the noun substantive; and that by the terms Obia men, and Obia women, are meant those who practise Obi or witchcraft. History of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 107.—Jacob Bryant, in his commentary on the word *Oph*, remarks that "a serpent in the Egyptian language was called Ob or

Aub; and that "*Obion* is still the Egyptian name for a serpent." "Moses," he continues, "in the name of God forbids the Israelites ever to inquire of the demon *Ob*, which is translated in our Bible, charmer or wizard, divinator or sorcilegus." "The woman at Endor," he adds, "is called *Oub* or *Ob*, translated Pythonissa; and *Oubois* was the name of the basilisk or royal serpent, emblem of the sun, and an ancient oracular deity of Africa." Bryant's Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475 and 478.

NOTE [14] p. 267.—The following may serve as a specimen of these articles of grievance, and of the answers they received:—"IV. As no laws can be repealed but by the assembly, it desired to know if the proprietary intended to annul a clause in the act for bringing tobacco to towns?" *Answer.* "The proprietary does not intend to annul the clause mentioned without an act of repeal."—"V. The attorney-general oppresses the people." *Answer.* "If such proceedings have been practised, the law is open against the offender, who is not countenanced by government."—"VI. Certain persons, under a pretended authority from some militia officers, have pressed provisions in time of peace." *Answer.* "We know of no such offenders; but when informed of them we shall proceed against them according to law and matter of fact."—"VII. The late adjournment of the provincial court to the last Tuesday in January is a time most incommodious to the people." *Answer.* "At the request of the lower house, they will adjourn the provincial court by proclamation." Chalmers, 379, 381. Why Chalmers, who is generally displeased even with the more moderate assertors of American liberty, should term this "a spirited representation of grievances," (p. 372.) I am at a loss to discover. But perhaps no other writer has ever combined such elaborate research of facts with such temerity of opinion and such glaring inconsistency of sentiment, as the "Political Annals" of this writer display. The American provinces, though little indebted to his favorable opinion, owe the most important illustration of their history to his industrious researches. Some of the particulars of his own early history may perhaps account for the peculiarities of his American politics. A Scotsman by birth, he had emigrated to Maryland, and was settled at Baltimore as a lawyer, when the revolutionary contest, (in which he adhered to the royal cause,) blasted all his prospects, and compelled him to take refuge in England, where his unfortunate loyalty and distinguished attainments procured him an honorable appointment from the Board of Trade. The first (and only) volume of his *Annals* was composed while he hoped that the royal cause would yet prevail in America, and was intended to be the apology of his party. His labors were discontinued when the cause and party to which they were devoted had evidently perished. Though a strong vein of Toryism pervades all his pages, he is at times unable to restrain an expression of indignant contempt at particular instances of the conduct of the kings and ministers, whose general policy he labors to vindicate.

NOTE [15] p. 272.—That a gift will blind the discernment even of the wise, and pervert the words even of the just, is an assurance conveyed to us by unerring wisdom, and confirmed by examples among which even the name of Locke must be enrolled. If no gift could be more seducing than the deference and admiration with which Shaftesbury graced his other bounties to Locke, no blindness could well be greater than that which veiled the eyes, and perverted the sentiments of the philosopher with respect to the conduct and character of his patron. In his memoirs of this profligate politician, not less insidious in his friendships than furious in his enmities, and who alternately inflamed and betrayed every faction in the state,—he has honored him as a mirror of worth and patriotism; declaring that, in a mild yet resolute constancy, he was equalled by few and exceeded by none; and that while liberty endures, his fame will mock the efforts of envy and the operations of time. Locke, folio edit. III. 450, &c. While Locke reprobates the unprincipled ambition and inveterate falsehood, with which Monk endeavored to the last to obtain for himself the vacant dignity of Cromwell,—he is totally insensible to any other feature than the *ability* of the more successful manoeuvres by which Shaftesbury outwitted the less dexterous knave, and at length forced him to concur in the Restoration. Locke has vaunted the profound sagacity with which Shaftesbury could penetrate the character, and avail himself of the talents and disposition, of every

person he conversed with. For his own vindication, it is necessary to regard him in this performance as exemplifying the quality which he so highly commended. When occasion required it, Shaftesbury could assume, a virtue to which his talent lent such a degree of efficacy as commanded universal admiration. When he was appointed to preside in the Court of Chancery, he was unacquainted with law, and had grown grey in the practice of fraud and intrigue. Yet in the discharge of the functions of this office, he is acknowledged to have combined the genius of Bacon with the integrity of More; and the satisfaction that was derived from the legal soundness of his decrees, was surpassed only by the respect that was entertained for the lofty impartiality of his conduct.

Among other marks of confidence bestowed by Shaftesbury on Locke, he employed him to choose a wife for his son, whom he was anxious to marry early; as the feebleness of the young man's constitution gave him cause to apprehend the extinction of his family. Locke, undismayed by the nice and numerous requisites which Shaftesbury desired him to combine in the object of his choice, fulfilled this delicate office to his patron's satisfaction; and afterwards accepted the office of tutor to the eldest male offspring of the marriage. Life of Locke, prefixed to the folio edition of his Works. Like Philip of Macedon, Shaftesbury seems to have determined to extract as much advantage as possible to his posterity from the genius of the great philosopher who proved to be his contemporary. Neither the tutors, however, derived much credit from his tuition, or received much gratitude from his pupil. Alexander sneered at the sophisms of Aristotle, (Plutarch's Life of Alexander;) and the author of the "Characteristics," in his "Letters written by a Nobleman to a Young Man at the University," 1716, severely censured the writings of Locke, as giving countenance to infidelity.

Shaftesbury was able to infect Locke with all his own real or pretended suspicions of the catholics; and even when the philosopher could not refrain from censuring the severity and intolerance of the protestants, he expressed his regret that they should be found capable of "such popish practices." Not less unjust and absurd was Lord Russell's declaration, that massacring men in cool blood was so like a practice of the papists, that he could not but abhor it; and Sir Edward Coke's remark, that poisoning was a *popish trick*. When Locke undertook to legislate for Carolina, he produced ecclesiastical constitutions not more, and political regulations far less favorable to human liberty and happiness, than those which had been previously established by a catholic legislator in Maryland.

Mr. Fox is much puzzled to account for Locke's friendship with Shaftesbury, and has attempted it, I think, very unsuccessfully.

It is strange that we should be obliged to prefer the testimony of an unprincipled satirist to that of an upright philosopher. Yet Dryden's character of Achiropiel is undoubtedly the justest and most masterly representation of Shaftesbury that has ever been produced by friend or foe. So much more powerful is affection than enmity in deluding the fancy and seducing the understanding!

NOTE [16] p. 284.—Founders of ancient colonies have sometimes been deified by their successors. New York is perhaps the only commonwealth whose founders have been covered with ridicule from the same quarter. It is impossible to read the ingenious and diverting romance entitled Knickerbocker's History of New York, without wishing that the author had put either a little more or a little less truth in it, and that his talent for humor and sarcasms had found another subject than the dangers, hardships, and virtues, of the ancestors of his national family. It must be unfavorable to patriotism to connect historical recollections with ludicrous associations; but the genius of Mr. Irving has done this so effectually, that it is difficult to read the names of Wouter Van Twiller, of Corlear, and of Peter Stuyvesant, without a smile; or to see the free and happy colonists of New York enslaved by the forces of a despot, without a sense of ridicule that abates the resentment which injustice should excite, and the sympathy which is due to misfortune. Yet Stuyvesant was a gallant and generous man; and Corlear softened the miseries of war and mitigated the wrath of man by his benevolence. If this writer had confined his ridicule to the wars, or rather bloodless buffettings and squabbles of the Dutch and the Swedes, his readers would have derived more unimproved enjoy-

ment from his performance. Probably my discernment of the unsuitableness of Mr. Irving's mirth, is quickened by a sense of personal wrong; as I cannot help feeling that he has by anticipation ridiculed my topic and parodied my narrative. If Sancho Panza had been a real governor, misrepresented by the wit of Cervantes, his future historian would have found it no easy matter to bespeak a grave attention to the annals of his administration.

NOTE [17] p. 289.—"Dining one day at Monsieur Hoeft's, and having a great cold, I observed, everytime I spit, a tight handsome wench, that stood in the room with a clean cloth in her hand, was presently down to wipe it up, and rub the board clean. Somebody at table speaking of my cold, I said the most trouble it gave me was to see the poor wench take so much pains about it. Monsieur Hoeft told me, 'twas well I escaped so; and that if his wife had been at home, tho' I were an ambassador, she would have turned me out of doors for fouling her house." Sir William Temple's Works, i. 472.

NOTE [18] p. 290.—The charitable attempt of Chalmers to vindicate the character of this man from the impeachment and abhorrence, not of one, but of every province over which he exercised the functions of government previous to the British Revolution, is totally unsuccessful. The main topic of apology is, that he merely executed the orders of his master, and sometimes intellectually recommended more humane and liberal measures; an apology which might be, as in fact it was equally pleaded to justify the atrocities of Kirke and Jeffries in England, and of Graham of Claverhouse and Sir James Turner, in Scotland. It is an apology that may sometimes exempt from punishment, but can never redeem character, or avert reprobation. When Turner was taken prisoner by the persecuted Scottish peasantry in Dumfriesshire, they were proceeding to put him to death for his cruelty; but observing from the written instructions found on his person, that he had actually fallen short of the severity which he had been ordered to commit, these generous men arrested their uplifted hands, and dismissed him with impunity, but not without abhorrence. That Andros, from some of his private suggestions to the duke, seems at times to have been willing to alleviate the burdens of the people, only renders him the more culpable for so actively effectuating a contrary policy, the mischief and odium of which he plainly discerned. It might have been argued, with some appearance of probability, that the unanimous dislike he excited in New England inferred less of reproach to his personal character, than of the repugnance between the previous habits of the people and the structure of that arbitrary system which he was appointed to administer among them. But the detestation he excited in New York, where the people had been habituated to arbitrary government, admits not of this suggestion; which, even with regard to New England, we have already seen to be very slightly, if at all admissible. James the Second evinced a sagacity that approached to instinct, in the employment of fit instruments to execute injustice and cruelty; and his steady patronage of Andros, and constant preference of his to any other instrumentality, in the subjugation of colonial liberty, is the strongest certificate that could be given of the aptness of this officer's disposition for the employment for which he was selected. His friend and compeer Randolph boasted, that, in New England, Andros was as arbitrary as the Great Turk.

After the British Revolution, Andros is said to have conducted himself irreproachably as governor of Virginia. But William and Mary had not entrusted him with tyrannical power; and the Virginians would not have permitted him to exercise it. His appointment to this situation, however, was an insult to the American colonies, and a disgraceful proceeding of King William, who assuredly was not a friend to American liberty. Andros died at London in 1715, at a very advanced age.

NOTE [19] p. 297.—This jesuit accompanied the French commissioners who repaired to the head quarters of the Five Nations to treat for peace. When the commissioners approached the Indian station, they were met by a sachem who presented them with three separate gifts, strings of wampum; the first, to wipe away their tears for the French that had been slain; the second, to open their mouths, that they might speak freely; and the third, to clean the mat on which

they were to sit, while treating of peace, from the blood that had been spilt on both sides. The jesuit, who acted as the orator of the embassy, endeavored to pay court to the Indians by imitation of their style. "The war kettle," said he, "boiled so long, that it would have scalded all the Five Nations had it continued; but now it is upset, and turned upside-down, and a firm peace made." He recommended to them the preservation of amity with *Cordeur*, the Indian name for the governor of New York; and having thus attempted to disarm their suspicions, uttered many injurious insinuations against this ally. "I offer myself to you," he continued, "to live with you at *Onondaga*, to instruct you in the christian religion, and to drive away all sickness, plagues, and the diseases of your country." Though this proposition, which the French were much bent on effectuating, was absolutely rejected, the peace brought them a deliverance from so much misery and fear, that, when a deputation of the sachems of the Five Nations arrived at Montreal to ratify the treaty, they were received with general acclamations of joy, and a salute from the artillery on the ramparts. The Indian allies of the French were highly offended with this demonstration of respect. "We perceive," they angrily observed, "that fear makes the French show more respect to their enemies, than love can make them do to their friends." Colden, i. 200—212.

NOTE [20] p. 299.—Denton, whose description of New York was published in 1702, gives a very agreeable picture of the state of the province and its inhabitants at this period:—"I must needs say, that if there be a terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here. The inhabitants are blessed with peace and plenty; blessed in their country, blessed in the fruit of their bodies, and the fruit of their grounds; blessed in their basket and in their store; in a word, blessed in whatsoever they take in hand, or go about; the earth yielding plentiful increase to all their painful labor."—"Were it not to avoid prolixity, I could say a great deal more, and yet say too little, to show how free are these parts of the world from that pride and oppression, with their miserable effects, which many, nay almost all, parts of the world are troubled with. There, a wagon or cart gives as good content as a coach; and a piece of their home-made cloth better than the finest lawns or richest silks; and though their low-roofed houses may seem to shut their doors against pride and luxury, yet, how do they stand wide open to let charity in and out, either to assist each other or to relieve a stranger! and the distance of place from other nations doth secure them from the envious frowns of ill-affected neighbors, and the troubles which usually arise thence." Denton, 19, 20.

What a contrast there is between this happy picture and the state of European society about the same period, as depicted by De Foe in the most celebrated of his romances!—"I saw the world busy around me; one part laboring for bread, and the other squandering it in vile excesses or empty pleasures."—"The men of labor spent their strength in daily strugglings for bread to maintain the vital power they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow; living but to work, and working but to live, as if daily bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily bread."

NOTE [21] p. 302.—From the writings of the modern historians and apologists of quakerism, we might be led to suppose that none of the quakers who were imprisoned by the magistrates of England at this period had been accused of aught else but the profession of their peculiar doctrinal tenets, or attendance at their peculiar places of worship. But very different accounts of the causes of their imprisonment have been transmitted by some of the sufferers themselves; and, from the tenor of these it is manifest that the only wrong they sustained from the magistrates was, that they were committed to prison, instead of being confined in lunatic hospitals. The most remarkable of these compositions is the Narrative of the Persecution of Solomon Eccles, in the year 1659, written by himself, and dated from Newgate, where he describes himself as "a prisoner for the testimony of the Lord." This man, who was a quaker, and a tailor in London, relates, that "It was clearly showed to me that I should go to the steeple-house in Aldermanbury the first day of the week then following, and take with me something to work, and do it in the pulpit at their singing time." So, after much musing, "I purposed to carry with me a pocket to sew." He repaired to Edmund Calamy's chapel, and watching his

opportunity, made his way into the pulpit. "I sat myself down upon the cushion, and my feet upon the seat where the priest, when he hath told out his lies, doth sit down, and, having my work ready, I pulled one or two stitches." When the people began to persecute him, i. e. to pull him down, he cared not if they had killed him, "for I was full of joy, and they were full of wrath and madness." He was carried before the mayor. "Then said he to me, 'Wherefore did you work there?' I said, 'In obedience to the Lord's commandment.' He said it was a false spirit; and said he, 'Where are your sureties?' I said, the Lord was my security." Accordingly, his persecution was consummated by a commitment to Newgate. "Now, let all sober people judge whether I did this thing out of envy against either priest or people. Yea, farther, I say, the Lord lay it not to their charge who have said that I did it in malice, devilishness, and envy," &c. &c. This singular narrative is republished in the State Trials, vol. vi. p. 998.

NOTE [22] p. 303.—Of this diversity the following instance may serve as a specimen. When the statute against the quakers began to be generally enforced, George Bishop, a man of some eminence among them, remonstrated against it in these terms: "To the king and both houses of parliament, Thus saith the Lord, Meddle not with my people because of their conscience to me, and banish them not out of the nation because of their conscience; for if you do I will send my plagues among you, and you shall know that I am the Lord. Written in obedience to the Lord, by his servant, G. Bishop." Gough and Sewell, i. 249. Very different was the remonstrance which William Penn addressed on the same subject to the king of Poland, in whose dominions a severe persecution was instituted against the quakers. "Give us poor christians," says he, "leave to expostulate with these. Suppose we are tares, as the true wheat hath always been called, yet pluck us not up for Christ's sake, who saith, Let the tares and the wheat grow up until the harvest, that is, until the end of the world. Let God have his due as well as Caesar. The judgment of conscience belongeth unto him and mistakes about religion are known to him alone." Clarkson's life of Penn, i. 189.

NOTE [23] p. 305.—It is not difficult to understand how a friendly intercourse originated between the leading persons among the quakers and Charles the Second and his brother. The quakers desired to avail themselves of the authority of the king for the establishment of a general toleration, and their own especial defence against the enmity and dislike of their numerous adversaries. The king and his brother regarded with great benevolence the principles of non-resistance professed by these sectaries, and found in them the only class of protestants who could be rendered instrumental to their design of re-establishing popery by the preparatory measure of a general toleration. But how the friendly relation thus created between the royal brothers and such men as Penn and Barclay should have continued to subsist uninterrupted by all the tyranny and treachery which the reigns of these princes disclosed, is a difficulty which their contemporaries were unable to solve in any other manner than by considering the quakers as at bottom the votaries of popery and arbitrary power. The more modern and juster, as well as more charitable censure is, that they were the dupes of kingly courtesy, craft, and dissimulation. They endeavored to make an instrument of the king; while he permitted them to flatter themselves with this hope, that he might avail himself of their instrumentality for the accomplishment of his own designs.

Perhaps since the days when the prophets of Israel were divinely commissioned to rebuke their offending monarchs, no king was ever addressed in terms of more dignified admonition than Robert Barclay has employed in concluding the dedication of his famous *Apology for the Quakers* to Charles the Second. "There is no king in the world," he bids him remember, "who can so experimentally testify of God's providence and goodness; neither is there any who rules so many free people, so many true Christians; which thing renders thy government more honorable, and thyself more considerable, than the accession of many nations filled with slavish and superstitious souls. Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country and to be overruled, as well as to rule and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed, thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man. If after all these

warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give thyself up to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation." Yet Charles gave himself up to lust and vanity, without apprehending or experiencing any diminution of the regards of his quaker friends; and the tyranny and oppression that stained the conduct of both Charles and James rendered them hateful to all men except the catholics and the quakers. The horrible cruelties inflicted by the orders, and in the presence of James himself on the Scottish covenanters must have been perfectly well known to Barclay. But perhaps his sympathy with the sufferers was abated by the lamentable intolerance which many of these unfortunate victims of bigotry themselves evinced. There were few of them who, even in the midst of their own afflictions, did not bequeath a dying testimony to their countrymen against the sin of tolerating the blasphemous heresy of the quakers. See *The Cloud of Witnesses*, Woodrow's History, and other works illustrative of that period.

Of the cajolery that was practised by King James upon the quakers, I think a remarkable instance is afforded, very unintentionally, by Mr. Clarkson, in his *Memoirs of William Penn*, vol. ii. cap. 1. In the year 1688, Gilbert Latsey, an eminent quaker minister, having been presented by Penn to this prince, thanked him for his *Declaration of Indulgence* in favor of quakers and other dissenters, adding an expression of his hope, that, as the king had remembered the quakers in their distress, so God might remember him in his distress. Some time after when James, expelled from England, was endeavoring to make head against his adversaries in Ireland, he sent a message to Latsey, confessing that the revolution had approved him so far a prophet, inasmuch as the king had fallen into distress. But Latsey was not satisfied with this partial testimony, and reminded James, that as his life had been saved at the battle of the Boyne, the prophecy that had been addressed to him was entirely fulfilled.

NOTE [24] p. 307.—Gabriel Thomas, the author of this pleasing little work, which is dedicated to Sir John Moore and Sir Thomas Lane, aldermen of London, and at that time two of the principal proprietaries of West Jersey, was a quaker, and the friend of Penn to whom at the same time he dedicated a corresponding history of the province of Pennsylvania. His chief aim in writing he declares to have been to inform the labouring poor of Britain of the opportunity afforded to them by these colonial settlements, of exchanging a state of ill-rewarded toil, or of beggary and burdensome dependence, for a condition at once more useful, honorable, prosperous, and happy. "Now, reader," he thus concludes, "having no more to add of any moment or importance, I salute thee in Christ; and whether thou stayest in England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, or goest to Pennsylvania, West or East Jersey, I wish thee all health and happiness in this, and everlasting comfort, in God, in the world to come. Fare thee well!"

NOTE [25] p. 308.—The following instance of the sensitiveness of the quakers to the reputation of William Penn and his institutions, I believe has never before been published, and I think deserves to be made known. When Winterbotham undertook the compilation of his "Historical, Geographical, Commercial, and Philosophical View of the American United States," he was encouraged to pursue his labors by the assurance of numerous subscriptions, a great part of which were obtained from English quakers. The authorities which he consulted on the subject of Pennsylvania, gave him an insight into the lamentable dissensions that had occurred between the founder of this province and his quaker colonists, and induced him to form an opinion unfavorable to the equity of Penn, and to the moderation of both parties. The historical part of his account of this province was accordingly written in a strain calculated to convey this impression. Unfortunately for him this came to be known just when his work was ready for publication and delivery to the subscribers. The quakers instantly withdrew their subscriptions, a step that involved Winterbotham in the most serious embarrassment. Alarmed at this unexpected blow, the unfortunate author, then a prisoner in Newgate for seditious expressions of which he is now generally acknowledged to have been innocent, applied to the late William Dillwyn, of Walthamstow, and throwing himself on the humanity of that venerable

man, implored his powerful intercession with the members of his religious fraternity. By his advice, Winterbotham consented to cancel the objectionable portion of the work, and, in the place of it, there was substituted a composition on the same subject from the pen of Mr. Dillwyn. A few copies of the work in its original state having got into circulation, there was added to the preface in the remaining copies an apology for the error into which the author declared that he had been betrayed with regard to the character of Penn and his colonists. The Quakers, on being apprised of this, complied at once with the solicitation of their respected friend, and fulfilled their engagements with Winterbotham. This anecdote was related to me by Mr. Dillwyn himself. The contribution which this excellent person, celebrated in Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, thus made to Winterbotham's work, is characterised by his usual mildness and indulgence. Without denying the existence of unhappy dissensions in Pennsylvania, he suggests reasons for supposing that they originated in mutual misapprehension, and were neither violent nor lasting. An apologetical vein pervades the whole composition, of which the only fault is, that, unlike the generality of Quaker productions, it is a great deal too short. Mr. Dillwyn was a native of New Jersey, and had devoted a great deal of attention to the history of America.

NOTE [26] p. 309.—Bishop Burnet relates that Penn, in alluding to the executions of Mrs. Gaunt and Alderman Cornish, at which he had attended as a spectator, said, that "the king was greatly to be pitted!" and endeavored to palliate his guilt, by ascribing his participation in these and other atrocities, to the influence that Jeffries had acquired over his mind. Unfortunately for the credit of this wretched apology, the king was not under the influence of Jeffries when he ordered and witnessed the infliction of torture on the covenanters in Scotland; and the disgrace into which Jeffries fell immediately before the Revolution, for refusing to gratify the king by professing popery, and pretending to keep a corner of his conscience sacred from the royal dominion, shows how voluntary and how limited the king's pretended subjection to him truly was. It is related in the diary of Henry Lord Clarendon, that Jeffries expressed his uneasiness to this nobleman at the king's impetuosity and want of moderation. When Jeffries was imprisoned in the Tower at the Revolution, he assured Tutchin, one of his victims, who came to visit and exult over him, that on returning from his bloody circuit in the west, he had been "snubbed at court for being too merciful." Kirke, in like manner, when reproached with his cruelties, declared, that they had greatly fallen short of the letter of his instructions.

For the credit of Penn's humanity, it may be proper to observe, that it was common, in that age, for persons of the highest respectability, and, among others, for noblemen and ladies of rank, in their coaches, to attend executions, especially of remarkable sufferers. See various passages in that learned and interesting work, Howell's State Trials.

NOTE [27.] p. 310.—Colonel Nicholson, an active agent of the crown, both before and after the English Revolution, who held office successively in many of the colonies, and was acquainted with the condition of them all, in a letter to the Board of Trade, in 1698, observes, that "A great many people of all the colonies, especially in those under proprietaries, think that no law of England ought to be binding on them, without their own consent; for they foolishly say, that they have no representatives sent from themselves to the parliament of England; and they look upon all laws made in England, that put any restraint upon them, to be great hardships." State Papers, *apud* Chalmers, 443.

In the introduction to the historical work of Oldmixon, who boasts of the assistance and information he received from William Penn, we find this remarkable passage:—"The Portuguese have so true a notion of the advantage of such colonies, that to encourage them, they admit the citizens of Goa to send deputies to sit in the assembly of the Cortes. And if it were asked, why our colonies have not their representatives, who could presently give a satisfactory answer?" Edit. 1708, p. 34.

An extension of the right of electing members of parliament, to a part of the realm which had not been previously represented there, occurred in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Eighth. The inhabitants of the county Palatine and city of Chester complained, in a petition to the king, "that, for want of knights and burgesses in the court of parliament, they sustained

manifold damages, not only in their lands, goods, and bodies, but in the civil and politic governance and maintenance of the commonwealth of their said county; and that while they had been always bound by the acts and statutes of the said court of parliament, the same as other counties, cities, and boroughs, that had knights and burgesses in said court, they had often been touched and grieved with acts and statutes, made within the said court, as well derogatory unto the most ancient jurisdictions, liberties, and privileges of the said county Palatine, as prejudicial unto the commonwealth, quietness, and peace of his majesty's subjects." They proposed as a remedy, "that it would please his highness, that it be enacted, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the commons in parliament assembled, that, from the end of the session, the county Palatine shall have two knights for the said county; and likewise two citizens, to be burgesses for the city of Chester." The complaint was thought just and reasonable, and the petitioners were accordingly admitted to send representatives to parliament.

Various instances of similar proceedings occurred in the reigns of this monarch's successors—Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth; the latter of whom created twenty-four new boroughs in England.

NOTE [28] p. 314.—In the year 1684, there was published, by one of these emigrants, "The Planter's Speech to his Neighbors and Countrymen of Pennsylvania;" a composition which reminds us of some of the productions of the early colonists of New England. "The motives of your retreating to these new habitations," says this writer, "I apprehend, measuring your sentiments by my own, to have been,—

"1st. The desire of a peaceable life, where we might worship God and obey his law, with freedom, according to the dictates of the divine principle, unincumbered with the mouldy errors occasioned by the fierce invasions of tradition, politic craft, and covetous or ambitious cruelty.

"2d. That we might here, as on a virgin Elysian shore, commence, or improve, such an innocent course of life, as might unload us of those outward cares, vexations, and turmoils, which before we were always subject unto from the hands of self-designing and unreasonable men.

"3d. That, as *Lot*, by flying to little *Zoar*, from the ungodly company of a more populous and magnificent dwelling, we might avoid being grieved with the sight of infectious, as well as odious, examples, of horrid swearings, cursings, drunkenness, gluttony, uncleanness, and all kinds of debauchery, continually committed with greediness; and also escape the judgments threatened to every land polluted with such abominations.

"4th. That as trees are transplanted from one soil to another, to render them more thriving and better bearers, so we here, in peace and secure retirement, under the bountiful protection of God, and in the lap of the least adulterated nature, might every one the better improve his talent, and bring forth more plenteous fruits to the glory of God, and public welfare of the whole creation.

"5th. And lastly, that in order hereunto, by our holy doctrine, and the *practical teachings* of our exemplary abstemious lives, transacted in all humility, sobriety, plainness, self-denial, virtue, and honesty, we might gain upon those thousands of poor dark souls scattered round about us, and commonly, in way of contempt and reproach, called *heathens*, and bring them not only to a state of civility, but real piety; which effected, would turn to a more satisfactory account than if, with the proud Spaniards, we had gained the mines of Potosi." "These thoughts, these designs, my friends, were those that brought you hither; and so far only as you pursue and accomplish them, you obtain the end of your journey." "Our business, therefore, here, in this new land, is not so much to build houses, and establish factories, and promote trade and manufactures, that may enrich ourselves, though all these things in their due place are not to be neglected, as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness, which God may delight in." Among other advices, which this writer proceeds to communicate, he recommends not only the refraining from all wanton waste of inferior animal life, but a total abstinence from animal food.—Proud, i. 226, &c.

NOTE [29] p. 317.—Of the long prevalence of this feeling among the Quakers, innumerable instances might be adduced. One of the most remarkable, is a transaction which occurred in England, in 1705, and

which reflects very little credit on the honesty of any of the persons who were implicated in it. At that time, Lord Cornbury, the royal governor of New York, in conjunction with the royal governor of Massachusetts, and various enemies of colonial liberty in England, were endeavoring to supply Queen Anne's ministers with some pretext for annulling the charter of Connecticut. To this end, they preferred against the government of this province a great variety of charges, some of which were so manifestly incapable of abiding parliamentary scrutiny, or judicial investigation, that they could not have been intended to serve any other purpose than that of discrediting the colonial government in the opinion of the English public, and abating the sympathy by which the colonists were aided in the defence of their liberties. Among other proceedings of this description, the enemies of the colony laid hold of one of the laws that had been passed by the Connecticut assembly, more than fifty years before, against the Quakers, at the time of the general persecution of these sectaries in New England; and which, as it had been enacted before the last Connecticut charter was granted, could never imply an abuse of the powers which this charter conferred. A complaint against this law was presented to the queen in council, describing it as an ordinance recently enacted, and beseeching her majesty's interposition to prevent the injustice which it threatened from being carried into effect. In vain the colonial agents endeavored to prevent the sanction of a royal order from being given to this charge by offering to prove, that the law had been enacted half a century before; that it had never been carried into effect even at that time, and was long since deemed obsolete, and that no suspicion could now have been reasonably entertained of an attempt to revive it, as there was not a single Quaker living in the colony. An order of council was issued, nevertheless, stating the complaint exactly in the terms in which it had been presented, and annulling the law as a recent enactment, and contrary to the colonial charter. To give greater efficacy to this proceeding, the Quakers of London, who had been instigated to support the complaint, and must, therefore, have known the explanation which it had received, presented a public address of thanks to the queen for her gracious interposition in behalf of their brethren in New England; taking especial care so to word their representation of what she had done, that the public should not be undeceived as to the date of the law that had been repealed. Nay, more than seventy years after, Robert Proud, a Quaker, and American historian, with astonishing ignorance, or shameful partiality, published a copy of the queen's order in council, and of the Quaker address, with the preliminary remark, that "About this time, (anno 1705,) the Quakers, in America, seem to have had reason to be alarmed by a singular act of Assembly, passed in the colony of Connecticut; the substance or purport of which appears by the order of Queen Anne in council, made upon that occasion." Proud, i. 465, 6. Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 420.

William Penn, probably, partook of the general prejudice entertained by his fellow sectaries against the people of New England; and it is certain that he carried on a friendly correspondence with Randolph, who had rendered himself so odious to that people, and done so much to destroy their liberties (*ante*, b. ii. cap. iv. and v.) But it is with sincere pleasure, I add, that he appears to have had no concern whatever with this proceeding of the London Quakers, in 1705. Indeed, it appears (from Clarkson's Life of him, vol. ii. cap. xvi.) that he was at this time involved in great perplexity by the embarrassed state of his circumstances, and compelled to reside within the rules of the Fleet prison. It is the more necessary to note this, as two years before he had carried up an address from the Quakers of England to Queen Anne, thanking her for her general declaration of indulgence to all dissenters.

No sectaries have ever evinced a stronger corporate spirit than the Quakers. None have shown a keener sense or more lasting resentment of injuries sustained by any member of their fraternity. It was the opinion of Turgot, says his biographer Condorcet, "that only good men were capable of sustaining indignation and displeasure." In truth, this is a frailty which many good men have too readily indulged. Deeming offences against themselves offences against goodness, and convinced of their own good intentions, they have forgotten to believe in their own imperfections, or to make allowance for the infirmities of others; and so have cherished passions and prejudices that obscured their moral discrimination, and, on some occasions, rendered their general honesty of little avail.

The quakers have always delighted to exaggerate the persecutions that they have encountered. An illustrious French traveller has been so far deceived by their vague declamations on this topic, as to assert that quakers were, at one time, put to the torture in New England.—Rochebroucault's Travels, i. 525.

NOTE [30] p. 321.—Of the condition in which Penn continued to linger for a number of years before his death, an interesting account is given by Thomas Story the quaker, (whose account of the yellow fever at Philadelphia in 1699 I have already noticed,) who, arriving from America in 1713, proceeded to pay a visit to all that remained of his venerable friend. "He was then," says Story, "under the lamentable effects of an apoplectic fit which he had had some time before; for his memory was almost quite lost, and the use of his understanding suspended, so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before; wherein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks. For though to some this accident might look like judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it, yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities of the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, and suspension of all his enjoyments, till this happened to him, by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet sensible of the enjoyment of truth as at any time in all his life. When I went to the house, I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition; but when I entered the room, and perceived the great defect of his expressions from want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to by a disorder of the organs of that body with which the soul is connected and acts during this present mode of being. When these are but a little obstructed in their various functions; a man of the clearest parts and finest expression becomes scarcely intelligible. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions; and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him. And that he had still a good sense of truth, is plain by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth in an evening meeting we had together there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of his life, which so much oppressed him, not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end."—Clarkson, li. 335. Yet some writers have believed that, at this very time, Penn was engaged with the Jacobites in concerting plots in behalf of the Pretender. This allegation appeared the more plausible, as proceeding from

the State Papers (published by Macpherson) of Nairne, an under secretary at the Pretender's court; although the statements in these papers are founded entirely on the reports sent to France by two obscure Jacobite spies in England.

William Penn lingered in this condition till the 30th of July, 1718, when he closed his long and laborious life. This event, though long expected, was deeply bewailed in Pennsylvania; and the worth of Penn honorably commemorated by the tardy gratitude of his people.—Proud, ii. 105. 120. 122.

NOTE [31] p. 322.—"It is remarkable," says a distinguished modern statesman and philosopher, "how exactly the history of the Carthaginian monopoly resembles that of the European nations who have colonized America. At first, the distant settlement could admit of no immediate restraints, but demanded all the encouragement and protection of the parent state; and the gains of its commerce were neither sufficiently alluring to the Carthaginian merchant from their own magnitude, nor necessary to him from the difficulty of finding employment for his capital in other directions. At this period, the colony was left to itself, and was allowed to manage its own affairs in its own way, under the superintendence and care of Carthage, which protected it from foreign invasion, but neglected its commerce. In this favourable predicament, it soon grew into importance; some of the Carthaginian merchants most probably found their way thither, or promoted the colonial speculations by loans; at any rate, by furnishing a ready demand for the rude produce.

"In this stage of its progress, then, we find the colony trade left free; for the first of the two treaties, prohibiting all the Roman ships of war to approach within a certain distance of the coast, allows the trading vessels free access to all the harbors, both of the continent and the colonies. This intercourse is even encouraged with the port of Carthage, by a clause freeing the vessels entering, from almost all import duties. The treaty includes the Roman and Carthaginian allies; by which were probably meant their colonies, as well as the friendly powers; and the clause, which expressly includes the colony of Sicily, gives the Romans all the privileges in that island which the Carthaginians themselves enjoyed. At this period, it is probable that the commerce of Rome excited no jealousy, and the wealth of the colonies little avarice; although a dread of the military prowess of the former seems to have given rise to the negotiation.

"Some time afterwards another treaty, conceived in a different spirit, and formed exactly upon the principles of the mercantile system, was concluded between those celebrated rival powers. The restrictions upon the navigation of the Roman ships of war are here ex-

tended and enforced; the freedom of entry into the port of Carthage is continued, and into the ports of Sicily also, the Romans granting to the Carthaginians like privileges at Rome. But the Romans are debarred from plundering, trading, or settling (a singular conjunction) upon the coast of Africa Propria, which was peopled by Carthaginian colonies, and furnished large supplies of provisions and money to the city. The same restriction is extended to Sardinia; and trading vessels are only permitted to enter the harbour of that colony for the space of five days, to refit, if driven thither by stress of weather. A singular clause is inserted, to which close analogies may be traced in the modern questions of neutral rights and contraband of war;—if any Roman troops shall receive stores from a Carthaginian port, or a port in the provincial territories of the state, they are bound not to turn them against either the republic or her allies.

"The substance of this very singular document will suggest various reflections to my readers. I shall only observe, that we find in it the principles of the modern colonial system clearly unfolding themselves; and that we have every reason to regret the scantiness of our knowledge of the Carthaginian story, which, in so far as relates to the commerce of that people, breaks off here, and leaves us no trace of the farther restrictions most probably imposed by succeeding statesmen upon the growing trade of the colonies."—Brougham's Inquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers.

NOTE [32] p. 323.—A good deal of irritation seems to have been excited in America, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, by some discussion that took place in parliament with regard to a project for the employment of felons in the royal dock-yards of England. A bill for this purpose was passed by the House of Commons, but rejected by the House of Lords as tending to discredit his Majesty's service in the dock-yards. This was commented on with just displeasure in an American periodical work, of which some passages have been preserved in Smith's History of New York. By making felony a passport to the advantages of an establishment in America, says this writer, the number of criminals is multiplied in England; and the misery of the industrious poor is aggravated by the discredit attached to the only certain means of improving their condition. "There are thousands of honest men," he continues, "labouring in Europe at fourpence a day, starving in spite of all their efforts, a dead weight to the respective parishes to which they belong; who, without any other qualifications than common sense, health, and strength, might accumulate estates among us, as many have done already. These, and not the felons, are the men that should be sent over for the better peopling the plantations."—268, 9.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

HAVING closed the two volumes of Grahame's History of North America, which comes down only to 1688, we shall continue the chain of events from matter drawn from respectable sources, and such as are considered standard histories. The numbers for a single year will give the reader a larger amount of American history than has been written by any single author in this or in any other country.

CHAPTER I.

Disputes between New York and New Jersey—Overthrow of the Royal Government in New York—Settlement of Pennsylvania—New Charter for Massachusetts—Restoration of the Royal Government in New York—War with the French and Indians—Fort Panamint built—Comparative Force of the Colonies in 1695—War with Canada—With the Spanish Colonies—Between Carolina and the Indians—Dissensions in New York—Boundary settled between Massachusetts and Connecticut—Yale College.

In 1674, William Penn obtained an assignment of Lord Berkeley's interest in the Jerseys; and in 1676 he released East Jersey to Carteret. About 1680, after settling a controversy with the Duke of York, he, with eleven others, obtained a transfer of Carteret's part; and immediately conveyed one half of their interest to the Earl of Perth and others. Continual efforts were made in the meantime for re-annexing the Jerseys to

New York. Carteret established a port of entry at Amboy. Andros seized and condemned the vessels which traded there. New York then claimed the right of taxing the Jerseys; but when her collector ventured to prosecute a vessel, judgment was almost invariably given against him. A *quo warranto* issued against East Jersey: the proprietors surrendered their patent, and it was not long after, that both Jerseys were annexed to New England.

A Mr. Dongan was the governor who succeeded Andros in 1683. The French had undertaken to exclude the people of New York from the fur trade in Canada; and as the Five Nations were then at war with the tribes of that country, Dongan sought revenge by obtaining permission to assist them. The permission was recalled in 1686, and under Andros, New York was shortly after annexed to New England. James II. had ordered the discontinuance of assemblies: the colonists were greatly

exasperated at the proceeding; and as soon as they heard of the revolution at Boston, they took possession of the fort in King William's name, and drove the lieutenant-governor out of the country. Captain Jacob Leisler, who was the leader of the insurrection, conducted afterwards with so little prudence or moderation, that the province was divided into two factions, and for a long time suffered much inconvenience from their mutual animosities.

In 1681 William Penn obtained a charter for the territory of Pennsylvania; in April, 1682, he formed a code of laws for his intended colony; in August he obtained from the Duke of York a grant of Newcastle, with the country southward to Cape Henlopen, and in October of the same year he landed on the banks of the Delaware with two thousand emigrants. Philadelphia was immediately founded, and within twelve months nearly one hundred houses demonstrated the

rapidity of its growth. The proprietor, though appointed "captain-general" of his territory, and invested with power to raise, equip, and lead his forces whenever it should be necessary, did not come to the country as a conqueror, and instead of exasperating the natives by forcing them to quit their lands, conciliated their good will by paying them a satisfactory equivalent. He experienced considerable difficulty, however, in settling a dispute with Lord Baltimore about the boundaries of his grant, and after some fruitless altercation the question was submitted to the committee of plantations, who decided that the peninsula formed by the bays of Chesapeake and Delaware should be equally divided between the two claimants by a meridional line, drawn from the fortieth degree of north latitude to Cape Henlopen. Penn's code of laws was founded on the enlightened principle, that "liberty, without obedience, is confusion; and obedience without liberty, is slavery;" but its complicated provisions were much better in theory than in practice, and after many unsuccessful attempts to make it fit the circumstances of the colony, it was finally abandoned for a more simple form of government. Pennsylvania was dilatory in acknowledging the Prince of Orange. The government was administered in the name of James for some time after his abdication; and when at last the proprietor was obliged to recognise William and Mary, he did not back address to make satisfactory apologies for his delay.

Nor did Massachusetts derive so much benefit from the Revolution as she had at first anticipated. In June, 1680, the assembly met at Boston, and until orders were received from England the council were requested to administer the government according to the original charter. The king sent for Sir Edmund Andros, and the other prisoners; the general court deputed two assistants, Mr. Cooke and Mr. Oakes, to aid the other agents in procuring a confirmation of their beloved charter; but a new one was issued in 1691, and the colony found with no little dissatisfaction, that in future the king was to appoint their governor, deputy-governor, and secretary, and that the governor was to have the calling, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution at the assembly, as well as the sole appointment of all military, and with the council, of all political officers. By another provision Plymouth and Nova Scotia were annexed to Massachusetts; while, contrary to the wishes of both parties, New Hampshire was left to a separate government. In May, 1692, Sir William Phipps, the first governor, arrived with the new charter, which after all was, in the following June, joyfully accepted by the general assembly.

New York was reduced to its former allegiance in March, 1691. The conduct and character of Leisler had determined some of the most respectable men in the colony to settle at Albany, where a convention of the people resolved to retain the fort and country for the king and queen. Leisler sent against it a small force, under his worthy lieutenant, one Jacob Melbourn, who, though on his first attack, he found the garrison impregnable to his sermons against James and popery, was enabled to subdue them on the second by the co-operation of the Indians. Their property was confiscated, and Leisler's authority re-established. But both himself and his authority were short-lived. He had the folly to resist the new governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, who soon obtained possession of the fort, and ordered Leisler and Melbourn to be executed for high treason. Nor was it with internal enemies alone that New York had at this time to contend. In 1688 Louis XIV. despatched some ships of war, under one Gulinier, in order to assist Count Frontignac, general of the land forces, in a project for the conquest of that province. Count Frontignac was indefatigable in his efforts to gain over the Five Nations, who had made two attacks upon Montreal, and murdered a great number of inhabitants. He held a great council with them at Onondaga, and as they seemed to be somewhat inclined to peace, he resolved to give their favourable disposition no time for change, and at the same time to inspire his own drooping countrymen, by finding them immediate employment against the English colonies. On the 19th of January a party of about two hundred French and some Catumaga Indians, set out in the deep snow for Schenectady: they arrived on the 5th of February, eleven o'clock at night, and the first intimation the inhabitants had of their design was conveyed in the noise of their own bursting doors. The village was burnt; sixty persons were butchered, twenty-seven suffered the worst fate of captivity, and the rest made their way naked through the snow to Albany. A party of young men and some Mohawk Indians set out from the latter place, pursued the enemy, and killed and

captured twenty-five. In the spring and summer of 1680, New Hampshire and Maine were subject to similar inroads. Massachusetts fitted out seven small vessels with about eight hundred men, who under Sir William Phipps had the poor revenge of taking Port Royal, and returned on the 30th of May, with hardly plunder enough to pay the expense of equipment. About the same time Count Frontignac made an attack upon Salmon Falls and Fort Casco, where he killed and captured about one hundred and eighty persons.

New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts now resolved to join in a united attack upon the common enemy. The troops of the former set out by land for Montreal. Those of the latter, consisting of about two thousand, set sail from Nantucket on the 9th of August, in a fleet of forty vessels, some of which carried forty-four guns. The land forces did not receive the aid they expected from the Five Nations. Their provisions fell short, and they were obliged to return. The naval expedition did not reach Quebec till October; the energy of Sir William Phipps was by no means calculated to counterbalance the inclemency of the season, and after holding several councils of war, and parading about the place for two or three days, it was deemed most expedient to return, and the fleet arrived safely at Boston on the 13th of November. The colony being unable to pay off the troops, they threatened to mutiny, and as a last resource the general court issued bills of credit, and at the same time imposed a tax payable in those bills at five per cent. above par. The paper for a time was worth only fourteen shillings in the pound, but it rose above par when the tax was about to be collected.

The Indians now renewed their hostilities. Sir William Phipps went to England for aid, but returned without effecting his purpose. A fort was built at Pamaquid. Iberville and Villebone appeared before it with two ships of war, and some French and Indians; but to the no small dissatisfaction of the latter the lateness of the season and the want of a pilot, necessitated them to return. In the summer of 1693, king William at length despatched two thousand one hundred sailors and two thousand four hundred soldiers, for the reduction of Quebec, but they were first to capture Martinique; and before they reached Boston a contagious fever had carried off more than half of their numbers. The rest were incapable of service, and the expedition was abandoned. In 1696 the conquests which Massachusetts had made in the French territory refused their obedience. Pamaquid was taken by Iberville, and New Hampshire was obliged to secure herself from attack, by putting a body of five hundred men under the command of Colonel Church. But Iberville retired and though Church made in turn a successful inroad upon the French territory, nothing of consequence took place on either side. In the course of the same year a plan was matured at the court of Versailles for laying waste all the English possessions in America, and it is said that the plan would probably have succeeded, had not the forces appropriated for the purpose been employed in other service, till the season of operation was past.

The peace of Riswick put an end to hostilities between the French and English on both sides of the Atlantic. All the New England colonies had suffered severely from the Indians during the war. New York was protected by the Five Nations; and yet, so little did the English ministry know of the respective situations of the colonies, or so partial were they to that of the Duke of York, that they formed a design, in 1695, of uniting the forces of all the others for the defence of this. Massachusetts was to furnish three hundred and fifty men; Rhode Island, forty eight; Connecticut, one hundred and twenty; New York, two hundred; Pennsylvania, eighty; Maryland, one hundred and sixty; Virginia, two hundred and fifty; in all, eleven hundred and ninety-eight. But the plan was never carried into execution. Such of the colonies as were attacked themselves, could not spare troops to defend others; and those that were still at peace, could not tell how long they should be. As Virginia was peculiarly peaceful, she furnishes little matter for the pen of the historian. The college of William and Mary obtained a charter, in 1692; had a liberal endowment, soon after; and was established at Williamsburgh, in 1693. In 1698, the state-house at Jamestown was consumed by fire; and, in the following year, the seat of government was removed to Williamsburg.

By the treaty of Riswick, there was to be a reciprocal surrender of all conquests made during the war. But no specific arrangement was entered into, for ascertaining the respective boundaries of the English and

French possessions in America. The subject furnished ample room for controversy; and, when news was brought, that hostilities had been re-commenced in Europe, it found the colonies in a fit disposition to welcome the event. They mutually flew to arms; and, as New York had secured herself from danger, by assisting to conclude a treaty of neutrality, between the Five Nations and the Governor of Canada, New England was obliged to endure the whole brunt of the war. Propositions were, indeed made for a general neutrality; but Dudley, the governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, was in hopes of subduing Nova Scotia, and, perhaps, Canada; and, in the spring of 1707, he applied to Connecticut and Rhode Island to assist his own colonies in raising, for the purpose, a body of one thousand men. The former declined to contribute her quota: the troops were raised by the other three; and on the 13th of May, the expedition set sail from Nantucket in twenty-three transports, under the convoy of the Deptford man of war, and the Province galley. It arrived at Port Royal in a few days; but, as Colonel March, though a brave man, was unfit to head so difficult an enterprise, little was done beyond the burning of some houses, and the killing of a few cattle. The officers were jealous of each other: all were mistaken as to the state of the fort; and it was soon concluded to re-embark the troops. They were led back again by the viceregers of the governor; but after spending ten days in fruitless parade about the fort, they again re-embarked and came home.

The colonies were resolved not to give up the enterprise so. In the fall of 1708, Massachusetts plied the queen with an address; which, with the assistance of the colony's friends in England, at length obtained from the ministry a promise of five regiments of regular troops. These, with twelve hundred men raised in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were to sail from Boston and proceed to Quebec; while a second division of fifteen hundred men, from the colonies south of Rhode Island, were to march against Montreal, by the route of Lake Champlain. Pennsylvania did not raise her quota of troops; and those furnished by the other colonies did not penetrate beyond Wood Creek. The Boston troops waited for the English army from the 20th of May to the 11th of October, 1709, when the news that it had been ordered to Portugal, obliged the provinces to abandon the undertaking. But their patience was not yet exhausted. Another application was made to the queen; and in July, 1710, Colonel Nicholson, who commanded the troops destined for Montreal, the year before, came over with five frigates and a bomb-ketch, for the purpose of attacking Port Royal. He was joined by three regiments of New England troops; sailed from Boston the 15th of September; and on the 24th was before Port Royal, which surrendered on the 5th of October; and being called *Annapolis*, in honour of the queen, was put under the government of Samuel Vech, a Nova Scotian trader. Nicholson returned to England; and pleading the success of his first expedition, obtained from the new ministry an army of seven regiments, who had grown veteran under the Duke of Marlborough. The colonies, too, made every exertion to bear the expenses and burthens of the expedition. Troops were soon raised; Massachusetts issued forty thousand pounds in bills of credit; provisions were impressed; and on the 30th of July, 1711, the whole armament left Boston harbour for Quebec. On the 23d of August the wreck of ten transports on Egg Island, in the St. Lawrence, determined the squadron to put about. A debate was held at Spanish River, in Cape Breton, upon the expediency of annoying the French at Placentia; but the whole expedition sailed for England, without annoying them there, or any where else. The frontiers of the colonies were again left exposed to depredation; nor was it till 1713, that the cession of Nova Scotia to England prevented the French from instigating the Indians to hostility.

While these things were taking place in the north, Carolina was alternately engaged in disputes with its proprietors, and in quarrels with its neighbours. A rumor of the war against France and Spain, in 1702, induced Governor Moore to anticipate the event, by proposing an immediate attack upon St. Augustine. In vain did the more temperate incur the epithet of traitor, by protesting against the measure. There were six thousand white inhabitants of the colony; two thousand pounds were voted to defray all expenses; and in September of the same year, Mr. Moore sailed, with a part of six hundred militia and six hundred Indians; while Colonel Daniel set out by land with the remainder. The Spaniards, apprised of the undertaking had stored the castle with four months provisions; and,

when their invaders arrived, they found it impossible to dislodge the garrison, without battering artillery. While Colonel Daniel was gone to Jamaica to procure it, the appearance of two small Spanish vessels at the mouth of the harbor so terrified the Governor, that he abandoned his own ships, and fled precipitantly to Carolina. Daniel escaped the enemy with great difficulty; and the only result of the enterprise was a debt of six thousand pounds; which the colony was obliged to discharge by bills of credit redeemable in three years, out of a duty on liquors, skins, and furs. But the ignominy of this expedition was shortly after wiped off, by a successful war against the Appalachian Indians; who, after witnessing the conflagration of all their towns between the Altamaha and the Savannah, were fain to solicit peace, and to acknowledge the British government. Peace with external enemies was soon followed by a revival of the old dispute with the proprietors. They added new fuel to the controversy, by attempting to establish the episcopal church; and the flame at length mounted so high, that, had not another foreign war withdrawn the attention of the colony, they must have shortly fallen under a writ of *quo warranto*.

Spain, through the Governor of Havana, despatched M. Le Feboure, captain of a French frigate, with four other armed vessels, and eight hundred men, to make a practical assertion of her right, by first discovery, to all North America. The News was no sooner brought to Charleston, than the appearance of the squadron was announced by signals from Sullivan's Fort. But the enemy consumed one day in sounding South Bar; and Sir Nathaniel Johnson, who had succeeded Mr. Moore, and who had well employed the military skill he acquired in Europe, in erecting works of defence about the harbor, made good use of the twenty-four hours, in calling out the militia, and procuring the aid of the Indians. The enemy landed three times; three times they were successfully repulsed; and they weighed anchor for Havana, under new impressions of the strength of Carolina. The invasion cost the colony about eight thousand pounds; no tax had ever yet been imposed on lands or persons; and a continuance of the duty on liquors, skins, and furs, was pledged to redeem an additional amount of bills of credit. Commodities immediately rose in price; and the paper currency soon fell thirty-three and a third per cent. below par.

In 1707, the death of the palatine, Lord Granville, a bigoted churchman, gave place to Lord Cravan, a more liberal and tolerant member of the same sect. In 1712, the neighbouring Indians formed a secret plan for the extermination of the North Carolinians. They fell suddenly upon the inhabitants; and in the single settlement of Roanoke, one hundred and seventy-seven persons fell victims to their cruelty. Some fugitives carried the intelligence to Charleston. The assembly voted four thousand pounds to raise troops for their defence, and a Colonel Barnwell was soon detached, with six hundred militia, and about three hundred and sixty friendly Indians. In the first engagement, three hundred of the enemy fell, and one hundred were captured. The rest took shelter in a wooden breast-work at Tuscarora; but were so vigorously pressed, that they soon sued for peace; quitted the country; and joining with the Iroquois, formed what has since been called the Six, instead of the Five, nations. The addition made by this war to the debt of the colony, induced the assembly to institute a bank; and to issue notes for forty thousand pounds; which should be lent on interest, and made a legal tender. In the first year, the exchange rose to one hundred and eighty; in the second, to two hundred per cent. And what was an additional vexation to the colonists, Queen Anne made a desperate attempt to settle, by proclamation, the nominal value of their foreign coin.

About the year 1702, a contagious fever was brought from the West Indies, into several of the North American sea ports. It raged violently in New York, and was mortal in almost every instance. To increase the calamities of the colony, it was in the same year put under the government of the needy and profligate Lord Cornbury; who joined the Anti-Leislerian party, because it was the strongest; flattered the assembly in a set speech; got them to raise fifteen hundred pounds for erecting batteries at the Narrows; and appropriated the money to his own use. A quarrel ensued between himself and the Legislature. But he continued to charge enormous fees, and to demand and misapply money,—till in 1706, the united complaints of New York and Jersey induced the queen to recall him. One good consequence attended his administration. The assembly passed a resolution, "That the imposing and levy-

ing of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or colour whatsoever, without their consent in general assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property." As early as 1692, it is worthy of observation that Massachusetts published a still stronger assertion of the same principle. "No aid, tax, tallage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever," (says the act, and the words remind us of *Magna Charta*.) shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levied on any of their majesty's subjects, or their estates, on any pretence whatsoever, but by the act and consent of the governor, council, and representatives of the people assembled in general court.

New York had entered with much zeal into the project of conquering Canada, which we have before mentioned as having failed for the want of the promised support from England. To defray the expenses of the army under Colonel Nicholson, New York voted twenty thousand pounds, in bills of credit: New Jersey added three thousand pounds; and Connecticut eight thousand more. After the enterprise had failed, Colonel Schuyler, a gentleman of great influence in New York, undertook a voyage to England at his own expense, in order to enlist the ministry once more in the cause. The presence of five Indian Sachems, who sailed with him, added considerably to the weight of his negotiation; and he has the merit of having been a chief promoter of the expedition, which was so successful against Port Royal in 1710. When Massachusetts undertook that, which terminated so differently, against Quebec, in 1712, New York issued ten thousand pounds in bills of credit, and incurred debts to still greater an amount, in order to co-operate with Connecticut and New Jersey, in putting Mr. Nicholson at the head of four thousand men, for a corresponding attack upon Montreal. But some of the ships which had been sent to co-operate in the plan, were wrecked in the St. Lawrence; and the return of the fleet having left the French governor at liberty to direct his whole force against the army, Colonel Nicholson was apprehensive of discomfiture, and commenced a retreat.

Here concludes the history, down to this period, of every important event in the colonies, if we except the order of Queen Anne, issued in 1712, to discontinue the presents with which the inhabitants had been accustomed to conciliate their governors; and the adjustment of boundaries between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and between Connecticut and Massachusetts. The two latter agreed that the towns which they had respectively settled should still remain under their former jurisdiction; and that if either party should be found to have encroached on the territory of the other, the loss should be made good by an equal grant of lands in some other place. Massachusetts had to give Connecticut one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres; which were sold by the latter chiefly for the support of Yale College.

As early as 1655, New Haven made an appropriation of three hundred, and Milford of one hundred pounds for the support of a grammar school and college. The former, soon after, added a donation of lands; and in 1659, the legislature voted forty pounds annually, and one hundred pounds for the purchase of books. In 1660, a donation was received from Governor Hopkins. The general court agreed to establish both institutions at New Haven; and the project had just begun to show its fruits, when the troubles of the colony so impoverished their resources, that they could not pay for instructors. When the New England colonies formed the union in 1665, the grammar school was revived; and the funds, which had been raised for both institutions, being appropriated exclusively to this, it has been enabled to continue in existence to the present time.

In 1698, the clergy began again to talk upon the subject of a college; in the following year ten of their number were chosen to found, erect, and govern one; and in 1700 they met at Branford, each bringing three or four large books, and laying them upon the table, with, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." As it was doubtful whether they could hold property, it was agreed to petition for a charter. To promote the design, Mr. Fitch, of Norwich, gave six hundred acres of land, and "all the glass and nails which should be necessary to build a college house and hall." The charter was granted in October, 1701; and on the 11th of November, the trustees held a meeting; chose a rector; passed some rules for the government of the institution, and concluded to fix it at Saybrook. The first commencement was held at that place on the 13th of September, 1702. The college was originally designed for the education of ministers:

the charter provided that the trustees should be none but clergymen; and of the forty-six graduates, between 1702 and 1713, thirty-four became ministers.

The growth of the school, though slow, at length rendered it inconvenient to accommodate all the students at Saybrook; and both they and their parents were dissatisfied to see a part transferred to Milford. The evil grew worse every day; and as the trustees did not seem inclined to apply the proper remedy, by removing the institution to a more adequate place, the several towns of the colony undertook to force the measure, by subscribing different sums for its establishment in different situations. Seven hundred pounds sterling were subscribed to fix it at New Haven; five hundred for its continuance at Saybrook; and less sums for its removal to other places. Still there was much difference of opinion among the trustees; nor was it till October, 1716, that they agreed to establish the college at New Haven. In 1714, Governor Yale had made it a present of forty volumes; and in 1716, he added three hundred more. Two years afterwards, he gave the trustees goods to the value of two hundred pounds sterling, prime cost; and a similar donation of one hundred pounds in 1721, induced them to call the institution after his name. In 1717, the number of students was thirty-one. A century after, it had increased nearly ten-fold.

CHAPTER II.

Paper Money in Massachusetts—Quarrel between the Governor and Representatives—Inroads of the Indians—Deputation to the French—Peace—Alterations in the Charter—Renewal of the Dispute between the Executive and Legislature—Mr. Burnet's Instructions for a Fixed Salary—Adjournment of the Court—Mr. Burnet's Death—Mr. Belcher renews the Discussion—Association for issuing more Bills of credit—Mr. Shirley—Adjustment of the Dispute between New York and New Jersey concerning Boundaries—Controversy between New York and Canada—Prosperity of the Northern Colonies—The Parson's Cause in Virginia—Proceedings in Carolina—Settlement of Yamasee Territory—Paper Money—Disposition of the Proprietors—Disputes between the Governor and the Assembly—Dissolution of the Charter and Division of the Province—Settlement of Georgia—Mr. Oglethorpe—Quarrel with the Spaniards—Ineffectual Attack upon St. Augustine—Abortive attempt upon Georgia.

THE rise in exchange produced by imprudent issues of paper money in Massachusetts, was idly attributed to a decay in trade; and the colony was almost unanimously of opinion, that trade could only be revived, by an additional quantity of bank notes. A few saw the real evil, and were for calling in the bills, that were already abroad; but it was determined by the great majority, that either by a private, or a public bank, the province should be supplied with more money, or rather, with more paper. The general court at length resolved to place bills for fifty thousand pounds in the hands of trustees; who were to lend them at five per cent interest, with a stipulation, that one-fifth of the principal should be repaid annually. Still trade would not improve. Mr. Shute, who had just succeeded Mr. Dudley, attributed the fact to a scarcity of money; and recommended, that some effectual measures should be taken to make it more abundant. The specific was therefore doubled. But an additional emission of one hundred thousand pounds so greatly depreciated the value of the currency, that the general court were, at last enabled to see the true cause of the difficulty: and the governor, too, when his salary came to be voted in the depreciated money, according to its nominal amount, began to be somewhat sceptical of his policy.

This was the small beginning of a long and rancorous quarrel between the governor and the general court. In 1719, it was now 1720, the former had incurred the censure of the ministry, by assenting to a bill for the imposition of duties upon English tonnage, and upon English manufactures: when a similar bill was sent up, this year, it was negatived in the council: a warm altercation ensued; and it was not till the next session, that the act passed without the offensive clauses. In the same session, the governor claimed the right of negativing a choice, which the house had made, of a speaker; and, when they refused to recognize the claim, he dissolved the court, and issued new writs of election. Nearly the same persons were re-elected; and the only effect of the measure, was, to make them still less disposed to accommodate Mr. Shute. They opposed him in every thing, whether it was right or wrong, insignificant or important. They neglected to vote him his salary, as was usual, at the beginning of the session; and not only postponed the business till the day of adjournment, but reduced the amount from six to five hundred pounds. The depredations of some eastern Indians made it necessary to call the represent-

atives together again, before the stated time. They immediately passed an act, which amounted to a declaration of war; and, when the governor accused them of usurping his prerogative, they docked off another hundred pounds from his salary. He laid before them instructions from the crown, to give him a fixed and adequate sum; they "desired the court might rise:" and it rose accordingly.

The governor opened the next assembly with recommending many wise measures; which were totally neglected by the court; and little else, indeed, was done, during the session, but to continue the emission of bank bills, and to drive the gold and silver from the country, by ordering that it should be passed at a higher rate than that which had been established by an act of parliament. The next general court very early appointed a committee to vindicate their predecessors from the aspersions of the governor. The committee justified the house; and their report was ordered to be printed. The court postponed the vote for the governor's salary; he laid by their list of appointments: they deputed a committee to inquire into the matter; he told them, he should take his own time for it; the house resolved, to make no grants or allowances; the governor made an angry speech; and the court was dissolved. A new legislature soon manifested the same temper with the old. In spite of the governor's protest, that the charter had placed the militia solely at his own disposal, they proceeded to make regulations for carrying on the Indian war; leaving his excellency no other power, than that of approving the measures, which might be adopted by a committee of their appointment. He embarked suddenly for England; and the representatives and council, though generally opposed on all other questions, were united in resolving to send after him instructions to their agent, to take the best measures for defending the interests of the colony against his representations.

These internal dissensions gave the Indians a good opportunity to make their inroads upon the frontiers. They were set on by the French in Canada; particularly by one father Ralle, a Jesuit missionary. Some troops were sent to capture this holy personage; but he received the intelligence in time to escape; and the party could only get possession of his papers; among which were letters of authorization from M. Vaudreuil the governor of Canada. War was now formally declared against the Indians; and, as it was abundantly evident that they were instigated by the French, a deputation was sent to M. Vaudreuil, in 1726, in order to remonstrate against a conduct so incompatible with the peace, which then subsisted between France and England. He first disclaimed all interference; but, when his letters to Ralle were produced, he could deny it no longer. He assured the deputation, that he would thenceforth exert himself to effectuate a peace; and a peace was accordingly soon after concluded at Boston.

Parliament, in the mean time, was condemning, question after question, the whole proceedings of the general court in the case of Mr. Shute. It was thought expedient to issue a new charter for "explaining" the old one, in the two points, which respected the powers of choosing a speaker, and of adjourning the court. The last was entirely "explained" away from the house; and the former was so modified, as to leave the governor his negative. Rather than have the whole subject again brought before parliament, which was the penalty of refusal, the general court concluded it was most advisable to adopt both of these alterations. Its attention was next turned to the loud complaints about the decay of trade and the scarcity of money. A bill passed both houses for issuing more notes; and when it was negatived by the lieutenant-governor, they agreed to postpone the consideration of salaries. The lieutenant had said, that his instructions would not let him assent to such bills, except they were for the charges of government; a bill for issuing sixty thousand pounds was, therefore, headed, "An act for defraying the necessary charges of government;" and the influence of an uncertain salary necessitated his excellency to give his assent.

Mr. William Burnet, the new governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had received express instructions from the king, to see that the general court settled upon him a fixed and certain salary. Soon after his arrival, the assembly voted seventeen hundred pounds for defraying the expenses of his voyage, and for supporting him in the discharge of his office. He said he could not assent to such a vote. They then voted, for the first purpose, three hundred pounds; which were accepted; and, for the last, fourteen hundred pounds; which were refused. The legislature assert-

ed, that it was their privilege, as Englishmen, to raise and apply their own money; and, when the governor answered, that he would never accept such a grant as had been made, the council were for establishing a fixed salary,—but the representatives requested, that the court might rise. Mr. Burnet would not grant the request. It was again made; and again refused. The house then sent up a long message; in which they detailed their reasons for refusing to establish a fixed salary; and once more reiterated their wishes, that they "might not be kept sitting there," to the manifest prejudice of their constituents. The governor answered them promptly enough; but not at all to their satisfaction; and, after resolving to adhere to their old method of appropriating moneys, they drew up a statement of the controversy, and transmitted it to the several towns. Many spirited messages were exchanged in quick succession between his excellency and the house. The latter again repeated a request, that the court might rise: he told them they could not expect to have their own wishes gratified, when they paid so little attention to those of his majesty; and the altercation was waxing so high, that the council thought it best to interfere,—and to propose that some certain sum should be fixed upon, as a salary for the governor. The representatives voted three thousand pounds in their own money,—equal to about one thousand pounds sterling; but as the act contained no provision for the continuance of the same sum, Mr. Burnet refused his assent; and, apprehending, that the house was somewhat influenced by the people of Boston, who had unanimously voted against a fixed salary, he adjourned the court to the town of Salem. At Salem it met, on the 30th of October, 1728. The battle of messages recommenced as briskly as ever. The representatives appointed agents to plead their cause in England; the council would not concur in the act, because they had not been consulted; and the project must have failed for want of money, had not the people of Boston subscribed for the necessary sums. The agents soon transmitted a report of the board of trade; in which the conduct of the house was entirely disapproved. They were told, also, that, unless they fixed a salary, the parliament would;—"It is better," they answered, "that the liberties of the people should be taken from them, than given up by themselves." Both parts of the administration went all this time without pay; for, as the representatives would vote no salaries, the governor would assent to no drafts upon the treasury. At length there was a recess between the 20th of December, 1728, and the 2d of April, 1729; when the court assembled at Salem; and, after several fruitless meetings, were adjourned to Cambridge. They met there, on the 21st of August; and, a few days after, Mr. Burnet died of a fever at Boston.

Mr. Belcher, his successor, came over, in the beginning of August, 1730, with a fresh packet of instructions, to insist upon a fixed salary. The king said it was the "last signification of the royal pleasure on this subject;" and he threatened to bring the whole history of the province before parliament, if it were not immediately complied with. The house voted one thousand pounds currency, to defray the charges of his excellency's voyage, and a sum equal to one thousand pounds sterling, to aid him in managing public affairs. The council added an amendment, to make the appropriation annual. The amendment was rejected. The council modified it, by confining the yearly allowance to the duration of Mr. Belcher's government. The representatives again refused their assent, and the resolution was dropped. The controversy continued for some time longer, but the governor was at length wearied out, and leave was in the end obtained of the king to let the legislature take its own way in the regulation of his salary.

The termination of this dispute was only the beginning of another. An unusual scarcity of money was complained of all over New England. The governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, had been instructed to suffer the emission of no more bills in those colonies. Connecticut was employed in agriculture, and did not stand in need of much money. But the commerce of Rhode Island demanded an abundant circulating medium, and one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit were accordingly loaned to the inhabitants for twenty years. An association of merchants, in Boston, undertook to prevent the circulation of this money, by issuing, themselves, one hundred and ten thousand pounds of the same sort; but the bills of all the New England colonies soon became current; silver rose from nineteen to twenty-seven shillings the ounce, and the notes of the association entirely disappeared.

Another company of eight hundred persons set on foot a plan for issuing one hundred and fifty thousand pounds in bills of credit, which should be lent on good security, at three per cent. interest, the principal, as in all these schemes, being redeemable by annual instalments of a certain per cent. The authors of the project began in season to secure the good opinion of the next general court, and so successful were they in the business, that the house was found to be chiefly composed of subscribers, and was for a long time distinguished by the name of the *Land Bank House*. Small traders, and small traders only, would accept the company's notes; but it continued to issue them without end, and the governor was finally obliged to petition parliament for an act to suppress the institution. Mr. Shirley superseded Mr. Belcher in 1740, and one of the first bills passed under his administration, declared that all contracts should be considered as payable in silver, at six shillings and eight pence the ounce, or its equivalent in gold. Notes for so many ounces of silver were also issued, and made receivable in payment of debts, the debts being augmented as the notes should depreciate.

A long peace had enabled New York and New Jersey to adjust, in some measure, an unpleasant dispute about boundaries. It gave the former an opportunity, also, to take advantage of her geographical facilities for trading on the northern lakes, and in 1722, Mr. Burnet, the governor of that province and of New Jersey, greatly excited the jealousy of the French, by building a store-house at Oswego. M. Longueuil, the governor of Canada, retaliated by launching two vessels on Lake Ontario, and sending materials to erect a trading-house, and to repair the fort at Niagara. The Seneca Indians were greatly incensed at this measure, and Mr. Burnet remonstrated against it; but M. Longueuil proceeded to complete his fort, and the former could only get revenge by erecting, at his own expense, a like fort at Oswego. M. Beauharnois, the successor of M. Longueuil, sent the commander a written summons to evacuate it. The summons was disregarded. He warmly remonstrated against the proceeding to Mr. Burnet. Mr. Burnet as warmly remonstrated against the proceeding at Niagara, and here the dispute ended for the present. It was not long afterward, that the French acquired the control over Lake Champlain, by seizing and fortifying Crown Point.

During the regency of the Duke d'Orleans, in France, and the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, in England, all the colonies to Virginia, inclusive, had little to distract their attention from their own private affairs, and could scarcely help becoming prosperous. Land was cheap, and subsistence easily obtained. Marriages, of course, were early and frequent, and population soon began to extend itself over the vacant parts of the country. Such a process is attended with no eclat, and perhaps there is nothing to relieve the monotony of a long and felicitous period, in the internal economy of the colonies, if we except the dispute in Virginia respecting ecclesiastical salaries.

In 1696, when the price of tobacco was sixteen shillings and eightpence per hundred, an act of the assembly, which was re-enacted and assented to by the king, in 1718, conferred upon each parish minister an annual stipend of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1755, the crop was scanty, and the legislature, by another act, which was to continue in force ten months, and not to wait for the royal assent, provided that those who owed debts, in tobacco, might either pay them in the specific article or in money, at the rate of sixteen shillings and eight pence per hundred. Though the price was then from fifty to sixty shillings, the measure created no disturbance, and three years afterward, when it was surmised that the crop would again be short, the same expedient was resorted to. But the ministers now began to see its operation, and one of them, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Treopenny Act*, convinced the legislature that he understood precisely how they were defrauding his order of its just dues. He was attacked by two Colonels, whom he answered with *The Colonels Dismounted*, and the war of pamphlets soon grew so hot, that the printers of Virginia were afraid to continue it.

The subject was next taken up by the king in council, who declared that the act of 1758 was a mere usurpation, and could have no force. Backed by such authority, the ministers brought the question before a county court, and, after a formal argument, it was decided in their favor. By the laxity of practice, the subject was permitted to be once more discussed, and when all supposed that the first judgment could never be shaken, the unexpected eloquence of Mr. Patrick

Henry is said to have changed the opinion of the court. The clergy took their revenge in an angry pamphlet; and here the controversy seems to have terminated.

Carolina, in the mean time, was rapidly undergoing a revolution of government. In 1715, the colony had incurred considerable expenses, in a war with about six thousand Yamasee, Creek, and Apalacheian Indians, who were met at a place called the Salt Catchers, by twelve hundred men, and so completely routed, that they were obliged to make a new settlement in Florida. The proprietors not only ordered the reduction of the paper money, which the assembly saw fit to issue, on account of this expedition, but when applied to for assistance by the agents of the colony, they declared their inability to protect it, unless his majesty would interpose. The assembly had also undertaken to make a barrier against the Indians, by offering the Yamasee territory to all persons who would come over and settle in it. Five hundred Irishmen accepted the offer, and had actually taken up the ground, when the proprietors ordered the law to be repealed, and the lands to be laid out in baronies for themselves. It had been the custom to elect all the representatives of the colony, in the single town of Charleston. The increase of population now rendered the practice extremely inconvenient; and the legislature had enacted, that for the future, each parish should assemble in its own church, and choose its own representatives. The proprietors ordered the act to be repealed; and Governor Johnson, son of the former governor of that name, had to use all his influence to keep the colonists from breaking into open rebellion, at this wanton and outrageous proceeding. But they were compelled to bear yet more insults. Some expeditions against a band of pirates, who had long infested the coast, necessitated the assembly, as they imagined, to issue another quantity of paper money; and the governor carried an additional bill for redeeming it in three years, by a tax upon land and negroes. But the tax was oppressive to the planters; and they had influence enough to obtain another act, for the emission of more bills. As soon as the proprietors heard of these transactions, they sent the governor instructions to approve of no legislative measures, until it had been laid before them. Another order soon followed, to take off a duty which the colony had laid, of five per cent. on British manufactures; and as if these outrages were not sufficient, they deemed it meet to show another instance of their despotism, by giving an arrogant and abusive answer to a memorial, which the assembly had presented, against their right to revoke the laws of the province.

The rupture between Spain and Great Britain in 1719, afforded fresh opportunities for the prosecution of this dispute. The rumor of an expedition, fitting out at Havana, for the invasion of South Carolina, induced Governor Johnson to attempt the reparation of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, by the voluntary aid of the inhabitants. A subscription was set on foot; and he placed a liberal sum opposite to his own name. The assembly disapproved of the measure; or rather asserted that the receipts from the duties would render it unnecessary. The governor wanted to know if the duties had not been taken off? They told him they intended to pay no attention to the repeals, which they had been forced to make. A warm altercation followed; and though nothing decisive took place, the representatives seem to have formed a determination to rid themselves of the proprietary government. Private meetings were held, to concert measures of resistance. The militia unanimously subscribed an instrument of association; and the people engaged to stand by each other, in the assertion of their rights and privileges. At the first meeting of the new assembly, all former repeals were repealed: the proprietors were declared to have forfeited their rights of government; and the honourable Robert Johnson was desired to accept the office of governor in the name of the king. A message from himself and the council requested a conference with the house; they would receive no message "from the governor, in concert with the gentlemen he was pleased to call his council." He sent them an expostulatory speech; they would take notice of no "paper, sent by the governor in conjunction with the gentlemen" he called his council; and they informed him, in a second address, that they intended to cast off the proprietary government, and to obey him no longer, unless he would consent to exercise his office, as viceroy of the king. He proclaimed the dissolution of the assembly, and retired into the country. The proclamation was torn from the officer's hands; Colonel John Moore was elected chief magistrate; and the assembly agreed to inaugurate him, on the very day,

which Mr. Johnson had set apart for the review of the militia. He had the review postponed; but, when he came to Charleston, on the appointed day, he found the militia paraded in the public square, in order to celebrate the proclamation of Mr. Moore. All his efforts to stop the proceedings were ineffectual. The assembly proclaimed their own governor; chose their own council; and went deliberately about the transaction of public affairs. The province was on their side; and their power was soon after corroborated and fixed, by the vigorous preparations, which they made to repel a contemplated attack from Havana. Their agent in England obtained a decision in the council, that the proprietors had forfeited their charter; a *scire facias* issued against it; the proprietors surrendered their interests; and Mr. Francis Nicholson was soon after welcomed to the colony, as governor under the king. The security, which the province felt in the protection of the crown, was greatly increased by a treaty, which was soon after concluded with the Cherokee Indians. Security made the colonists industrious; and industry soon raised them sufficiently above their former circumstances, to arrest the depreciation of their paper currency; which had fallen about eighty-six per cent. below par. Increase of wealth made boundaries a matter of importance; and, in 1732, the province found it convenient to divide itself into North and South Carolina.

About the same time, the territory of Georgia was granted to twenty-one trustees, for the purpose of being parcelled out to such of the English poor as would consent to be carried over the Atlantic; and, early in 1733, Mr. James Oglethorpe, one of the trustees, arrived at Charleston with one hundred and sixty. He proceeded, soon afterwards, to the intended place of settlement; erected a small fort on the site of Savannah; and obtained a cession of lands from the Creek tribe of Indians. The first company was followed by several others;—but the progress of the colony was greatly obstructed, by an attempt to put it under a feudal system. The lands were to be held in tail-mail by the tenure of knight-service; and to revert to the trustees, either if the male issue should become extinct, or if the grounds were not enclosed and cultivated within eighteen years. To complete the policy, the importation of rum and of negroes was prohibited; and all commerce with the Indians was restricted to those, who could obtain a license. The natural consequences soon followed. A great many of the settlers emigrated to Carolina; where they could hold lands in fee simple; could trade freely with the West Indies; and be permitted to employ negro slaves in the cultivation of their lands. Those who staid behind, were perpetually complaining of their fetters; and, though Mr. Oglethorpe erected a battery, to command the mouth of the Savannah, and built forts at Augusta and Frederica, the colony needed civil privileges more than military defences, and their general concerns were soon in a ruinous condition. Under a different system, Carolina was so prosperous as to double her exports in ten years; while it was with the greatest difficulty, that the inhabitants of Georgia obtained a scanty subsistence.

When England and Spain began to prepare for war, in 1737, a British regiment of six hundred men was sent into Carolina; and Mr. Oglethorpe was appointed major-general of that province and of Georgia. The Spaniards fortified East Florida; and made a vain attempt to gain over the Indians, who were in alliance with the English. They succeeded better with the slaves; of whom enough were seduced to form a distinct regiment by themselves. Nor did the evil stop here. A large number of negroes assembled at Stono; forced open a warehouse of arms and ammunition; murdered all the white men whom they met; and compelled the black, willing or unwilling, to come under their standard. But it was a brief triumph. After the first impulse of rage was exhausted, the insurgents halted in an open field; and began their usual pastime of dancing. There happened to be a religious meeting in the neighborhood; and the congregation, armed as usual set upon the thoughtless rabble; killed great numbers on the spot; and so frightened the rest, that they never afterwards dreamed of insurrection. There were now about forty thousand slaves in Carolina; and the occurrence just mentioned had the good effect of making the colonists keep vigilant watch over their conduct, during the approach of the war between England and Spain.

When it actually broke out, in 1739, Admiral Vernon was detached to the West Indies, and General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the Floridas. He immediately communicated his instructions to the as-

sembly of South Carolina; they voted one hundred and twenty thousand pounds for the service; a regiment of four hundred men was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas; a body of Indians enlisted; and Post-Captain Price promised his co-operation with four twenty-gun ships and two sloops of war. On the 9th of May, 1740, the general entered Florida, with four hundred men and a party of Indians from his own province. He was joined, at the mouth of St. John's River, by the Virginia and Carolina regiment, and a company of Highlanders; and was enabled, shortly after, to appear before St. Augustine, with about two thousand effective men. A reconnoitre of the place induced him to abandon his original design of taking it by storm. A regular investment was determined upon; and the troops were disposed in the most advantageous positions for beginning the approaches. The general himself undertook to bombard the town from the Island of Anastasia; but a few shots convinced him that a breach, at so great a distance, was impracticable. It was next resolved to attack the six half galleys then in the harbor, by one of the twenty-gun ships; but the bar was found to be so shallow that she could not get over it. In the mean time the Spaniards had received supplies and reinforcements; and a party of the besiegers was surprised and cut in pieces. Other misfortunes followed in quick succession. Captain Price withdrew his ships; the dispirited troops began to desert in large bodies; and General Oglethorpe was, at length, reluctantly compelled to abandon the enterprise. The colonics attributed the failure to the general; and the general laid it to the charge of the army. We think neither was to blame. The force was too small at the outset; and, before a part of it reached the place of rendezvous, the arrival of supplies had greatly and unexpectedly increased the strength of the enemy.

But, at any rate, the expenses entailed by the expedition, joined to the still greater calamity of seeing their capital reduced to ashes, determined the people of Carolina to raise no forces in future, except for their own defence; and, when an expedition of thirty ships and three thousand men sailed against Georgia, in 1742, they imagined it would not be for their own defence, to aid General Oglethorpe in preventing the enemy from getting possession of a province, which was so effectual a barrier to their own. About the end of June the enemy anchored off Simon's Bar; and General Oglethorpe found he had to oppose him with only seven hundred men,—consisting of the regiment he led against St. Augustine, and of a few Highlanders, rangers, and Indians. But the thickets and morasses of the country stood him in the place of many soldiers; and, retiring to Frederica, he resolved to act, as long as he could, upon the defensive. By an English prisoner, who had escaped from the Spaniards, he learned that the troops from Cuba, and those from St. Augustine, agreed so ill with each other, that they had taken up their encampments apart. One of these, the general thought he might venture to attack. He selected the flower of his little army; and, under the cover of the night, marched unobserved within two miles of the lines. The main body was halted; while he went forward, with a small party, to reconnoitre the encampment. He had, with great circumspection, approached very near it; when the whole enterprise was supposed to be defeated, by the treachery of a French soldier, who fired his musket, and ran over to the enemy. General Oglethorpe wrote a letter to the deserter; requesting him to tell the Spaniards how defenceless Frederica was; to urge an immediate attack; or, at any rate, to persuade them to remain at Simon's Fort three days longer; when his expected reinforcement of two thousand men and six ships of war would arrive. He particularly cautioned him against dropping even a hint about the contemplated attack of Admiral Vernon upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner, who had been taken in a skirmish, was bribed to deliver the letter into the deserter's own hands; but he, of course, delivered it into the hands of General Don Antonio Di Radondo. The latter was, at first, not a little perplexed, whether to consider it as a mere stratagem, or as a real and serious letter of instruction; but the appearance of some ships, which had been despatched with supplies by the assembly of South Carolina, appeared to put the seriousness of the paper beyond all doubt. The panic-struck army set fire to the fort, and hurried on board of their vessels; and thus a circumstance, which, at first, seemed to threaten the certain conquest of the province, served, in the hands of a skilful commander, as perhaps the only means of its preservation.

CHAPTER III.

War between France and England and their Colonies—Preparation for an Attack upon Louisbourg—The Attack—Surrender—D'Anville's Expedition—Abortive Attempt upon Nova Scotia—Upon Crown Point—Peace—Paper Money in Massachusetts—Discovery of Louisiana and Foundation of New Orleans—Situation of the English and French Colonies—Origin of the Rupture between them—Colonel Washington's Embassy—Project of Union—Plan of the first campaign—Capture of Nova Scotia—General Braddock's Defeat—Expedition against Crown Point—That against Niagara—Second Campaign—Capture of Oswego—Third Campaign—Disputes between Lord Loudon and Massachusetts—Fourth Campaign—Second Capture of Louisbourg—Unsuccessful attack upon Ticonderoga—Capture of Fort Frontenac—Of Du Quesne—Fifth Campaign—Capture of Quebec—Death of Wolfe—Attempt to retake Quebec—Surrender of New France—General Peace.

WHILE France and England were engaged in actual war, under the pretence of supporting respectively the queen of Hungary and the elector of Bavaria, the colonies of the two nations preserved a sort of hostile peace; but as soon as the news reached Cape Breton, that the controversy had become open and avowed in Europe, Duvivier attacked and took the English fishing settlement at Canseau; and soon after made a similar, though unsuccessful, attempt, upon Annapolis. Governor Shirley immediately formed the design of taking Cape Breton. It was well situated for annoying the English Fisheries; and thirty millions of francs employed upon its fortifications, had made it the "Dunkirk of America." The governor requested the secrecy of the court, upon a project, which he was about to communicate. They readily promised it; and he surprised them with the proposal of sending four hundred men to take Louisbourg by storm. They condemned the undertaking as vastly too hazardous and expensive: but, unfortunately, or, perhaps, fortunately, one of the members happened to pray for blessings upon it, in the family devotions at his lodgings. The plan was soon known, all over Massachusetts; the people were generally in favour of it; and an influx of petitions, from every quarter induced the council to change their determination. They invited the co-operation of all the colonies as far as Pennsylvania; but none, except those of New England, would furnish their quotas of troops. There was no military character of note in the country; and the command of the expedition was given to one Colonel Pepperel; who had little other qualification than that of being a rich merchant and a popular man. A general embargo was laid: more bills of credit were issued, notwithstanding the express prohibition of the crown "a variety of advice," (says Mr. Belknap,) was given from all quarters: "private property was impressed, and, by the 4th of April, 1745, three thousand two hundred and fifty troops from Massachusetts arrived safely at Canseau. The quota of three hundred and four, from New Hampshire, had landed four days before; that of five hundred and sixteen, from Connecticut, came in on the 25th of the same month; but the troops from Rhode Island did not arrive in time to be of any service to the expedition.

Governor Shirley had written to England for assistance, some time before the disclosure of his project to the general court; and a detachment from Admiral Warren's fleet in the West Indies, appeared off Canseau, the day before the arrival of the Massachusetts troops: the admiral himself soon followed, in the *Superb*, of sixty guns; and, every thing being now ready, the land forces embarked for Chapeaurouge; while the fleet, (in all, about one hundred sail,) manœuvred before Louisbourg. The landing was effected with little difficulty; and, in the course of the ensuing night, a party of four hundred men marched around to the northeast part of the harbour, and set fire to some warehouses of spirituous liquors and naval stores. The smoke was blown directly into the grand battery; and it did such signal execution, that, when thirteen of the party were returning, next day, they saw, with surprise and joy, that the flagstaff was bare, and the

chimnies without smoke. An Indian was hired, for a bottle of rum, to crawl in at an embrasure, and open the gate; and, though a detachment of the enemy was then coming to retake the fort, the thirteen retained possession, till the arrival of a reinforcement from the main body.

Fourteen nights were the troops engaged in drawing the cannon over a morass to the place of encampment, a distance of about two miles; and, when the account of the expedition was sent to England, they were not a little indignant at seeing no mention of their having worked like oxen, with straps over their shoulders, and up to their knees in mud. As this expedition had been planned by a lawyer, and was to be executed by a merchant, at the head of husbandmen and mechanics, any thing like a regular siege was not to have been expected. The soldiers laughed at such words as *zig-zag*, and *epaulement*; and thought, the most eligible mode of approaching was that of a straight line. In execution of this new principle of tactics, 400 men assaulted the island battery; were repulsed; and many of them taken prisoners. They all concurred in representing the besiegers as much more numerous than they were; though all was frolic in the rear of the army, the front did, indeed, look formidable; and the impression made by these reports and appearances, together with the intelligence, which was conveyed into town, that the supply ship, the *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, had been taken, induced Duchambon, the governor, to tender a capitulation. This was the only advantage gained over France, during the whole war; and, when accounts of it reached England, the crown made baronets of Pepperel and Shirley, and the parliament readily undertook to defray the expenses.

France and England now mutually resolved to make a complete conquest of each other's possessions in America; and, in the spring of 1746, circular letters were sent to the English colonies as far as Virginia, to have in readiness as many troops as each might be able to spare. The plan of the campaign, was, to sail against Quebec, with some ships of war and the New England troops; while those of the other colonies should be collected at Albany, and march against Crown Point and Montreal. The ships of war made seven vain attempts to leave England, and the first part of the scheme was necessarily abandoned. The colonists were diverted from the last, by a threatened attack of the enemy upon Annapolis; and, before they could despatch troops for the protection of that place, New England, in particular, was greatly alarmed by the intelligence, that a formidable armament, under the Duke D'Anville, had arrived in Nova Scotia. Every effort was made to put the country in a state of defence. The militia were joined to the troops already raised; and, for six weeks, all stood in hourly expectation of an attack; when some English prisoners, who had been set at liberty, brought the welcome news, that the French soldiers were in too much distress themselves to think of distressing others. The armament originally consisted of about forty ships of war, and about fifty-six transports; carrying 3000 troops, and 40,000 muskets for the Canadians and Indians. Many ships were lost and wrecked on the voyage; and a sweeping mortality prevailed on board of those, which had reached the place of destination. To increase their calamities, they learned, by an intercepted letter from Governor Shirley to the commander at Louisbourg, that their own squadron would probably be followed by an English fleet. The admiral shortly died: the vice-admiral killed himself: and, when M. Le Jonquiere undertook to lead the fleet against Annapolis, a violent storm dispersed the ships; and those, that did not suffer wreck, returned singly to France.

Governor Shirley now resumed the project of dislodging the French and Indians from Nova Scotia. The troops of Rhode Island and New Hampshire were prevented from joining the expedition; and the enemy was not only more numerous than those of Massachusetts, but had the advantage of being provided with snow-shoes. The English

were beaten at Minas; and promised not to bear arms for one year, against the French in Nova Scotia. Governor Shirley next directed his attention to Crown Point. Massachusetts and New York engaged to furnish their quotas of troops: the winter was no obstacle to the governor's enthusiasm; and the enterprise was only prevented by the discreet resolution of Connecticut, to withhold her co-operation. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded in October, 1748; and New England deemed it but a poor return for the expenses which she had incurred, that an article of *status ante bellum* compelled her to relinquish Louisbourg. Massachusetts, in particular, had issued immense quantities of paper-money. Was there a call upon the treasury. Bills of credit must answer it. Was trade decaying? It could only be revived by bills of credit. Was there any disorder in the internal economy of the province? Bills of credit were the only remedy. And bills of credit were issued in such quantities, that they had sunk to *eleven for one*; when the arrival of the specie, which parliament had promised, was the means not only of staying the depreciation, but of destroying paper-money altogether. After some opposition, the general court passed an act for redeeming bills of credit, at their real value, or, in other words, for silver at fifty shillings the ounce. Not an evil, which had been predicted, was seen to attend the measure; and, on the contrary, it is said to have given commerce a very perceptible impulse for the better.

As the importance of America was daily increasing in the eyes of Europe, the question of boundaries between the colonies of different nations began to be discussed more frequently and in greater earnest. Spain had pretensions to the whole of Georgia; and England laid claim to a part of Florida. By the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was, indeed, ceded to the English; but there was still room enough for controversy, in determining what were the boundaries of that country. The French asserted, that its eastern line was the Kennebec; the English made it embrace the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence; and the commissioners appointed by the two nations, under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, were equally laborious and equally obstinate in maintaining their respective claims. Nor was this the only conflict. As if these two nations were fated to cross each other's path, in every thing, while the English colonies were advancing indefinitely from east to west, the French began to extend their own settlements transversely from north to south. In 1673, they explored the Mississippi as far as the 33d degree of north latitude; and some time afterwards, its mouth was discovered by one La Salle, a Norman, who subsequently obtained the patronage of the French court, in an attempt to make a settlement on its banks. He set sail with a few followers, in four small vessels; arrived 100 leagues west of the river; was soon assassinated by his own men; and they, in turn, were murdered, or dispersed, by the Spanish and Indians. Several other expeditions were undertaken, for the same purpose, but none were fortunate enough to land at the wished for place; and it was not till 1722, that a joint removal of these scattered settlements to New Orleans laid the foundation of a flourishing colony. The country was called Louisiana; and, as settlements now began to extend up the Mississippi, a plan was formed to unite them with Canada, by a concatenation of forts. England claimed the country to the South Sea: France was resolved to bound her by the Alleghany mountains; and, as usual, the controversy soon ended in a reciprocal determination of fighting it out.

There was a great disparity of numbers between the French and English colonies. Nova Scotia contained five thousand inhabitants; New Hampshire, thirty thousand; Massachusetts, two hundred and twenty thousand; Rhode Island, thirty-five thousand; Connecticut, one hundred thousand; New York, one hundred thousand; the Jerseys, sixty thousand; Pennsylvania, including Delaware, two hundred and fifty thousand; Maryland, eighty-five thousand; Virginia, eighty-five thousand; the

Carolinas, seventy-five thousand: Georgia, six thousand:—in all, one million fifty-one thousand. Canada contained but forty-five thousand: Louisiana, but seven thousand:—total, fifty-two thousand. To compensate in part for this numerical inferiority, the French had the advantage of being guided by one and the same hand; whereas the English were divided into separate clans, and unaccustomed to act in concert. All the Indians, except the Five Nations, were on the side of France; and, what was of still greater service to her cause, the governors of Canada had all been military men; had employed the inhabitants in erecting fortifications to command Lake Champlain, and the River St. Lawrence; and were now proceeding to complete the chain, by extending the links along the other western lakes, and down the Mississippi.

The circumstance, which served to open the quarrel, was the alleged intrusion of the *Ohio Company*; an association of influential men from England and Virginia, who had obtained a grant of 600,000 acres of land, in order to drive a fur trade with the Indians. The governor of Canada wrote to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, that, unless these intruders were removed from the territory of his most Christian majesty, he should be under the necessity of seizing them. The threat was disregarded; and the traders were seized. A communication was immediately opened along French Creek and Alleghany River, between the Ohio and Fort Presqu'île; and troops stationed at convenient distances, were secured, by temporary works, against any attack of small arms. The Ohio company made loud complaints: Lieutenant-Governor Dinwiddie laid the subject before the assembly of Virginia; and despatched Major Washington, with a letter to the French commander; in which he was required to quit the dominions of his Britannic majesty. M. Legardeur de St. Pierre transmitted the letter to the governor of Canada; whose orders, he said, he should implicitly follow. Early in the spring of 1755, Major Washington, on the death of his colonel, took the command of a regiment, raised in Virginia, for the protection of the frontiers. He defeated a party of French and Indians, under Dijonville; and was proceeding to occupy the post, at the fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, when he was met, at the Little Meadows, by a superior force; and, after a gallant defence, was compelled to surrender. The French had already erected the strong fort of Du Quesne, on the ground of which he had intended to take possession.

The provincial governors received orders from the secretary of state, to repel force by force; and, if practicable, to form a *Union* among the several colonies. Delegates had already been appointed to meet at Albany, for the purpose of conferring with the Five Nations: and Governor Shirley recommended, that the subject of union should, also, be discussed at the convention. The commissioners from Massachusetts had ample powers to co-operate in the formation of a plan: those from Maryland were instructed to observe what others did; and those from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and New York, had no instructions at all on the subject. As soon, however, as the friendship of the Indians was thought to be secured by a distribution of presents, the delegates appointed a committee, to devise some scheme for the proposed confederation; and the committee recommended the adoption of a government analogous to that of the individual colonies. There was to be a grand council, composed of deputies from the several provinces,—and a president-general, appointed by the crown, with the power of negating the acts of the council. The Connecticut delegates alone dissented from this plan; because, as they said, it put too much power into the hands of the crown. It was rejected in England for the very opposite reason; and, in lieu of it, the minister proposed, that the several governors, with one or two of their counsellors, should meet and adopt such measures as the common safety might demand. But this scheme was defeated by a provision, that they might draw upon the British

treasury for all necessary sums: which parliament would undertake to repay, by imposing a general tax upon the colonies. It was now resolved, therefore, to carry on the war with British troops; and leave the provincial legislatures to supply such reinforcements as each was willing or able to afford.

Early in 1755, General Braddock set sail from England, with a respectable body of troops; and about the same time, Admiral Boscawen was despatched to this country, in order to intercept a French armament, which was then fitting out for Canada. The provincial governors met General Braddock, in Virginia, on the 14th of April; and it was resolved to divide the campaign into three separate expeditions:—the first against Du Quesne, with the British, Virginia, and Maryland forces, under General Braddock;—the second against Fort Frontenac, with the Massachusetts regulars, under Governor Shirley;—the third against Crown Point, with New England and New-York troops, under General William Johnson, one of the New York council. Massachusetts, in the mean time, undertook, singly, to drive the French from Nova Scotia; and, on the 20th of May, three thousand troops were despatched for the purpose, under Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow. They arrived at Annapolis Royal, on the 28th; anchored, soon after, before Fort Lawrence, in Chenecto, with a fleet of forty sail: and, being joined by three hundred British troops, with some artillery, marched immediately against Beau Sejour. A block house, with a few cannon, and a breast-work, with a few troops behind it, opposed the passage of the Musquash; which, according to the French, was the western limit of Nova Scotia. The passage was forced, with the loss of one man; and entrenchments were immediately opened before Beau Sejour. The garrison surrendered on the fifth day: Fort Gaspareau soon followed the example; the appearance of three twenty-gun ships induced the enemy to set fire to his works at St. Johns; and thus, in the single month of June, with the loss of but three men, the English gained possession of Nova Scotia, according to their own definition of the term.

As soon as the convention of governors was dissolved, General Braddock proceeded to the post at Well's Creek, whence the army commenced its march about the middle of June. Their progress was very much retarded by the necessity of cutting a road; and, lest the enemy should have time to collect in great force, the general concluded to set forward with 1200 select men, while Colonel Dunbar should follow slowly in the rear, with the main body and the heavy baggage. Colonel Washington's regiment had been split into separate companies, and he had only joined the army as aid to the general. The roughness of the country prevented the advanced corps from reaching the Monongahela till the 8th of July. It was resolved to attack Du Quesne the very next day; and lieutenant-colonel Gage was sent in front with three hundred British regulars, while the general himself followed at some distance with the main body. He had been strongly cautioned by Colonel Washington to provide against an ambuscade, by sending forward some provincial companies to scour the woods; but he held the provincials and the enemy in equal contempt. The Monongahela was crossed the second time, about seven miles from Du Quesne; and the army was pressing forward in an open wood, through high and thick grass, when the front was suddenly thrown into disorder by a volley from small arms. The main body was formed three deep, and brought to its support: the commander-in-chief of the enemy fell; and a cessation of the fire led General Braddock to suppose that the assailants had fled; but he was soon attacked with redoubled fury. Concealed behind trees, logs, and rocks, the Indians poured upon the troops a deadly and incessant fire; officers and men fell thickly around, and the survivors knew not where to direct their aim to revenge their slaughtered comrades. The whole body was again thrown into confusion; but the general, obstinate and courageous, refused to retreat; and instead of withdraw-

ing them beyond the reach of the enemy's muskets, where their ranks might easily have been formed anew, undertook to rally them on the very ground of attack, and in the midst of a most incessant and deadly fire. He persisted in these efforts until three horses had been shot under him, and every one of his officers on horseback, except Colonel Washington, was either killed or wounded. The general at length fell, and the rout became universal.* The troops fled precipitately until they met the division under Dunbar, then forty miles in the rear. Sixty-four officers out of eighty-five, and about half of the privates were killed or wounded. General Braddock died in Dunbar's camp; and the whole army, which appears to have been panic struck, marched back to Philadelphia. The provincial troops, whom Braddock had so lightly esteemed, displayed during the battle the utmost calmness and courage. Though placed in the rear, they alone, led on by Washington, advanced against the Indians, and covered the retreat; and had they at first been permitted to engage the enemy in their own way, they would easily have defeated them.

The two northern expeditions, though not so disastrous, did not either of them succeed in attaining the object proposed. In that against Crown Point much delay was occasioned by the distracted councils of so many different governments; and it was not till the last of August, that General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Meanwhile the French squadron had eluded Admiral Boscawen; and, as soon as it arrived at Quebec, Baron Dieskau, the commander, resolved to march against Oswego, with his own twelve hundred regulars, and about six hundred Canadians and Indians. The news of General Johnson's movement determined Dieskau to change his plan, and to lead his forces directly against the American camp. General Johnson called for reinforcements: eight hundred troops, raised as a corps of reserve by Massachusetts, were immediately ordered to his assistance: and the same colony undertook to raise an additional number of two thousand men. Colonel Williams was sent forward with one thousand men to amuse and reconnoitre the enemy. He met them four miles from the camp, offered battle, and was defeated.† Another detachment shared the same fate; and the French were now within one hundred and fifty yards of the camp, when a halt for a short time enabled the Americans to recover their alarm, and to

* Braddock was mortally wounded, and taken on litters, at first, from the field, and then a litter was made for him, on which he was carried forty miles from the battle ground, where he expired on the evening of the fourth day after his defeat. Seven hundred of his men were killed, among whom were William Shirley, of the staff, and Colonel Sir Peter Halket. Among the wounded, were Robert Orme, Roger Morris, Sir John St. Clair, and several others of the staff, and Lieutenant-Colonels Button and Gage. Braddock was a brave and excellent officer. His mistake was in not studying the character of the enemy. Franklin advised him to proceed with the utmost caution; but the proud general thought the adviser was a much better philosopher than soldier.

† Hendrick, a Mohawk chief, was killed in this battle. He was the son of a Mohegan chief, by a Mohawk woman. He married into a Mohawk family, and became distinguished among the six nations. His fame extended to Massachusetts, for the commissioners, in 1751, consulted him on the great question of instructing certain youths of his nation. He was friendly to the English; and in this battle with Dieskau, he commanded three hundred Mohawks. He was grave and sententious in council, and brave in fight. Some of his aphorisms are as wise as those of Solon. When it was proposed to send a detachment to meet the enemy, and the number being mentioned, he replied: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." When it was proposed to send out the detachment in three parties, Hendrick took three sticks, and said, "Put them together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." They followed the advice of the old warrior in this; and had they regarded the precautions he suggested, in scouring the field by a flank guard, Williams would not have fallen into the ambuscade. Hendrick is remembered among the friends of white men, who now and then have been found in the different ages of our history, among Indians.

DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK, 1755.



make good use of their artillery through the fallen trees, behind which they were posted. Dieskau advanced to the charge; but he was so firmly received, that the Indians and militia gave way and fled: he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars; and, in the ardent pursuit which ensued, he was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner.* A scouting party had, in the mean time, taken the enemy's baggage; and when the retreating army came up, they attacked it so successfully from behind the trees, that the panic-struck soldiers dropped all their accoutrements, and fled in the utmost confusion for their posts on the lakes.† This victory revived the spirits of the colonists, depressed by the recent defeat of General Braddock, but the success was not improved in any proportion to their expectation. General Shirley, now the commander in chief, urged an attempt on Ticonderoga; but a council of war judging it unadvisable, Johnson employed the remainder of the campaign in fortifying his camp. On a meeting of Commissioners from Massachusetts and Connecticut, with the governor and council of New-York, in October, it was unanimously agreed, that the army under General Johnson should be discharged, excepting six hundred men, who should be engaged to garrison Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. The French still retained possession of Ticonderoga, and fortified it.

General Shirley,‡ who was to conduct the expedition against Niagara and Fort Frontenac, experienced such delays, that he did not reach Oswego until the 21st of August. On his arrival, he made all necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara; but, through the desertion of batteauxmen, the scarcity of wagons on the Mohawk river, and the desertion of sledgemen at the great carrying place, the conveyance of provisions and stores

was so much retarded, that nearly four weeks elapsed before he could commence any further operations; and from a continued succession of adverse circumstances, in a council of war called on the 26th of September, it was unanimously resolved to defer the expedition to the succeeding year; to leave Colonel Mercer at Oswego, with a garrison of seven hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the security of the place; while the general should return with the rest of the army to Albany. Thus ended the campaign of 1755: it opened with the brightest prospects; immense preparations had been made, yet not one of the objects of the three principal expeditions had been attained; and by this failure the whole frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which were accompanied by their usual acts of barbarity.

The colonies, however, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew and increase their exertions. General Shirley, to whom the superintendence of all the military operations had been confided, assembled a council of war at New-York to concert a plan for the ensuing year. The plan adopted by the council embraced expeditions against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point, and the despatching a body of troops by the way of the rivers Kennebeck and Chaudiere, to create alarm for the safety of Quebec. Major-General Winslow* was appointed to lead the expedition against Crown Point. He was a popular officer, and the colonists felt a deep interest in the expedition; but, for want of an established financial system, (their only taxes were upon lands and polls,) the requisite funds were raised with difficulty, and the recruiting service made very slow progress. Only seven thousand men assembled at the posts on Lake George. General Winslow declared, that, without more forces, he could not undertake the expedition; and it would probably have been abandoned, had he not been reinforced by the timely arrival of some British troops. They came over with General Abercrombie, who had superseded General Shirley, and who soon after gave place to the Earl of Loudon. These changes produced some unpleasant contests for priority of rank. General Winslow asserted frankly, that the provincials would never be commanded by British officers; and the Earl of Loudon seriously propounded the question, whether the colonial troops, with his majesty's arms in their hands, would refuse obedience to his majesty's commanders? He was answered in the affirmative; and when he understood that the New England troops in particular, had enlisted under the condition of being led by their own officers, he agreed to let those troops act separately.

While the English were adjusting these differences, and debating whether it would be expedient to attack Fort Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, marched against Oswego with about five thousand French, Canadians, and Indians. His artillery played with such effect upon the fort, that it was soon declared untenable; and to avoid an assault, the garrison, who were sixteen hundred in number, and had stores for five months, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The fort had been an object of considerable jealousy to the Five Nations; and Montcalm made a wise use of his conquest by demolishing it in their presence. The English and American army was now thrown upon the defensive. Instead of attacking Ticonderoga, General Winslow was ordered to fortify his own camp: Major-General Webb, with fourteen hundred regulars, took post near Wood Creek; and Sir William Johnson, with one thousand militia, was stationed at the German Flats. The colonists were now called upon for reinforcements; and, as parliament had distributed

among them one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the last year's expenses, they were enabled to answer the call with perhaps more promptitude than was anticipated. The recruits were on their way to the camp, when intelligence of the small-pox at Albany frightened them home again. The other provincials were equally alarmed; and all, except a New York regiment, were dismissed. Thus terminated the second campaign. The expedition up the Kennebeck had been abandoned; that against Niagara was not commenced; and not even a preparation had been made for that against Du Quesne.

At the commencement of the following year a council was held at Boston, composed of Lord Loudon, and the governors of the New England provinces and of Nova Scotia. At this council his lordship proposed that New England should raise four thousand men for the ensuing campaign; and that a proportionate number should be raised by New York and New Jersey. These requisitions were complied with; and in the spring his lordship found himself at the head of a very considerable army. Admiral Holbourn arriving in the beginning of July at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and a reinforcement of five thousand British troops, under George Viscount Howe, Lord Loudon sailed from New York with six thousand regulars, to join those troops at the place of their arrival. Instead of the complex operations undertaken in previous campaigns, his lordship limited his plan to a single object. Leaving the posts on the lakes strongly garrisoned, he resolved to direct his whole disposable force against Louisbourg; Halifax having been determined on as the place of rendezvous for the fleet and army destined for the expedition. Information was, however, soon received, that a French fleet had lately sailed from Brest; that Louisbourg was garrisoned by six thousand regulars, exclusive of provincials; and that it was also defended by seventeen line of battle ships, which were moored in the harbour. There being no hope of success against so formidable a force, the enterprise was deferred to the next year; the general and admiral on the last of August proceeded to New York; and the provincials were dismissed.

The Marquis de Montcalm, availing himself of the absence of the principal part of the British force, advanced with an army of nine thousand men, and laid siege to Fort William Henry. The garrison at this fort consisted of between two and three thousand regulars, and its fortifications were strong* and in very good order; and for the additional security of this important post, General Webb was stationed at Fort Edward with an army of four thousand men. The French commander, however, urged his approaches with such vigour, that within six days after the investment of the fort, Colonel Munro, the commandant, having in vain solicited succour from General Webb, found it necessary to surrender by capitulation. The garrison was to be allowed the honours of war, and to be protected against the Indians until within the reach of Fort Edward; but the next morning, a great number of Indians having been permitted to enter the lines, began to plunder; and meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded whom they immediately massacred. Their appetite for carnage being excited, the defenceless troops were attacked with fiend-like fury. Munro in vain implored Montcalm to provide the stipulated guard, and the massacre proceeded. All was turbulence and horror. On every side savages were butcher-

* John Harmand Dieskau, baron, was a lieutenant-general in the French army. In 1755, he left Montreal with twelve hundred regulars, and six hundred Canadians and Indians. General Johnson, with three thousand seven hundred men, arrived at the fort of Lake George, on his way to Ticonderoga. Baron Dieskau, hearing of this movement of General Johnson, instead of proceeding to Albany, as was his original intention, resolved to attack the American camp. A reinforcement of eight hundred troops was sent to General Johnson's assistance; and Colonel Williams, with one thousand men, was ordered to reconnoitre the enemy. He met the enemy but was defeated, and left among the slain. The loss of the French was also considerable; M. St. Pierre, commander of the Indians, was mortally wounded. On the same day, the 8th of September, Baron Dieskau appeared in view of General Johnson's army, which was encamped on the banks of Lake George, defended on each side by a woody swamp. The Americans having recovered from the alarm which their first disaster had thrown them into, and being stationed behind some fallen trees, their superior situation enabled them to make good use of their artillery. Dieskau, encouraged by his previous success, advanced boldly to the charge; but his Indians, more accustomed to the tomahawk and scalping knife, than to the roar of cannon, fled in dismay. His auxiliary troops being so dispersed, he was obliged to order a retreat of the regulars. In the pursuit which followed, he was himself wounded. A soldier, seeking for plunder, found Dieskau alone, deserted by his troops, leaning on the stump of a tree, unable to move from a wound in his leg. While he was searching for his watch, to deliver to him, the soldier supposing he was seeking for a pistol, poured a charge through his hips. He was conveyed to New York, where he was attended by Dr. Jones. He never entirely recovered from the wound, which gradually impaired his constitution, and he died in consequence of it, at Saratoga, in France, September 8th, 1767. He was unquestionably a general of military skill.

† General Phineas Lyman was second in command in this battle. He was a brave man, of far superior abilities to Johnson; and when the commander-in-chief was wounded, General Lyman took the command, and fought out the battle most gallantly. Lyman was a man of first rate talents and education, a lawyer, and a statesman. He sustained himself for five hours, on that day, and gave his orders like a veteran soldier; but Johnson never mentioned his name in his account of the battle, from a most despicable feeling of jealousy. Lyman continued for several campaigns to command the Connecticut troops, and won laurels in every situation. The close of his life was dark and sad; but his honour was ever tarnished.

‡ Shirley was a good lawyer, and a brave officer. He was a man of literary taste and acquirements. He published a tragedy, and some other dramatic works.

* Winslow was a grandson of the second governor of Plymouth, of that name. He was engaged as a captain in the expedition to Cuba, in 1740; as a major-general in the expeditions to Kennebeck, Nova Scotia, and Crown Point, in the Spanish wars. The bold stand he took in favour of the militia at that time, has been quoted as a precedent since, and endeared his name to every lover of military honour.

* This is a great mistake; the fort was built merely as a defence against Indians, and was entirely unfit for a siege, by a power who had the command of ordnance. The fort was not abandoned till the last shot they had was fired. The conduct of the brave and gallant Montcalm, is inexplicable. Could not such a general, with so many regular troops, have restrained the Indians? His reputation was without stain until that hour. Some of the disarmed and wretched troops were compelled to make resistance, and wrenched the arms from their assailants, and defended themselves with desperation. There are blood-stained pages in history we could wish were not there. This is one of them.

ing and scalping their wretched victims. Their hideous yells, the groans of the dying, and the frantic shrieks of others shrinking from the uplifted tomahawk, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage without restraint until fifteen hundred were killed, or hurried captives into the wilderness. The day after this awful tragedy, Major Putnam was sent with his rangers to watch the motions of the enemy. When he came to the shore of the lake, their rear was hardly beyond the reach of musket shot. The prospect was horrible in the extreme; the fort demolished; the barracks and buildings yet burning; innumerable fragments of human carcasses still broiled in the decaying fires; and dead bodies, mangled with tomahawks and scalping knives, in all the wantonness of Indian barbarity, were every where scattered around. Who can forbear exclaiming with the poet,

"Man is to man the surest, surest ill!"

Thus ended the third campaign* in America; happily forming the last series of disasters resulting from folly and mismanagement, rather than from want of means and military strength. The successes of the French left the colonies in a gloomy state. By the acquisition of Fort William Henry, they had obtained full possession of the lakes Champlain and George; and by the destruction of Oswego, they had acquired the dominion of those other lakes which connect the St. Lawrence with the waters of Mississippi. The first afforded the easiest admission from the northern colonies into Canada, or from Canada into those colonies; the last united Canada to Louisiana. By the continued possession of Fort Du Quesne, they preserved their ascendancy over the Indians, and held undisturbed control of all the country west of the Alleghany mountains. The British nation was alarmed and indignant, and the king found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of a new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, who was raised by his talents from the humble post of ensign in the guards to the control of the destinies of a mighty empire; under his administration public confidence revived, and the na-

tion seemed inspired with new life and vigour.† He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757, that by May, in the following year, Massachusetts, had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops, prepared to take the field. The zeal of Massachusetts was particularly ardent. The people of Boston supported taxes which took away two thirds of the income on real estate; one half of the effective men in the province were on some sort of military duty; and the transports for carrying the troops to Halifax were ready to sail in fourteen days from the time of their engagement. The mother country was not less active. While her fleets blockaded or captured the French armaments, she despatched Admiral Boscawen to Halifax with

a formidable squadron of ships, and an army of twelve thousand men. Lord Loudoun was replaced by General Abercrombie, who, early in the spring of 1758, was ready to enter upon the campaign at the head of fifty thousand men, the most powerful army ever seen in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign; the first, Louisbourg; the second, Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third, Fort Du Quesne. On the first expedition Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax on the 25th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and an army of fourteen thousand men, under the command of General Amherst, and arrived before Louisbourg on the 2d of June. The garrison of that place, commanded by the Chevalier de Drucourt, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia. The harbour, being secured by five ships of the line, one fifty gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the month of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from the town. This being effected, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with two thousand men to seize a post occupied by the enemy at the Lighthouse Point, from which the ships in the harbour, and the fortifications in the town, might be greatly annoyed. On the approach of that gallant officer, the post was abandoned by the enemy, and several strong batteries were erected there by their opponents. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with resolution and vigour, though with great caution. A very heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbour, a bomb was at length set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The English admiral now sent six hundred men in boats into the harbour, to make an attempt on two ships of the line which still remained in the basin: one of which, being aground, was destroyed, and the other was towed off in triumph. This gallant exploit, putting the English in complete possession of the harbour, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was deemed no longer defensible, and the governor offered to capitulate. It was required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. These humiliating terms, though at first rejected, were afterwards acceded to; and Louisbourg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, as also Island Royal, St. John's, and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who, without farther difficulty, took possession of the island of Cape Breton. The conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to nearly six thousand men, were carried prisoners to England.

The armies destined to execute the plans against Ticonderoga and Fort Du Quesne were appointed to rendezvous respectively at Albany and Philadelphia. The first was commanded by General Abercrombie, and consisted of upwards of fifteen thousand men, attended by a formidable train of artillery. On the 5th of July, the general embarked his troops on Lake George, on board of one hundred and twenty-five whale boats, and nine hundred batteaux, and commenced operations against Ticonderoga. After debarkation at the landing place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched toward the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of the battalion only, posted in a logged camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods towards Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord

† "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, one of the most able and successful ministers that England ever possessed, was born November 15, 1708, and was the son of Robert Pitt, Esq. of Bocomock, in Cornwall. His education he received at Eton, and at Trinity College, Oxford. His entrance into public life was as a cornet of horse; and in 1735, through the influence of the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, he was returned to parliament, as member for Old Sarum. He subsequently sat for Seaford, Aldborough, and Bath. As a senator, he soon rendered himself so obnoxious to Walpole, that the minister, with equal injustice and impolicy, deprived him of his commission. This unconstitutional act only enhanced his popularity, and sharpened his resentment. After having been ten years in opposition, he was, early in 1746, appointed joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; and, in the same year, treasurer and paymaster general of the army, and a privy counsellor. During his treasurership, he invariably refused to benefit by the large balances of money which necessarily remained in his hands. In 1755, he was dismissed; in 1756, he obtained a brief reinstatement in power, as secretary of state, and was again dismissed; but, in 1757, defeat and disgrace having fallen on the country, the unanimous voice of the people compelled the sovereign to place him at the head of the administration. Under his auspices, Britain was, during four years, triumphant in every quarter of the globe. Thwarted in his measures, after the accession of George III., he resigned, in October, 1761, an office which he could no longer hold with honour to himself, or advantage to the nation. A pension was granted to him, and his wife was created a baroness. On the downfall of the Rockingham administration, Pitt was appointed lord privy seal, and was raised to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Chatham. He acquired no glory as one of the new and ill-assorted ministry, and he withdrew from it in November, 1763. Though suffering severely from gout, he continued to speak in parliament upon all important questions. The American war, in particular, he opposed with all his wonted vigour and talent. On the 8th of April, 1778, while rising to speak in the house of lords, he fell into a convulsive fit, and he expired on the 11th of the following May. He was interred, and a monument raised to him, in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense; and a perpetual annuity of 4000*l.* was granted to his heirs. Some short poems, and a volume of letters to his nephew, have appeared in print. The character of Lord Chatham is thus ably summed by Grattan: 'There was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and to rule the wilderness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through the universe.'"

In America, his name was held in the highest estimation. Every patriot did him honour. Country signs bore his semblance, or something the people thought like his noble features. In the town of Dedham, in Massachusetts, Nathaniel Ames, the father of the great orator, Fisher Ames, a physician, philosopher, and mathematician, erected a granite column to his memory, and surmounted it by a bust of the great friend of liberty. It was thrown down by time, and suffered to lie in neglect for many years; but it has since been renovated, and stands now a monument to departed genius and patriotism. "His eloquence formed an era in our language;" and the fire he breathed into the soul of freedom, has not, and we trust never will, be extinguished. Genius, united to letters and patriotism, can never die. We forgive his last act; it was one of feeling and of national pride. Lord Chatham aided the projectors of canals with his whole soul, while politicians thought he had better have been doing almost any thing else; but his sagacity has been proved by the wonderful advantages which have resulted to the nation from canals. Grattan should have added, that he foresaw the resources of the nation, and commenced their development; if not so rhetorical, it would have been literally true; and even the beauty of prophecy is its fulfilment.

* While the army was in winter quarters, a circumstance occurred, which exhibits the watchful jealousy the colonists ever exercised over their liberties. "The general court had provided barracks on Castle Island, for a regiment of Highlanders, which had been expected at Boston. Some recruiting officers soon afterwards arrived at Nova Scotia; and, protesting that their regiments would never be filled up if the men must be lodged in these barracks, they required the justices of the peace to furnish quarters, according to the act of parliament. The justices denied that the act of parliament extended to this country. Lord Loudoun wrote the court a letter, and asserted roundly that it did; that, moreover, he had 'used gentleness and patience' long enough; and that unless the requisitions were complied with in forty-eight hours from the receipt of this letter, he should be 'under the necessity' of ordering 'into Boston the three battalions from New York, Long Island, and Connecticut; and if more were wanted, he had two in the Jerseys at hand, besides those in Pennsylvania.' The general court now passed an act very similar to that of parliament, on the subject of recruits; but it did not fully answer Lord Loudoun's expectations, nor did he fail to let them know it in a second epistle. The answer of the general court was merely a reiteration of what we have so often heard from the same body. They asserted their rights as Englishmen; and they had conformed to the act of parliament as nearly as the case would admit; and declared that it was their misfortune, if a strict adherence to their duty should give offence to Lord Loudoun. He, in turn, applauded the zeal of the province in the service of his majesty, affected to rely on its compliance with his wishes, and countermanded his orders for the march of the troops. The general court sent his excellency a conciliatory message, in which they asserted that they were entirely dependent on parliament; that its acts were the rule of all their judicial proceedings; that its authority had never been questioned; and that if they had not made this avowal 'in times past, it was because there had been no occasion for it.' Judge Marshall seems to think that this language was sincere, but Mr. Minot attributes it to the desire of the court to keep friends with parliament till they were reimbursed for the expenses which they had incurred during the war. The truth is probably between the two opinions."—Sandford's Hist. of the United States, p. 145, 146.

Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy which had been lost in the wood in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing a considerable number, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. This success was, however, dearly purchased, by the loss of the gallant nobleman who fell in leading the attack.* The English army, without farther opposition took possession of a post within two miles of Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, having learned from the prisoners the strength of the enemy at that fortress, and from an engineer the condition of their works, resolved on an immediate storm, and made instant disposition for an assault. The troops having received orders to march up briskly, rush upon the enemy's fire, and reserve their own till they had passed a breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked for impediments, however, occurred. In front of the breastwork, to a considerable distance, trees had been felled with their branches outward, many of which were sharpened to a point, by means of which the assaults were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a very galling fire. Finding it impracticable to pass the breastwork, which was eight or nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented, General Abercrombie, after a contest of near four hours, ordered a retreat, and the next day resumed his former camp on the south side of Lake George. In this brave but ill-judged assault nearly two thousand of the assailants were killed and wounded, while the loss of the enemy, who were covered during the whole action, was inconsiderable. General Abercrombie immediately re-crossed Lake George, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.†

The campaign was not destined, however, to close with such ill success. Colonel Bradstreet proposed an expedition against Frontenac; a fort which, by being placed on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario,

was the key to the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It served also to keep the Indians in subjection, and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late in the evening of the 25th of August, Colonel Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place, with three thousand men, eight pieces of cannon, and three mortars. The French had not anticipated an attack at this point, and the garrison consisted of only one hundred and ten men, with a few Indian auxiliaries. It was impossible to hold out long. Colonel Bradstreet posted his mortars so near the fort, that every shell took effect; and the commander was very soon obliged to surrender at discretion. The booty consisted of sixty pieces of cannon, great numbers of small arms, provisions, military stores, goods to a large amount, and nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns. Colonel Bradstreet destroyed the fort and vessels, re-crossed the Ontario, and returned to the army.

Had it not been for this fortunate enterprise, the unaccountable delay in preparing the expedition against Du Quesne would probably have left that fort a third time in possession of the enemy. It was not until June that the commander, General Forbes, set out from Philadelphia; it was September before Colonel Washington, with the Virginia regulars, was ordered to join the main body at Ray's Town; and owing to the difficulties of cutting a new road, it was as late as November when the army appeared before Du Quesne. The garrison, deserted by the Indians, and without adequate means of defence, had escaped down the Ohio the evening before the arrival of the British, who had only to take possession, therefore, in the king's name. The fort was supplied with a new garrison, and the name changed to Pittsburgh. The Indians, as usual, joined the strongest side. A peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; and the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were once more relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping knives.

The campaign of 1758 was highly honorable to the British arms, and the results of it very important. Of the three expeditions, two had completely succeeded, and the leader of the third had made an important conquest. To the commanding talents of Pitt, and the confidence which they inspired, this change of fortune must be chiefly attributed; and in no respect were these talents more strikingly displayed than in the choice of men to execute his plans. The advantages of this campaign had, however, been purchased by an expensive effort and corresponding exhaustion of provincial strength; and when a circular letter from Mr. Pitt to the several governors induced the colonies to resolve upon making the most vigorous preparations for the next, they soon discovered that their resources were by no means commensurate with their zeal.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, it was resolved to signalize the year 1759 by the complete conquest of Canada. The plan of the campaign was, that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strong-holds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier-General Wolfe, a young officer who had signalized himself at the siege of Louisbourg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops. The central and main army, composed of British and provincials, was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point by General Amherst, the new commander in chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain and by the way of the Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence, and descending that river, form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. The third army, to be composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first against Niagara, and after the reduction of that place, to embark on Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal. It has been observed by a recent author, "Had the elements been laid,

and the enemy spell-bound, the whole of this brilliant plan could not have helped succeeding." This sentence, however, betrays a very limited view of a plan that was well worthy of the mind of Pitt. In this arrangement immediate advantage was not sacrificed; while the more remote results exhibited a prospect highly calculated to excite the ambition of the leaders, and to arouse all the energies of the troops. It is in thus affording motives which tend to bring physical force into most effective and persevering action, that intellectual superiority becomes manifest, confounding the calculations of ordinary minds.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise; but it was not till the last of May that his troops were assembled at Albany; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so great a force as that of General Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned; the example was followed at Crown Point; and the only way in which the enemy seemed to think of preserving their province was by retarding the English army with shows of resistance till the season of operation should be past, or, till by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. From Crown Point they retreated to Ile-aux-Noix, where General Amherst understood there was a body of between three and four thousand men, and a fleet of several armed vessels. The English made great exertions to secure a naval superiority; and had it not been for a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, they would most probably have accomplished the original design of forming a junction at Quebec, instead of being obliged to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an army on Lake Ontario; and on the 6th of July landed without opposition within about three miles from the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a coborn, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. That General, prosecuting with judgment and vigour the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu'Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible to raise the siege. Apprised of their intentions to hazard a battle, General Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines, and bridling the garrison. About nine in the morning of the 24th of July, the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the war hoop from the hostile Indians, was the signal for battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness; and in less than an hour were completely routed. This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson the next morning opened negotiations with the French commandant; and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were to march out with the honors of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New-York; and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature, and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America; and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished

* George Howe, lord-viscount, was commander of five thousand British troops in America, and was the most popular of all the leaders of the British Armies, in the conflicts with France. When Abercrombie made his attack on Ticonderoga, he led the van-guard, and fell at the first fire. He was admired by all the provincials. Old Stark, the hero of Bennington, who knew him well, feared that he should not have been a true whig in the revolution, if Lord Howe had been alive. His death was mourned as a public calamity, and the Americans seemed to lose their spirit in his fall. The good people of Massachusetts caught the infection of grief from the soldiers, and erected a monument, by permission for their admired General, in Westminster Abbey, at their own expense, of two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. It is still standing in Westminster Abbey.

† Major Rogers, with his rangers, was in this battle, and asked permission to scour the woods before the regular troops were led on; but this was not granted. Major Robert Rogers was a native of Londonderry, or Dumbarton, in the state of New Hampshire. He was early known as a brave soldier, and was authorized by the British Government to raise five companies of rangers, as they were called. They were kept on the frontiers for winter as well as summer service, to watch the hostile Indians, who often, in the most inclement season, made attacks on the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers. This body of troops was taken from the boldest and hardiest of the yeomanry of the land. They were doubly armed, and carried with them snow-shoes and skates for service. They generally made their head-quarters at the southern extremity of Lake George. Their snow-shoes put them on an equality with their foes, and with their skates they had greatly the advantage of the Indians. Stark, Putnam, and several others, who were distinguished afterwards in the revolutionary war, were trained in this school. Some of the well authenticated exploits of this hardy band, seem like romance to us in the present day. All along the borders of Lake George, spots are shown where the rangers fought desperate battles, in the winter season, sometimes with more than twice their numbers. This corps fought from seventeen hundred and fifty-five to the fall of Quebec, in seventeen hundred and fifty-nine. They were put foremost in battle by Abercrombie and Amherst, and some of them were sent to assist Wolfe. Rogers states in his journal of these campaigns, that their packs were generally of twice the weight of those commonly carried by soldiers. Many of this band perished in their frontier campaigns. For some particulars in the life of this most singular man, see Allen's Biography.

reputation; and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly, however, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, and especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm, and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisbourg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him for assistants Brigadier Generals Moncton, Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent. Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with eight thousand troops, and near the last of June, landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope. In a letter to Mr. Pitt, written before commencing operations, he declared that he saw but little prospect of reducing the place.

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it far to the westward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, on which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency; and between these two rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly entrenched, and at least equal in number to that of the English. General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected; their elevation, at the same time, placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures. The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable distance above Quebec is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency, passed, and the French driven from their entrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new, and perhaps an insuperable barrier. With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that "a victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal Americans, were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt, close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's entrenchments, in the belief that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement; or, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterwards examine their situation with coolness, and advantageously regulate his future operations. On the approach of the British troops, the redoubt was evacuated, and the general, observing some confusion in the French camp, changed his original plan, and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately despatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained. These troops, however, not waiting for support, rushed impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter in the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunderstorm, they were still within reach of a severe

fire from the French; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form the troops, were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly five hundred men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English General gave orders for repassing the river, and returning to the island of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land; and though more successful in the third, he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or by water, and the commander in chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops. At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Niagara was taken, that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned, but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the *He-aux-Noix*. While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency; and his extreme anxiety, preying upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise. Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved, that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the island of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up the river. Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent, and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harrassed in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and desperate effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down with the stream, to a point about a mile above the city. The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only path by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Colonel Howe, with the van, soon clambered up the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery. The army landed about an hour before day, and by daybreak was marshalled on the heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe the intelligence; but, as soon as he was assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles with the intention of attacking the English army. No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Moncton, and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered, by the Louisbourg grenadiers, and the rear and left by Howe's light infantry. The form in which the French advanced indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted

of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals. The dispositions made by the French General were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine in the morning the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two Generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then, by a general discharge made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy every where yielded to it. General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptom of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.* The army, not disconcerted by his fall, continued the action under Moncton, on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend. Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalions, received a mortal wound about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British Grenadiers, pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray, briskly advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army. The Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and after having lost their first and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following the example, when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him; but he retired, and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to six hundred men. Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal, yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get up his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil

* On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was conveyed into the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered, in the agonies of death, the most anxious solicitude concerning the fate of the day. From extreme faintness, he had reclined his head on the arm of an officer, but was soon aroused by the cry of "They fly, they fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. "Then," said he, "I die contented," and immediately expired. A death more full of military glory has seldom been recorded by the pen of the historian, or celebrated by the pencil of the painter. General Wolfe was only thirty-three years of age. He possessed those military talents, which, with the advantage of years and opportunity of action, "to moderate his ardour, expand his faculties, and give to his intuitive perception and scientific knowledge the correctness of judgment perfected by experience," would have "placed him on a level with the most celebrated generals of any age or nation."—Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."

and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by six thousand Canadian militia, and a body of Indians. With these forces M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a coup de main during the winter; but, on reconnoitering, he found the outposts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring. In the month of April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit a transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage, were embarked at Montreal, and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates; and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec. General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been entrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but his troops had suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison there were not at this time above three thousand men fit for service. With this small but valiant body he resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and on the 28th of April, marched out to the heights of Abraham, where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi, with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness; and after a fierce encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops, and retired into the city. In this action the loss of the English was near a thousand men, and that of the French still greater. The French general lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle he opened trenches before the town, but it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications. By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks, and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and in a manner silenced their batteries. A British fleet most opportunely arriving a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retired to Montreal. Here the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his head quarters, and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved upon the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada; and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it, with an irresistible superiority of numbers. Almost on the same day, the armies from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal: a capitulation was immediately signed; Detroit, Michilimackinac, and indeed, all New France, surrendered to the English. The French troops were to be carried home; and the Canadians to retain their civil and religious privileges.

The history of modern Europe, with whose destiny that of the colonies was closely interwoven, may be designated as the annals of an interminable war. Her sovereigns, ever having the oily words of peace on their lips, have seldom had recourse to the olive branch but as the signal of a truce, the duration of which should be coeval with the reinvigoration of military strength. It was thus with France on the present occasion. Equally unsuccessful on both continents, and exhausted by her strenuous and continued efforts, she was at length induced to make overtures of peace; and every thing seemed to be in a fair train for adjustment, when the treaty was suddenly broken off by an attempt of the court of Ver-

sailles to mingle the politics of Spain and of Germany with the disputes between France and Great Britain. A secret family compact between the Bourbons to support each other through evil and good, in peace and in war, had rendered Spain desirous of war, and induced France once more to try her fortune. As the interests of the two nations were now identified, it only remained for England to make a formal declaration of hostility against Spain. The colonies of New England being chiefly interested in the reduction of the West India Islands, furnished a considerable body of troops to carry on the war. A large fleet was dispatched from England; the land forces amounted to sixteen thousand; and before the end of the second year, Great Britain had taken the important city of Havana, the key of the Mexican Gulf, together with the French provinces of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and the Caribbee Islands.

The progress of the British conquests, which threatened all the remaining colonial possessions of their opponents, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace, which, towards the close of 1762, were interchanged at Fontainebleau between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain. On the 10th of February, in the following year, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, and soon after ratified.*

* "The acquisitions of Great Britain, both from France and Spain, on the continent of North America, established by this treaty, whether they be considered in relation to the political or commercial interests of the parent country, or in relation to the entire interests of the American colonies, merits particular attention. Every article, therefore, which has respect to America, is subjoined in the words of the treaty.

By the second article, France renounces and guarantees to Great Britain all Nova Scotia or Acadia, and likewise Canada, the Isle of Cape Breton, and all other Islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.

By the third article, it is stipulated that the French shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the island of Newfoundland, as specified in the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; and the French may also fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, so as they do not exercise the same but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent, as those of the islands in the said gulf. As to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulf, the French shall exercise the same, but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coast of the Isle of Cape Breton.

By the fourth article, Great Britain cedes to France, to serve as a shelter for the French fishermen, the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon; and his most Christian Majesty absolutely engages not to fortify the said islands, nor to erect any other buildings thereon, but merely for the convenience of the fishery; and to keep only a guard of fifty men for the police.

By the sixth article it is stipulated, that the confines between the dominions of Great Britain and France, on the continent of North America, shall be irrevocably fixed, by a line drawn along the river Mississippi, from its source, as far as the river Ilerveille, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and to this purpose the most Christian King cedes in full right, and guarantees to his Britanic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that he possesses on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans, and the island on which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river shall be equally free to the subjects of Great Britain and France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and that part expressly which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth; and the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulation in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article; that is, that the French in Canada may freely profess the Roman Catholic religion, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit; that they may enjoy their civil rights, retire when they please, and may dispose of their estates to British subjects.

By the seventh article, it is stipulated that Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Desirade, and Martinico, in the West Indies, and of Belleisle, on the coast of France, with their fortresses; provided that the term of eighteen months be granted to his Britanic Majesty's subjects settled there, and in other places hereby restored to France, to settle their estates, recover their debts, and to transport themselves and effects, without being restrained on account of their religion, or any pretence, except for debts, or criminal prosecutions.

By the eighth article, France cedes to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favor of the inhabitants as are inserted in

France ceded to Great Britain, all the conquests which the latter had made in North America; and it was stipulated between the two crowns, that the boundary line of their respective dominions in the new hemisphere should run along the middle of the Mississippi, from its source as far as the Ilerveille, and along the middle of that river, and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

Thus terminated a war, which originated in an attempt on the part of the French to surround the English colonists, and chain them to a narrow strip of country along the coast of the Atlantic; and ended with their giving up the whole of what was then their only valuable territory in North America. The immediate advantage the colonies derived from the successful issue of the contest was great and apparent. Although, for a short period after the conquest of Canada had been effected, they were subject to attacks from the Indian tribes attached to the French, and also from the Cherokees on their southwestern borders, they were soon enabled to visit their cruelties with severe retribution, and to procure a lasting repose, as the Indians had no forts to which to repair for protection or aid. But the indirect results, though almost unperceivable at first, were far more important, and prepared the way for those momentous efforts which issued in the loss to Great Britain of the fairest portion of her colonies, and the establishment of her vassal as a rival. The colonists became inured to the habits and hardships of a military life, and skilled in the arts of European warfare; while the desire of revenge for the loss of Canada, which France did not fail to harbour, was preparing for them a most efficient friend, and making way for the anomalous exhibition of a despotic sovereign, exerting all his power in the cause of liberty and independence.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Colonies from the peace of Paris, 1763, to 1774.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-

the second article for those of Canada; and the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to England, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France in full right, the two crowns reciprocally guaranteeing to each other the partition so stipulated.

By the sixteenth article, it is stipulated, that his Britanic Majesty shall cause all the fortifications to be demolished, which his subjects shall have erected in the bay of Honduras and other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world. And his Catholic Majesty shall not, for the future, permit his Britanic Majesty, or their workmen, to be disturbed or molested under any pretence whatsoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading, and carrying away log-wood; and for this purpose they may build, without hindrance, and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, for their families, and for their effects; and his said Catholic Majesty assures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above stipulated.

By the seventeenth article, his Catholic Majesty desists from all pretensions which he may have formed to the right of fishing about the island of Newfoundland.

By the eighteenth article, it is stipulated, that the king of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all that he has conquered in the Island of Cuba, with the fortress of Havana; and that fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by his Britanic Majesty's arms.

By the twentieth article, his Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right, to his Britanic Majesty, Florida, with the Fort of St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the east, or to the southeast of the river Mississippi; and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, power, and possession, and all rights acquired by treaties, or otherwise, which the Catholic king and the crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries." Anderson, vol. iii. p. 339-433, where the preliminary articles of the treaty are inserted entire; and vol. iv. p. 1, 2, where the most material alterations or explanations of those articles, as settled by the definitive treaty, are inserted.—American Annals, vol. ii. p. 113-115.

eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British minister was digesting plans, for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies, from taxes laid by the parliament of the parent state. On the one hand it was urged, that the late war originated on account of the colonies; and that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favourable to their interest, they should contribute to defraying the expenses it had occasioned. Thus far both parties were agreed: but Great Britain contended, that her parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the colonies, as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed, that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold taxes; and in their having a share in enacting the laws, by which they were to be bound.

They conceived, that the superiority of the British constitution, to other forms of government, was, not that their supreme council was called parliament but that the people had a share in it, by appointing members, who constituted one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence, no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In the mother country, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire, that the British parliament should have a right of taxation, over every part of the royal dominion. In the colonies, it was believed, that taxation and representation were inseparable; and that they could neither be free nor happy, if their property could be taken from them, without their consent. The common people in America reasoned on this subject, in a summary way: "I a British parliament," said they, "in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property, by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please; and we have no security for any thing that remains, but a forbearance on their part, less likely to be exercised in our favour, as they lighten themselves of the burdens of government, in the same proportion that they impose them on us." They well knew, that communities of mankind, as well as individuals, have a strong propensity to impose on others, when they can do it with impunity; and especially when there is a prospect, that the imposition will be attended with advantage to themselves. The Americans, from that jealousy of their liberties, which their local situation nurtured, and which they inherited from their forefathers, viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, free from extraneous influence, in the same light, as the British parliament views its peculiar privilege of raising money, independent of the crown. The parent state appeared, to the colonists, to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the monarch of Great Britain to the British Parliament. His prerogative is limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money. While this right rests in the hands of the people, their liberties are secured.

In the same manner reasoned the colonists: "In order to be styled freemen, our local assemblies, elected by ourselves, must enjoy the exclusive privilege of imposing taxes upon us." They contended, that men settled in foreign parts, to better their condition, not to submit their liberties; to continue the equals, not to become the slaves of their less adventurous fellow-citizens; and that, by the novel doctrine of parliamentary power, they were degraded from being the subjects of a king, to the low condition of being subjects of subjects. They argued, that it was essentially involved in the idea of property, that the possessor had such a right therein, that it was a contradiction to suppose any other

man, or body of men, possessed a right to take it from him, without his consent. Precedents in the history of England justified this mode of reasoning. The love of property strengthened it; and it had a peculiar force on the minds of colonists, three thousand miles removed from the seat of government, and growing up to maturity, in a New World, where, from the extent of country, and the state of society, even the necessary restraints of civil government were impatiently borne. On the other hand, the people of Great Britain revolted against the claims of the colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the height of contumacy, for the colonists to refuse obedience to the power, which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest, which existed between the people of Great Britain and their representatives, they believed, that the said community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation, aided this mode of reasoning. "What!" said they, "shall we, who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our own colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care, and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of parliament, to which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, congenial to the natural vanity of the human heart, operated so extensively, that the people of Great Britain spoke of their colonies and of their colonists, as a kind of possession annexed to their persons. The love of power, and of property, on the one side of the Atlantic, were opposed by the same powerful passions on the other.

The disposition to tax the colonies was also strengthened, by exaggerated accounts of their wealth. It was said, "that the American planters lived in affluence, and with inconsiderable taxes; while the inhabitants of Great Britain were borne down, by such oppressive burdens, as to make a bare subsistence, a matter of extreme difficulty." The officers who had served in America, during the late war, contributed to this delusion. Their observations were founded on what they had seen in cities, and at a time, when large sums were spent by government, in support of fleets and armies, and when American commodities were in great demand. To treat with attention those who came to fight for them, and also to gratify their own pride, the colonists had made a parade of their riches, by frequently and sumptuously entertaining the gentlemen of the British army. These, judging from what they saw, without considering the general state of the country, concurred in representing the colonists as very able to contribute, largely, towards defraying the common expenses of the empire.

The charters, which were supposed to contain the principles on which the colonies were founded, became the subject of serious investigation on both sides. One clause was found to run through the whole of them, except that which had been granted to Mr. Peon. This was a declaration, "that the emigrants to America should enjoy the same privileges, as if they had remained, or had been born within the realm:" but such was the subtilty of disputants, that both parties construed this general principle so as to favour their respective opinions. The American patriots contended, that as English freeholders could not be taxed, but by representatives, in choosing whom they had a vote, neither could the colonists: but it was replied, that, if the colonists had remained in England, they must have been bound to pay the taxes imposed by parliament. It was therefore inferred, that, though taxed, by that authority, they lost none of the rights of native Englishmen, residing at home. The partizans of the mother country could see nothing in charters, but security against taxes, by royal authority. The Americans, adhering to the spirit more than to the letter, viewed their characters as a shield against all taxes not imposed by representatives of their own choice. This construction they contended to be expressly recognised by the charter of Maryland. In that, king Charles bound both himself and his successors, not to assent to any bill subjecting the inhabitants to internal taxation, by external legislation.

The nature and extent of the connexion between Great Britain and America, was a great constitutional question, involving many interests and the general principles of civil liberty. To decide this recourse was, in vain, had to parchment authorities made at a distant time; when neither the grantor nor grantees, of American territory, had in contemplation any thing like the present state of the two countries.

Great and flourishing colonies, daily increasing in numbers, and already grown to the magnitude of a nation, planted at an immense distance, and governed by constitutions, resembling that of the country from which they sprung, were novelties in the history of the world. To combine colonies so circumstanced, in one uniform system of government with the parent state, required a great knowledge of mankind, and an extensive comprehension of things. It was an arduous business, far beyond the grasp of ordinary statesmen, whose minds were narrowed by the formalities of law, or the trammels of office. An original genius, unfettered with precedents, and exalted with just ideas of the rights of human nature, and the obligations of universal benevolence, might have struck out a middle line, which would have secured as much liberty to the colonies, and as great a degree of supremacy to the parent state, as their common good required; but the helm of Great Britain was not in such hands. The spirit of the British constitution, on the one hand, revolted at the idea, that the British parliament should exercise the same unlimited authority over the unrepresented colonies, which it exercised over the inhabitants of Great Britain. The colonists, on the other hand, did not claim a total exemption from its authority. They in general allowed the mother country a certain undefined prerogative over them, and acquiesced in the right of parliament, to make many acts, binding them in many subjects of internal policy, and regulating their trade. Where parliamentary supremacy ended, and at what point colonial independency began, was not ascertained. Happy, for the English empire, would it have been, had the question never been agitated; but much more so, had it been compromised by an amicable compact, without the horrors of a civil war.

The English colonies were originally established on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade, her commerce increased at least four-fold. The colonies took the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with provisions, or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely investigating the terms on which the connexion of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain and of the colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 had scarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time, sundry resolutions passed the British parliament, relative to the imposition of a stamp duty in America, which gave a general alarm. By them the right, the equity, the policy, and even the necessity of taxing the colonies, were formally avowed. These resolutions, being considered as the preface of a system of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a prospect of oppression, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. They were nevertheless not immediately followed by any legislative act. Time, and an invitation, were given to the Americans, to suggest any other mode of taxation that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp act: but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle; and several of their assemblies, though in vain, petitioned against it. An American revenue was, in England, a very popular measure. The cry in favour of it was so strong, as to silence the voice of petitions to the contrary.—The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expenses of the empire, satisfied many who, without inquiring into the policy or

justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow subjects, readily assented to the measures adopted by the parliament for this purpose. The prospect of easing their own burdens, at the expense of the colonists, dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation.

The omnipotence of parliament was so familiar a phrase, on both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were impressed, in the first instance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the colonists.

Illumination on that subject was gradual. The resolutions in favor of an American stamp act, which passed in March, 1764, met with no opposition. In the course of the year which intervened between these resolutions, and the passing of a law grounded upon them, the subject was better understood, and constitutional objections against the measure, were urged by several, both in Great Britain and America. This astonished and chagrined the British ministry: but as the principle of taxing America had been, for some time, determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up. Impelled by partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville, in March 1765, brought into the house of commons his long expected bill, for laying a stamp duty in America. By this, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted, that the instruments of writing, in daily use among a commercial people, should be null and void, unless they were executed on stamped paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British parliament.

When the bill was brought in, Mr. Charles Townsend concluded a speech in its favour, with words to the following effect: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" To which colonel Barre replied: "They planted by your care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable; and, among others, to the cruelty of a savage foe, the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth! and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hand of those that should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members in this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them: men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them: men promoted to the highest seats of justice—some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. They protected by your arms! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted a valour amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, whilst its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And, believe me, that same spirit of freedom, which actuated these people at first, will accompany them still: but prudence forbids me to explain myself farther. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from any motives of party heat. I deliver the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this house may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you; having seen and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them,

if ever they should be violated: but the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it insisted much on the colonies being virtually represented in the same manner as Leeds, Halifax, and some other towns were. A recurrence to this plea was a virtual acknowledgement, that there ought not to be taxation without representation. It was replied, that the connexion between the electors and non-electors of parliament, in Great Britain, was so interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give some security of property to the latter: but with respect to taxes laid by the British parliament, and paid by the Americans, the situation of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the same common burden, what was laid on the one, was exactly so much taken off from the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the house of lords; and, on the 22d of March, 1765, it received the royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson; "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered: "I was apprehensive, that other lights would be the consequence;" and he foretold the opposition which shortly took place. On its being suggested from authority, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great Britain, but selected from among the Americans, the colony agents were desired to point out proper persons for that purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof, that they supposed the act would have gone down. In this opinion, they were far from being singular. That the colonists would be, ultimately, obliged to submit to the stamp act, was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it, in particular, flattered themselves, that the confusion, which would arise upon the disuse of writings, and the insecurity of property, which would result from using any other than that required by law, would compel the colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamped paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon. They, therefore, boasted that it was a law, which would execute itself. By the term of the stamp act, it was not to take effect till the first day of November; a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity of leisurely canvassing the new subject, and examining fully on every side. In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees they recovered their recollection. Virginia led the way in opposition to the stamp act. Mr. Patrick Henry, on the 29th of May, 1765, brought into the house of burgesses of that colony, the following resolutions, which were substantially adopted.

"Resolved, that the first adventurers, settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other, his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this, his majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, that have at any time, been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that, by two royal charters, granted by king James the first, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed, by their own assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police; and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up: but have been constantly recognised by the king and people of Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power, to lay taxes and imposts, upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that

every attempt, to vest such power in any other person or persons, whatsoever, than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American liberty.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law, or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

"Resolved, that any person, who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain, that any person, or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power, to impose, or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony."

Upon reading these resolutions, the boldness and novelty of them affected one of the members to such a degree, that he cried out, "treason! treason!" They were, nevertheless, well received by the people; and immediately forwarded to the other provinces. They circulated extensively, and gave a spring to the discontented. Till they appeared, most were of opinion, that the act would be quietly adopted. Murmurs, indeed, were common, but they seemed to be such, as would soon die away. The countenance of so respectable a colony, as Virginia, confirmed the wavering, and emboldened the timid. Opposition to the stamp act, from that period, assumed a bolder face. The fire of liberty blazed forth from the press. Some well-judged publications set the rights of the colonists, in a plain, but strong point of view. The tongues and the pens of the well-informed citizens laboured in kindling the latent sparks of patriotism. The flame spread from breast to breast, till the conflagration became general. In this business, New England had a principal share. The inhabitants of that part of America, in particular, considered their obligations to the mother country, for past favours, to be very inconsiderable. They were fully informed, that their forefathers were driven, by persecution to the woods of America, and had there, without any expense to the parent state, effected a settlement on bare creation. Their resentment, for the invasion of their accustomed right of taxation, was not so much mitigated, by the recollection of late favours, as it was heightened by the tradition of grievous sufferings, to which their ancestors, by the rulers of England, had been subjected.

The heavy burdens, which the operation of the stamp act would have imposed on the colonists, together with the precedent it would establish of future exactions, furnished the American patriots with arguments, calculated as well to move the passions, as to convince the judgments of their fellow colonists. In great warmth they exclaimed: "If the parliament have a right to levy the stamp duties, they may, by the same authority, lay on us imposts, excises, and other taxes, without end, till their rapacity is satisfied, or our abilities are exhausted. We cannot, at future elections, displace these men, who so lavishly grant away our property. Their seats and their power are independent of us, and it will rest with their generosity, where to stop, in transferring the expenses of government, from their own, to our shoulders."

It was fortunate for the liberties of America, that newspapers were the subject of a heavy stamp duty. Printers, when uninfluenced by government, have generally arranged themselves on the side of liberty, nor are they less remarkable for their attention to the profits of their profession. A stamp duty, which openly invaded the first, and threatened a diminution of the last, provoked their united zealous

* Patrick Henry, whose eloquence was of the same family with the poetry of Shakspeare, introduced these resolutions, with an animated speech, which is unfortunately lost, or, perhaps, was never written. Tradition informs us, that, while he was pouring out his whole soul, in the brilliant extemporaneous effusions of the most ardent patriotism, he broke off abruptly, or was silenced by a call to order, in the middle of a sentence, which began as follows. "Caesar had his Brutus: Charles his Oliver; and if king George go on as he has begun he will find"—

opposition. They daily presented to the public original dissertations, tending to prove, that, if the stamp act were suffered to operate, the liberties of Americans were at an end, and their property virtually transferred to their trans-Atlantic fellow subjects. The writers among the Americans, seriously alarmed for the fate of their country, came forward with essays, to prove, that, agreeably to the British constitution, taxation and representation were inseparable; that the only constitutional mode of raising money from the colonists, was by acts of their own legislatures; that the crown possessed no farther power, than that of requisition; and that the parliamentary right of taxation was confined to the mother country, where it originated from the natural right of man, to do what he pleased with his own, transferred by consent from the electors of Great Britain, to those whom they chose to represent them in parliament. They also insisted much on the misapplication of public money, by the British ministry. Great pains were taken to inform the colonists of the large sums annually bestowed on pensioned favourites, and for the various purposes of bribery. Their passions were inflamed by high coloured representations of the hardship of being obliged to pay the earnings of their industry into a British treasury, well known to be a fund for corruption.

The writers on the American side were opposed by arguments, drawn from the unity of the empire; the necessity of one supreme head; the unlimited power of parliament; and the great numbers in the mother country, who, though legally disqualified from voting at elections, were, nevertheless, bound to pay the taxes imposed by the representatives of the nation. To these objections it was replied, that the very idea of subordination of parts, excluded the notion of simple undivided unity; that, as England was the head, she could not be the head and the members too; that, in all extensive empires, where the dead uniformity of servitude did not prevent, the subordinate parts had many local privileges and immunities; that, between these privileges and the supreme common authority, the line was extremely nice; and that, nevertheless, the supremacy of the head had an ample field of exercise, without arrogating to itself the disposal of the property of the unrepresented subordinate parts. To the assertion, that the power of parliament was unlimited, the colonists replied, that before it could constitutionally exercise that power, it must be constitutionally formed; and that, therefore, it must at least, in one of its branches, be constituted by the people, over whom it exercised unlimited power; that, with respect to Great Britain, it was so constituted; and with respect to America, it was not. They therefore inferred, that its power ought not to be the same over both countries. They argued also, that the delegation of the people was the source of power, in regard to taxation; and, as that delegation was wanting in America, they concluded the right of parliament, to grant away their property, could not exist; and that the defective representation in Great Britain, should be urged as an argument for taxing the Americans, without any representation at all, proved the encroaching nature of power. Instead of convincing the colonists of the propriety of their submission, it demonstrated the wisdom of their resistance; for, said they, "one invasion of natural right is made the justification of another, much more injurious and oppressive."

The advocates for parliamentary taxation, laid great stress on the rights supposed to have accrued to Great Britain, on the score of her having reared up and protected the English settlements in America, at great expense. It was, on the other hand, contended by the colonists, that, in all the wars which were common to both countries, they had taken their full share; but in all their own dangers, in all the difficulties belonging separately to their situation, which did not immediately concern Great Britain, they were left to themselves, and had to struggle through a hard infancy; and in particular, to defend themselves, without any aid from the parent state, against the numerous savages in their vicinity; that, when France had made war upon them, it was not on their own account, but as appen-

dages to Great Britain; that, confining their trade for the exclusive benefit of the parent state, was an ample compensation for her protection, and a sufficient equivalent for their exemption from parliamentary taxation; and that the taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Great Britain were incorporated with their manufactures, and ultimately fell on the colonists, who were the consumers.

The advocates for the stamp act also contended, that, as the parliament was charged with the defence of the colonies, it ought to possess the means of defraying the expenses incurred thereby. The same argument had been used by king Charles the first, in support of ship-money; and it was now answered in the same manner as it was by the patriots of that day; "that the people, who were defended or protected, were the fittest to judge of and to provide the means of defraying the expenses incurred on that account." In the mean time, the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were daily advancing to the opposite extreme. The people, especially in the large cities, became riotous, insulted the persons, and destroyed the property of such as were known or supposed to be friendly to the stamp act. The mob were the visible agents in these disorderly proceedings; but they were encouraged by persons of rank and character.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the stamp act. For a specimen of the spirit and style of their instructions, see Appendix, No. I.

The expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the provinces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The assembly of that province passed a resolution in favour of that measure, and fixed on New York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October, 1765, as the time, for holding the same. They sent circular letters to the speakers of the several assemblies, requesting their concurrence. This first advance towards continental union, was seconded in South Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had a considerable influence in recommending the measure to others, divided in their opinions as to its propriety.

The assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation to this congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York: and, after mature deliberation, agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a statement of their grievances. They asserted, in strong terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The colonies prevented from sending their representatives to this congress, forwarded petitions similar to those adopted by the deputies who attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted, to oppose the stamp act, the first of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. At Boston, the day was ushered in by a funeral tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp act, were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable, that, though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.

At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the morning was ushered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of Liberty, to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, and inscribed with the word LIBERTY, in large letters, was carried to the grave. The funeral procession began from the

state-house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute guns were fired, and continued till the coffin arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration, in favour of the deceased, was pronounced. It was scarcely ended, before the coffin was taken up; it having been perceived that some remains of life were left: on which the inscription was immediately altered to "Liberty revived." The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound; and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

The general aversion to the stamp act was, by similar methods, in a variety of places, demonstrated. It is remarkable that the proceedings of the populace, on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtless mob; but, for the most part, planned by leading men, of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. These, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their senses, than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the stamp act, and its friends, both ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp act was to have operated from the 1st of November, yet legal proceedings, in the courts, were carried on as before. Vessels entered and departed without stamped papers. The printers boldly printed and circulated their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers; though they used common paper, in defiance of the acts of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on, as though no stamp act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures, till the stamp act should be repealed. In this manner, British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their future purchases on the repeal of the stamp act, the colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers, to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting, annually, to two or three millions sterling, threw some thousands, in the mother country, out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate interest.

In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time, large quantities of common cloths were brought to market; and these, though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles, imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lambs. Foreign elegancies were laid aside. The women were as exemplary as the men, in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed, that multitudes of artificers, in England, were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into, by many of the Sons of Liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp act, by which they agreed, "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper costs and expense, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp act, or its promoters and abettors, or any

thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done, in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by so many, in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp act, which had been adopted by the colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce, or to repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamours of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the colonies. On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which, in every event, the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the house of commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both houses of parliament, denied their right of taxing the colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden, in the house of peers, and Mr. Pitt, in the house of commons. The former, in strong language, said: "My position is this; I repeat it; I will maintain it to my last hour. Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him, without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury. Whoever does it, commits a robbery."

Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the colonists, in opposing the stamp act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; that the reasons for the repeal be assigned: that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever, that we may bind their trade; confine their manufactures; and exercise every power, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation; and emboldened them to farther opposition, when, at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed. After much debating, two protests in the house of Lords, and passing an act, "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," the repeal of the stamp act was carried, in March, 1766. This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colours; and houses were illuminated, all over the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the colonists rescinded their resolutions, and recommended their mercantile intercourse with the mother country. They presented their homespun clothes to the poor; and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings; and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the colonies showed unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude. So sudden a calm, after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquiescence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed

with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp act, though repealed, was not repealed on American principles. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof, "that the collecting the several duties and revenues, as by the said act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniences, and productive of consequences, dangerous to the commercial interests of these kingdoms." Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp act was repealed, the absolute unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential. The friends of that measure acquiesced in it, to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought, that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind, to counterbalance the loss of authority, that might result from her yielding to the clamours of the colonists. The act for this purpose was called the declaratory act; and was, in principle, more hostile to American rights than the stamp act; for, it annulled those resolutions and acts of the provincial assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "that the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever."

The majority of the Americans intoxicated with the advantage they had gained overlooked this statute, which, in one comprehensive sentence, not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity. They considered it as a salvo for the honour of parliament, in repealing an act, which had so lately received their sanction; and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter; and that, although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal supremacy, they returned to their habits of good humour with the parent state,

The repeal of the stamp act, in a relative connexion with all its circumstances and consequences, was the first direct step to American independence. The claims of the two countries were not only left undecided; but a foundation was laid for their extending, at a future period, to the impossibility of a compromise. Though, for the present, Great Britain receded from enforcing her claim of American revenue, a numerous party, adhering to that system, reserved themselves for more favourable circumstances to enforce it; and, at the same time, the colonists, more enlightened on the subject, and more fully convinced of the rectitude of their claims, were encouraged to oppose it, under whatsoever form it should appear, or under whatsoever disguise it should cover itself.

Elevated with the advantage they had gained, from that day forward, instead of feeling themselves dependent on Great Britain, they conceived that, in respect to commerce, she was dependent on them. It inspired them with such high ideas of the importance of their trade, that they considered the mother country to be brought under greater obligations to them, for purchasing her manufactures, than they were to her for protection and the administration of civil government. The freemen of British America, impressed with the exalting sentiments of patriotism and of liberty, conceived it to be within their power, by future combinations, at any time to convulse, if not to bankrupt the nation, from which they sprang.

Opinions of this kind were strengthened by their local situation, favouring ideas, as extensive as the unexplored continent of which they were inhabitants. While the pride of Britons revolted at the thought, of their colonies refusing subjection to that parliament, which they obeyed; the Americans, with equal haughtiness, exclaimed: "Shall the petty island of Great Britain, scarce a speck on the map of the world, control the free citizens of the great continent of America?"

These high-sounding pretensions would have

been harmless, or, at most, spent themselves in words, had not a ruinous policy, untaught by recent experience, called them into serious action. Though the stamp act was repealed, an American revenue was still a favourite object with many in Great Britain. The equity and the advantage of taxing the colonists, by parliamentary authority, were very apparent to their understandings: but the mode of effecting it, without hazarding the public tranquillity, was not so obvious.

Mr. Charles Townsend, afterwards chancellor of the exchequer, pawned his credit to accomplish what many so earnestly desired. He accordingly, in 1767, brought into parliament a bill, for granting duties in the British colonies on glass, paper, painters' colours, and tea, which was afterwards enacted into a law. If the small duties, imposed on these articles, had preceded the stamp act, they might have passed unobserved: but the late discussions, occasioned by that act, had produced among the colonists, not only an animated conviction of their exemption from parliamentary taxation, but a jealousy of the designs of Great Britain.

The sentiments of the Americans, on this subject, bore a great resemblance to those of their British countrymen, of the preceding century, in the case of ship-money. The amount of that tax was very moderate, little exceeding twenty thousand pounds. It was distributed upon the people with equality, and expended for the honour and advantage of the kingdom; yet all these circumstances could not reconcile the people of England to the imposition. It was entirely arbitrary. "By the same right," said they, "any other tax may be imposed." In like manner, the Americans considered these small duties, in the nature of an entering wedge, designed to make way for others, which would be greater and heavier. In a relative connexion with late acts of parliament, respecting domestic manufactures and foreign commerce, laws, for imposing taxes on British commodities exported to the colonies, formed a complete circle of oppression, from which there was no possibility of escaping.

The colonies had been, previously, restrained from manufacturing certain articles, for their own consumption. Other acts confined them to the exclusive use of British merchandise. The addition of duties put them wholly in the power and discretion of Great Britain. "We are not," said they, "permitted to import from any nation, other than our own parent state, and have been, in some cases, restrained by her from manufacturing for ourselves; and she claims a right to do so, in every instance, which is incompatible with her interest. To these restrictions we have hitherto submitted: but she now rises in her demands, and imposes duties on those commodities, the purchasing of which elsewhere, than at her market, her laws forbid, and the manufacturing of which for her own use, she may, any moment she pleases, restrain. If her right be valid, to lay a small tax, it is equally so to lay a large one; for, from the nature of the case, she must be guided exclusively by her own opinions of our ability, and of the propriety of the duties she may impose. Nothing is left for us to do, but to complain, and pay."

The colonists contended that there was no real difference, between the principle of these new duties and the stamp act. They were both designed to raise a revenue in America, and in the same manner. The payment of the duties, imposed by the stamp act, might have been eluded by the total disuse of stamped paper; and so might the payment of these duties, by the total disuse of those articles on which they were laid: but in neither case, without great difficulty. The colonists were, therefore, reduced to the hard alternative of being obliged, totally, to disuse articles of great utility in human life, or to pay a tax without their consent. The fire of opposition, which had been smothered by the repeal of the stamp act, burned afresh against the same principle of taxation, exhibited in its new form. Mr. Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, on this occasion, presented to the public a series of letters, signed "a Farmer," proving the extreme danger which threatened the liberties of America, from their acquies-

cence in a precedent, which might establish the claim of parliamentary taxation. They were written with great animation; and were read with uncommon avidity. Their reasoning was so convincing, that many of the candid and disinterested citizens of Great Britain acknowledged, that the American opposition to parliamentary taxation was justifiable. The enormous sums, which the stamp act would have collected, had thoroughly alarmed the colonists for their property.

It was now demonstrated by several writers, especially by the *Pennsylvania Farmer*, that a small tax, though more specious, was equally dangerous: as it established a precedent, which eventually annihilated American property. The declaratory act, which at first was the subject of but few comments, was now dilated upon, as a foundation for every species of oppression; and the small duties, lately imposed, were considered as the beginning of a train of much greater evils.

Had the colonists admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue among them, the erection of an American board of commissioners, for managing it, which was about this time instituted at Boston, would have been a convenience, rather than an injury; but united as they were in sentiments, of the contrariety of that measure to their natural and constitutional rights, they ill brooked the innovation. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence, that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, was still in contemplation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board, which was to be instrumental in that business; and occasioned many insults to its commissioners.

The revenue acts, of 1767, produced resolves, petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, similar to those, with which the colonists opposed the stamp act. It also gave rise to a second association, for suspending farther importations of British manufactures, till those offensive duties should be taken off. Uniformity, in these measures, was promoted by a circular letter from the assembly of Massachusetts, to the speakers of the other assemblies. This stated the petitions and representations, which they had forwarded against the late duties, and strongly pointed out the great difficulties, that must arise to themselves and their constituents, from the operation of acts of parliament, imposing duties on the unrepresented American colonies; and requesting a reciprocal free communication, on public affairs. Most of the provincial assemblies, as they had opportunities of deliberating on the subject, approved the proceedings of the Massachusetts assembly, and harmonised with them in the measures, which they had adopted. They stated their rights, in firm but decent language; and prayed for a repeal of the late acts, which they considered as infringements on their liberties.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the minister, who planned these duties, hoped, that they would be regarded as regulations of trade. He might also presume, that, as they amounted only to an inconsiderable sum, they would not give any alarm. The circular letter of the Massachusetts assembly, which laid the foundation for united petitions against them, gave therefore great offence. Lord Hillsborough, who had lately been appointed secretary of state, for the American department, wrote letters to the governors of the respective provinces, urging them to exert their influence, to prevent the assemblies from taking any notice of it; and he called on the Massachusetts assembly, to rescind their proceedings on that subject. This measure was both injudicious and irritating. To require a public body to rescind a resolution, for sending a letter, which was already sent, answered, and acted upon, was a bad specimen of the wisdom of the new minister. To call a vote, for sending a circular letter, to invite the assemblies of the neighbouring colonies to communicate together, in the pursuit of legal measures to obtain a redress of grievances, "a flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace," appeared to the colonists a very injudicious application of harsh epithets, to

their constitutional right of petitioning. To threaten a new house of assembly with dissolution, in case of their not agreeing to rescind an act of a former assembly, which was not executory, but executed, clashed no less with the dictates of common sense, than the constitutional rights of British colonists. The proposition for rescinding was negatived, by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The assembly was immediately dissolved, as had been threatened. This procedure of the new secretary was considered, by the colonists, as an attempt to suppress all communication of sentiments between them; and to prevent their united supplications from reaching the royal ear.

The bad humour, which, from successive irritation, already too much prevailed, was about this time wrought up to a high pitch of resentment and violence, on occasion of the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, June 10th, 1768, for not having entered all the wines she had brought from Madeira. The popularity of her owner, the name of the sloop, and the general aversion to the board of commissioners, and parliamentary taxation, concurred to inflame the minds of the people. They used every means in their power to interrupt the officers, in the execution of their business; and numbers swore that they would be revenged. Mr. Harrison, the collector, Mr. Hallowell, the comptroller, and Mr. Irwine, the inspector of imports and exports, were so roughly handled, as to bring their lives into danger. The windows of some of their houses were broken; and the boat of the collector was dragged through the town, and burned on the common. Such was the temper and disposition of many of the inhabitants, that the commissioners of the customs thought proper to retire on board the *Romney* man of war; and afterwards to Castle William.

The commissioners, from the first moment of their institution, had been an eye-sore to the people of Boston. This, though partly owing to their active zeal in detecting smugglers, principally arose from the association which existed in the minds of the inhabitants, between that board and an American revenue. The declaratory act of 1766, the revenue act of 1767, together with the pomp and expense of this board, so disproportionate to the small income of the present duties, conspired to convince not only the few who were benefitted by smuggling, but the great body of enlightened freemen, that farther and greater impositions of parliamentary taxes were intended. In proportion as this opinion gained ground, the inhabitants became more disrespectful to the executive officers of the revenue, and more disposed, in the frenzy of patriotism, to commit outrages on their persons and property. The constant bickering that existed between them and the inhabitants, together with the steady opposition given by the latter to the discharge of the official duties of the former, induced the commissioners and friends of an American revenue, to solicit the protection of a regular force, to be stationed at Boston. In compliance with their wishes, his majesty ordered two regiments, and some armed vessels, to repair thither, for supporting and assisting the officers of the customs in the execution of their duty. This restrained the active exertion of that turbulent spirit which, since the passing of the late revenue laws, had revived; but it added to its pre-existing causes.

When it was reported in Boston, that one or more regiments were ordered there, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, and a committee appointed to request the governor to issue precepts for convening a general assembly. He replied, "that he could not comply with this request till he had received his majesty's commands for that purpose." This answer being reported, it was voted, that the select-men of Boston should write to the select-men of other towns, to propose, that a convention of deputies from each, be held, to meet at Faneuil Hall, in Boston.

Ninety-six towns, and eight districts, agreed to the proposal made by the inhabitants of Boston, and appointed deputies to attend a convention; but the town of Hatfield refused its concurrence. When the deputies met, they conducted with moderation;

disclaimed all legislative authority; advised the people to pay the greatest deference to government; and to wait patiently for a redress of their grievances, from his majesty's wisdom and moderation. Having stated to the world the causes of their meeting, and an account of their proceedings, they dissolved themselves, after a short session, and went home.

Within a day after the convention broke up, the expected regiments arrived, and were peaceably received. Hints had been thrown out by some, that they should not be permitted to come on shore. Preparations were made, by the captains of the men of war in the harbour, to fire on the town, in case opposition had been made to their landing; but the crisis for an appeal to arms was not yet arrived. It was hoped by some, that the folly and rage of the Bostonians would have led them to this rash measure, and thereby have afforded an opportunity for giving them some naval and military correction; but both prudence and policy induced them to adopt a more temperate line of conduct.

While the contention was kept alive, by the successive irritations, which have been mentioned, there was, particularly in Massachusetts, a species of warfare carried on between the royal governors, and the provincial assemblies. Each watched the other with all the jealousy, which strong distrust could inspire. The latter regarded the former as instruments of power, wishing to pay their court to the mother country, by curbing the spirit of American freedom; and the former kept a strict eye on the latter, lest they might smooth the way to independence, at which they were charged with aiming. Lieutenant governor Hutchinson, of Massachusetts, virtually challenged the assembly to a dispute, on the ground of the controversy between the two countries. This was accepted by the latter; and the subject discussed with all the subtlety of argument which the ingenuity of either party could suggest.

The war of words was not confined to the colonies. While the American assemblies passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to tax their constituents, the parliament, by resolves, asserted their unlimited supremacy in and over the colonies. While the former, in their public acts, disclaimed all views of independence, they were successively represented in parliamentary resolves, royal speeches, and addresses from lords and commons, as being in a state of disobedience to law and government; as having proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution; and manifesting a disposition to throw off all subordination to Great Britain.

In February, 1769, both houses of parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his majesty had pursued; gave the strongest assurances, that they would effectually support him in such farther measures, as might be found necessary, to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws, in Massachusetts Bay; beseeched him, "to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information, touching all treasons or misprisons of treason committed within the government, since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of persons, who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing, and determining, the said offences, within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the thirty-fifth of King Henry the eighth." The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain, for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution: for, in England, a man, charged with a crime, had a right to be tried in the country in which his offence was supposed

to have been committed. "Justice is regularly and impartially administered in our courts," said the colonists; "and yet, by direction of parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money."

The house of burgesses of Virginia met, soon after official accounts of the joint address of lords and commons, on this subject, reached America, and passed resolutions, asserting "their exclusive right to tax their constituents; their right to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances; the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other colonies, in praying for the royal interposition, in favour of the violated rights of America; that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts, within the said colony; and that the seizing any person, residing in the said colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory to the right of British subjects." The next day, lord Botetourt, the governor of Virginia, sent for the house of burgesses, and addressed them as follows: "Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the house of burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and am grieved at their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly."

The assembly of North Carolina adopted resolutions, similar to those of Virginia, for which Tryon, their governor, dissolved them. The members of the house of burgesses in Virginia, and of the assembly of North Carolina, after their dissolution, met as private gentlemen, chose their late speakers, moderators, and adopted resolutions against importing British goods. The non-importation agreement was, in this manner, forwarded by the very measures intended to curb the spirit of American freedom, from which it sprung.—Meetings of the associations were regularly held, in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all vessels arriving from Britain. Censures were freely passed on such as refused to concur in these associations, and their names published in newspapers, as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the provincial assemblies were not so much respected and obeyed, as the decrees of these committees.

In Boston, lieutenant-governor Hutchinson endeavoured to promote a counter association; but without effect. The friends of importation objected, that, till parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies against importation, a counter association would answer no other purpose, than to expose the associators to popular rage.

The Bostonians, about this time, went one step farther. They re-shipped goods to Great Britain, instead of storing them as formerly. This was resolved upon, in a town meeting, on the information of an inhabitant, who communicated a letter he had lately received from a member of parliament, in which it was said, "that shipping back ten thousand pounds' worth of goods would do more, than storing a hundred thousand." This turned the scale, and procured a majority of votes for re-shipping. Not only in this, but in many other instances, the violence of the colonists were fostered by individuals in Great Britain. A number of these were in principle with the Americans, in denying the right of parliament, to tax them; but others were more influenced by a spirit of opposition to the ministerial majority, than by a regard to the constitutional liberties of either country.

The non-importation agreement had now lasted some time, and by degrees had become general. Several of the colonial assemblies had been dissolved, or prorogued, for asserting the rights of their constituents. The royal governors, and

other friends to an American revenue, were charged. The colonists were irritated. Good men, both in England and America, deplored these untoward events, and beheld with concern an increasing ill humour between those, who were bound by interest and affection, to be friends to each other.

In consequence of the American non-importation agreement, founded in opposition to the duties of 1767, the manufacturers of Great Britain experienced a renewal of the distresses, which followed the adoption of similar resolutions, in the year 1765. The repeal of these duties was therefore solicited by the same influence, which had procured the repeal of the stamp act. The rulers of Great Britain acted without decision. Instead of persevering in their own system of coercion, or, indeed, in any one uniform system, they struck out a middle line, embarrassed with the consequences, both of severity and of lenity, and without the complete benefits of either. Soon after the spirited address to his majesty, last mentioned, had passed both houses of parliament, assurances were given for repealing all the duties, imposed in 1767, excepting that of three pence per pound on tea.

Anxious on the one hand to establish parliamentary supremacy, and on the other afraid to stem the torrent of opposition, they conceded enough to weaken the former, and yet not enough to satisfy the latter. Had Great Britain generously repealed the whole, and for ever relinquished all claim to the right or even the exercise of the right of taxation, the union of the two countries might have lasted for ages. Had she seriously determined to compel the submission of the colonies, nothing could have been more unfriendly to this design, than her repeated concessions to their reiterated associations. The declaratory act, and the reservation of the duty on tea, left the cause of contention between the two countries in full force; but the former was only a claim on paper, and the latter might be evaded, by refusing to purchase any tea, on which the parliamentary tax was imposed. The colonists, therefore, conceiving that their commerce might be renewed, without establishing any precedent, injurious to their liberties, relaxed in their associations, in every particular, except tea, and immediately recommenced the importation of all other articles of merchandise. A political calm once more took place. The parent state might now have closed the dispute for ever, and honourably receded, without a formal relinquishment of her claims. Neither the reservation of the duty on tea, by the British parliament, nor the exceptions made by the colonists, of importing no tea, on which a duty was imposed, would, if they had been left to their own operation, have disturbed the returning harmony of the two countries.—Without fresh irritation, their wounds might have healed, and not a scar been left behind.

Unfortunately for the friends of union, so paltry a sum as three pence per pound on so insignificant an article as tea, in consequence of a combination between the British ministry and East India company, revived the dispute to the rending of the empire.

These two abortive attempts, to raise a parliamentary revenue in America, caused a fermentation in the minds of the colonists, and gave birth to many inquiries respecting their natural rights. Reflections and reasonings on this subject produced a high sense of liberty, and a general conviction, that there could be no security for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of a British parliament in which they were unrepresented, and over which they had no control. A determination not only to oppose this new claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, lest it might be established in some disguised form, took possession of their minds.

It commonly happens, in the discussion of doubtful claims between states, that the ground of the original dispute insensibly changes. When the mind is employed in investigating one subject,

others, associated with it, naturally present themselves. In the course of inquiries on the subject of parliamentary taxation, the restriction on the trade of the colonists, and the necessity that was imposed on them, to purchase British and other manufactures, loaded with their full proportion of all taxes, paid by those who made or sold them, became more generally known. While American writers were vindicating their country from the charge of contributing nothing to the common expenses of the empire, they were led to set off to their credit, the disadvantage of their being confined exclusively to purchase manufactures in Britain. They instituted calculations, by which they demonstrated, that the monopoly of their trade drew from them greater sums, for the support of government, than were usually paid by an equal number of their fellow-citizens of Great Britain; and that taxation, superadded to such a monopoly, would leave them in a state of perfect uncompensated slavery. The investigation of these subjects brought matters into view, which the friends of union ought to have kept out of sight. These circumstances, together with the extensive population of the eastern states, and their adventurous spirit of commerce, suggested to some bold spirits, that not only British taxation, but British navigation laws, were unfriendly to the interests of America. Speculations of this magnitude suited well with the extensive views of some capital merchants; but never would have roused the bulk of the people, had not new matter brought the dispute between the two countries to a point, in which every individual was interested.

On reviewing the conduct of the British ministry, respecting the colonies, much weakness, as well as folly, appears. For a succession of years, there was a steady pursuit of American revenue; but great inconsistency in the projects for obtaining it. In one moment, the parliament was for enforcing their laws; the next, for repealing them. Doing and undoing, menacing and submitting, straining and relaxing, followed each other, in alternate succession. The object of administration, though twice relinquished, as to any present efficacy, was invariably pursued; but without any unity of system.

On the 9th of May, 1769, the king, in his speech to parliament, highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws, in every part of his dominions. Five days after this speech, lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia: "I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men, with factious and seditious views, that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament, to lay any farther taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and that it is, at present, their intention to propose, the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was also informed, that "his majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity, to make such an explanation of his majesty's measures, as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection, between the mother country and the colonies." In the exact spirit of his instructions, lord Botetourt addressed the Virginia assembly as follows: "It may possibly be objected, that, as his majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo, what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform; and to that objection I can give but this answer: that it is my firm opinion, that the plan, I have stated to you, will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I for ever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power, with which I either am, or ever shall be, legally invested, in order to obtain

and maintain for the continent of America, that satisfaction, which I have been authorised to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown, than preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received with transports of joy, by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his majesty for security, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more to be resumed. The assembly of Virginia, in answer to lord Botetourt, expressed themselves thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

How far these solemn engagements with the Americans, were observed, subsequent events will demonstrate. In a perfect reliance on them, most of the colonies returned to their ancient habits of good humour, and flattered themselves that no future parliament would undertake to give or grant away their property.

From the royal and ministerial assurances given in favour of America, in the year 1769, and the subsequent repeal in 1770, of five-sixths of the duties which had been imposed in 1767; together with the consequent renewal of the mercantile intercourse between Great Britain and her colonies, many hoped, that the contention between the two countries was finally closed. In all the provinces, excepting Massachusetts, appearances seemed to favour that opinion. Many incidents operated there to the prejudice of that harmony, which had begun, elsewhere to return. Stationing a military force among them was a fruitful source of uneasiness. The royal army had been brought thither with the avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country. Speeches from the throne, and addresses from both houses of parliament, had taught them to look upon the inhabitants as a factious, turbulent people, who aimed at throwing off all subordination to Great Britain. They, on the other hand were accustomed to look upon the soldiery as instruments of tyranny, sent on purpose to dragoon them out of their liberties.

Reciprocal insults soured the tempers, and mutual injuries embittered the passions of the opposite parties. Some fiery spirits, who thought it an indignity to have troops quartered among them, were constantly exciting the townspeople to quarrel with the soldiers.

On the second of March, 1770, a fray took place near Mr. Gray's ropewalk, between a private soldier of the twenty-ninth regiment, and an inhabitant. The former was supported by his comrades, the latter by the rope-makers, till several on both sides were involved in the consequences. On the 5th, a more dreadful scene was presented. The soldiers, when under arms, were pressed upon, insulted and pelted by a mob, armed with clubs, sticks, and snow-balls covering stones. They were also dared to fire. In this situation, one of the soldiers who had received a blow, in resentment fired at the supposed aggressor. This was followed by a single discharge from six others. Three of the inhabitants were killed, and five were dangerously wounded. The town was immediately in commotion. Such were the temper, force, and number of the inhabitants, that nothing but an engagement to remove the troops out of the town, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the townspeople from falling on the soldiers. Preston, the captain who commanded, and the party, who fired on the inhabitants, were committed to jail, and afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted. Two were brought in guilty of manslaughter. It appeared on the trial, that the soldiers were abused, insulted, threatened, and pelted, before they fired. It was also proved, that only seven guns were fired by the eight prisoners. These circumstances induced the jury to give a

favourable verdict. The result of the trial reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for the prisoners; and, also, on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict, in defiance of popular opinions.

The events of that tragical night sunk deep in the minds of the people, and were made subservient to important purposes. The anniversary of it was observed with great solemnity. Eloquent orators were successively employed, to deliver an annual oration, to preserve the remembrance of it fresh in their minds. On these occasions the blessings of liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of a standing army, the rights of the colonies, and a variety of such topics, were presented to the public view, under their most pleasing and alarming forms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame.

The obstacles to returning harmony, which have already been mentioned, were increased, by making the governor and judges, in Massachusetts, independent of the province. Formerly they had been paid by yearly grants from the assembly; but about this time provision was made for paying their salaries by the crown. This was resented as a dangerous innovation; as an infraction of their charter; and as destroying that balance of power, essential to free governments. That the crown should pay the salary of the chief justice, was represented by the assembly as a species of bribery, tending to bias his judicial determinations. They made it the foundation for impeaching Mr. Justice Oliver, before the governor; but he excepted to their proceedings as unconstitutional. The assembly, nevertheless, gained two points. They rendered the governor more odious to the inhabitants, and increased the public respect for themselves, as the counter part of the British house of commons, and as guardians of the rights of the people.

A personal animosity between governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch, by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written, in the course of the dispute, by governor Hutchinson, lieutenant governor Oliver, and other royal servants in Boston, to persons in power in England, which contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity which were excited on the receipt of them, had no bounds. The house of assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor, and lieutenant governor, with being betrayers of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

The petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, their merits were discussed before his majesty's privy council. After a hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin, in the severest language, as the fomentor of the disputes between the two countries.* It was no protection to this venera-

* This charge is now known to be false. Dr. Franklin took every method in his power to prevent a rupture between Great Britain and America. His advice to his countrymen was, "to hear every thing for the present; as they were sure, in time, to outgrow all

ble sage, that, being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents of letters, written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary character of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public to the transaction. The insult offered to one of the public agents, and especially to one who was both the pride and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was immediately dismissed from the office of deputy postmaster general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his transmission of these letters, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favour of America. Two of his pieces, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides of the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the king of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one." In both of which he had exposed the claims of the mother country, and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

For ten years there had now been little intermission in the disputes between Great Britain and her colonies. Their respective claims had never been compromised on middle ground. The calm which followed the repeal of the stamp act, was in a few months disturbed by the revenue act of the year 1767. The tranquillity which followed the repeal of five-sixths of that act, in the year 1770, was nothing more than a truce. The reservation of the duty on tea, as an avowed evidence of the claims of Great Britain to tax her colonies, kept alive the jealousy of the colonists; while, at the same time, the stationing of an army in Massachusetts, the continuance of a board of commissioners in Boston, the constituting the governors and judges of that province independent of the people, were constant sources of irritation. The altercations which, at this period, were common between the royal governors and the provincial assemblies, together with numerous vindications of the claims of America, made the subject familiar to the colonists. The ground of the controversy was canvassed in every company. The more the Americans read, reasoned, and conversed on the subject, the more they were convinced of their right to the exclusive disposal of their property. This was followed by a determination to resist all encroachments on that palladium of liberty. They were as strongly convinced of their right, to refuse and resist parliamentary taxation, as the ruling powers of Great Britain of their right to demand and enforce their submission to it.

The claims of the two countries being thus irreconcilably opposed to each other, the partial calm, which followed the concession of parliament, in 1770, was liable to disturbance, from every incident. Under such circumstances, nothing less than the most guarded conduct, on both sides, could prevent a renewal of the controversy. Instead of following these prudential measures, which would have kept the ground of the dispute out of sight, an impolitic scheme was concerted, between the British ministry and the East India company, that placed the claims of Great Britain and her colonies in hostile array against each other.

In the year 1773, commenced a new era of the their grievances; and as it could not be in the power of the mother country to oppress them long." With that command of countenance, which is peculiar to great minds, he bore Wedderburne's abuse without any visible emotion; but that he felt, and remembered it, is visible from the following circumstances. About five years afterwards, when, as minister plenipotentiary of the United States, he signed a treaty of alliance on their behalf, with the king of France, he intentionally wore the same coat he had on when he was insulted by Wedderburne. See Dr. Priestley's Life. Vol. II. page 464.

American controversy. To understand this in its origin, it is necessary to recur to the period, when the solitary duty on tea was exempted, from the partial repeal of the revenue act of 1767. When the duties which had been laid on glass, paper, and painters' colours, were taken off, a respectable minority in parliament contended, that the duty on tea should also be removed. To this it was replied; "that, as the Americans denied the legality of taxing them a total repeal would be a virtual acquiescence in their claims; and that, in order to preserve the rights of the mother country, it was necessary to retain the preamble, and at least one of the taxed articles." It was rejoined, that a partial repeal would be a source of endless discontent; and that the tax on it would not defray the expenses of collecting it. The motion in favour of a total repeal was rejected by a great majority. As the parliament thought fit to retain the tax on tea, for an evidence of their right of taxation, the Americans in like manner, to be consistent with themselves in denying that right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. While there was no attempt to introduce tea into the colonies, against this declared sense of the inhabitants, these opposing claims were in no danger of collision. In that case, the mother country might have solaced herself, with her ideal rights, and the colonies, with their favourite opinion of a total exemption from parliamentary taxes, without disturbing the public peace. This mode of compromising the dispute, which seemed at first designed as a salvo for the honour and consistency of both parties, was, by the interference of the East India company, in combination with the British ministry, completely overset.

The expected revenue from tea failed, in consequence of the American association to import none on which a duty was charged. This proceeded as much from the spirit of gain, as of patriotism. The merchants found means of supplying their countrymen with tea, smuggled from countries to which the power of Britain did not extend. They doubtless conceived themselves to be supporting the rights of their country, by refusing to purchase tea from Britain; but they also reflected, that if they could bring the same commodity to market free of duty, their profits would be proportionably greater.

The love of gain was not peculiar to the American merchants. From the diminished exportation to the colonies, the warehouses of the British East India company had in them seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not be procured. The ministry and East India company, unwilling to lose, the one, the expected revenue from the sale of the tea in America, the other, the usual commercial profits, agreed on a measure by which they supposed both would be secured.

The East India company was, by law, authorized to export their tea free of duties, to all places whatsoever. By this regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to the colonies, than before it had been made a source of revenue: for the duty taken off it, when exported from Great Britain, was greater than that to be paid on its importation into the colonies. Confident of success, in finding a market for their tea, thus reduced in its price, and also of collecting a duty on its importation and sale in the colonies, the East India company freighted several ships with teas, for the different colonies, and appointed agents for its disposal. This measure united several interests in opposition to its execution. The patriotism of the Americans was corroborated by several auxiliary aids, no ways connected with the cause of liberty.

The merchants in England were alarmed at the losses, that must accrue to themselves, from the exportations of the East India company, and from the sales going through the hands of consignees. Letters were written to colonial patriots, urging their opposition to the project.

The smugglers, who were both numerous and powerful, could not relish a scheme which, by underselling them, and taking a profitable branch of business out of their hands, threatened a diminution of their gains. The colonists were too sus-

picious of the designs of Great Britain to be imposed upon.

The cry of endangered liberty once more excited an alarm, from New Hampshire to Georgia. The first opposition to the execution of the scheme, adopted by the East India company, began with the American merchants. They saw a profitable branch of their trade likely to be lost, and the benefits of it to be transferred to the people in Great Britain. They felt for the wound, that would be inflicted on their country's claim of exemption from parliamentary taxation; but they felt, with equal sensibility, for the losses they would sustain, by the diversion of the streams of commerce, into unusual channels. Though the opposition originated in the selfishness of the merchants, it did not end there. The great body of the people, from principles of the purest patriotism, were brought over to second their wishes. They considered the whole scheme as calculated to seduce them into an acquiescence with the views of parliament, for raising an American revenue. Much pains were taken to enlighten the colonists on this subject, and to convince them of the imminent hazard to which their liberties were exposed.

The provincial patriots insisted largely on the persevering determination of the parent state, to establish her claim of taxation, by compelling the sale of tea in the colonies, against the solemn resolutions and declared sense of the inhabitants; and that, at a time, when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was renewed, and their ancient harmony fast returning. The proposed venders of the tea were represented as revenue officers, employed in the collection of an unconstitutional tax, imposed by Great Britain. The colonists contended, that, as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended, if the tea were sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the British parliament, as part of the purchase money. To obviate this evil, and to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, sundry town meetings were held in the capitals of the different provinces, and combinations were formed to obstruct the sales of the tea, sent by the East India company.

The resolutions adopted, by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, on the 18th of October, 1773, afford a good specimen of the whole. These were as follow:

"1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

"2. That the duty, imposed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them, without their consent.

"3. That the express purpose, for which the tax is levied on the Americans, namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his majesty's dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

"4. That a virtuous and steady opposition, to this ministerial plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty; and is a duty which every freeman in America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

"5. That the resolution, lately entered into by the East India company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

"6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

"7. That whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, or, in any wise, aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent, or to be sent out by the East India com-

pany, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country.

"8. That a committee be immediately chosen, to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India company, to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own character, and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment."

As the time approached, when the arrival of the tea ships might be soon expected, such measures were adopted, as seemed most likely to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, appointed by the East India company, were, in several places, compelled to relinquish their appointments; and no others could be found, hardy enough, to act in their stead. The pilots, in the river Delaware, were warned not to conduct any of the tea ships into their harbour. In New York, popular vengeance was denounced against all who would contribute, in any measure, to forward the views of the East India company. The captains of the New York and Philadelphia ships, being apprized of the resolution of the people, and fearing the consequence of landing a commodity, charged with an odious duty, in violation of their declared public sentiments, concluded to return directly to Great Britain, without making any entry at the custom house.

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea ships, designed for the supply of Boston, were consigned to the sons, cousins, and particular friends of governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified for the custom house. The governor likewise, requested admiral Montague to guard the passages out of the harbour; and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea vessels, from Boston, was rendered impossible. The inhabitants, then, had no option, but to prevent the landing of the tea; to suffer it to be landed, and depend on the unanimity of the people not to purchase it; to destroy the tea; or to suffer a deep laid scheme against their sacred liberties to take effect. The first would have required incessant watching, by night, as well as by day, for a period of time, the duration of which no one could compute. The second would have been visionary to childishness, by suspending the liberties of a growing country, on the self-denial and discretion of every tea-drinker in the province. They viewed the tea as the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, and as inseparably associated with it. To avoid the one, they resolved to destroy the other. About seventeen persons, dressed as Indians, repaired to the tea ships, broke open three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and, without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the water.

Thus, by the inflexibility of the governor, the issue of this business was different, at Boston, from what it was elsewhere. The whole cargoes of tea were returned from New York and Philadelphia. That which was sent to Charleston was landed and stored; but not offered for sale. Mr. Hutchinson had repeatedly urged government to be firm and persevering. He could not, therefore, consistent with his honour, depart from a line of conduct, he had so often and so strongly recommended to his superiors. He also believed, that the inhabitants would not dare to perfect their engagements; and flattered himself, that they would desist, when the critical moment arrived.

Admitting the rectitude of the American claims of exemption, from parliamentary taxation, the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians, was warranted by the great law of self-preservation; for it was not possible for them, by any other means, to discharge the duty they owed to their country.

The event of this business was very different

from what had been expected in England. The colonists acted with so much union and system, that there was not a single chest, of any of the cargoes sent out by the East India company, sold for their benefit.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings of the British Parliament, in consequence of the destruction of the tea, by the Bostonians. Boston port act, &c.

INTELLIGENCE of the events, which have been stated in the last chapter, was, on the 7th of March, 1774, communicated, in a message from the throne, to both houses of parliament. In this communication, the conduct of the colonists was represented, as not only obstructing the commerce of Great Britain, but as subversive of its constitution. The message was accompanied with a number of papers, containing copies and extracts of letters, from the several royal governors and others; from which it appeared, that the opposition to the sale of tea was not peculiar to Massachusetts; but common to all the colonies. These papers were accompanied with declarations, that nothing short of parliamentary influence could re-establish order, among the turbulent colonists; and that, therefore, decisive measures should be immediately adopted. If the right of levying taxes on the Americans were vested in the parent state, these inferences were well-founded; but if it were not, their conduct, in resisting an invasion of their rights, was justified, not only by many examples in the history of Britain, but by the spirit of the constitution of that country, which they were opposing.

By the destruction of the tea, the people of Boston had incurred the sanction of penal laws. Those in Great Britain, who wished for an opportunity to take vengeance on that town, commonly supposed by them to be the mother of sedition and rebellion, rejoiced, that her inhabitants had laid themselves open to castigation.

It was well known, that the throwing of the tea into the river did not originate with the persons, who were the immediate instruments of that act of violence; and that the whole had been concerted, at a public meeting, and was, in a qualified sense, the act of the town. The universal indignation, which was excited in Great Britain, against the people of Boston, pointed out to the ministry the suitability of the present moment for humbling them. Though the ostensible ground of complaint was nothing more than a trespass on private property, committed by private persons; yet it was well known to be a part of a long digested plan of resistance to parliamentary taxation. Every measure, that might be pursued on the occasion, seemed to be big with the fate of the empire. To proceed in the usual forms of law, appeared to the rulers, in Great Britain, to be a departure from their dignity. It was urged by the ministry, that parliament, and parliament only, was capable of re-establishing tranquility among these turbulent people, and of bringing order out of confusion. To stifle all opposition from the merchants, the public papers were filled with writings, which stated the impossibility of carrying on a future trade to America, if this flagrant outrage on commerce should go unpunished.

It was in vain urged, by the minority, that no good could arise from coercion, unless the minds of the Americans were made easy on the subject of taxation. Equally vain was a motion for a retrospect into the conduct of the ministry, which had provoked their resistance.

The parliament confined themselves solely to the late misbehaviour of the Americans, without any inquiry into its provoking causes.

The violence of the Bostonians, in destroying an article of commerce, was largely insisted upon, without any indulgence for the jealous spirit of liberty, in the descendants of Englishmen.—The connexion between the tea, and the uncon-

stitutional duty imposed thereon, was overlooked, and the public mind of Great Britain solely fixed on the obstruction given to commerce, by the turbulent colonists. The spirit raised against the Americans became as high, and as strong, as their most inveterate enemies desired. This was not confined to the common people; but took possession of legislators, whose unclouded minds ought to be exalted above the mists of prejudice or partiality. Such, when they consult on public affairs, should be free from the impulses of passion; for it rarely happens, that resolutions, adopted in anger, are founded in wisdom. The parliament of Great Britain, transported with indignation against the people of Boston, in a fit of rage resolved to take legislative vengeance on that devoted town.

Disregarding the forms of her own constitution, by which none are to be condemned unheard, or punished without a trial, a bill was finally passed, by which the port of Boston was virtually blocked up: for it was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise. The minister, who proposed this measure, stated, in support of it, that the opposition, to the authority of parliament, had always originated in that colony, and had always been instigated by the seditious proceedings of the town of Boston; that it was, therefore necessary to make an example of that town, which, by an unparalleled outrage, had violated the freedom of commerce; and that Great Britain would be wanting in the protection she owed to her peaceable subjects, if she did not punish such an insult, in an exemplary manner.—He, therefore, proposed, that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea, which had been destroyed. He was farther of opinion, that making a pecuniary satisfaction, for the injury committed, would not alone be sufficient: but that, in addition thereto, security must be given in future, that trade might be safely carried on; property protected; laws obeyed; and duties paid. He urged, therefore, that it would be proper to take away from Boston, the privileges of a port, until his majesty should be satisfied, in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied. Until this should happen, he proposed that the custom-house officers should be removed to Salem. The minister hoped, that this act would execute itself; or, at most, that a few frigates would secure its execution. He also hoped, that the prospect of advantage to the town of Salem, from its being made the seat of the custom-house, and from the occlusion of the port of Boston, would detach the inhabitants from the interest of the latter, and dispose them to support a measure, from which they had so much to expect. It was also presumed, that the other colonies would leave Boston to suffer the punishment due to her demerits. The abettors of parliamentary supremacy flattered themselves, that this decided conduct of Great Britain would, for ever extinguish all opposition of the refractory colonists to the claims of the mother country; and the apparent equity of obliging a delinquent town to make reparation, for an injury occasioned by the factious spirit of its inhabitants, silenced many of the friends of America. The consequences, resulting from this measure, were the reverse of what were wished by the first, and dreaded by the last.

By the operation of the Boston port act, the preceding situation of its inhabitants, and that of the East India company, was reversed. The former had more reason to complain of the disproportionate penalty, to which they were indiscriminately subjected, than the latter of that outrage on their property, for which punishment had been inflicted. Hitherto the East India company were the injured party; but, from the passing of this act, the balance of injury was on the opposite side. If wrongs received entitled the former to reparation, the latter had a much stronger title on the same ground. For the act of seventeen or eighteen individuals, as many thousands were involved in one general calamity.

Both parties viewed the case on a much larger scale than that of municipal law. The people of Boston alledged, in vindication of their conduct, that the tea was a weapon aimed at their liberties; and that the same principles of self-preservation, which justify the breaking of the assassin's sword, uplifted for destruction, equally authorized the destruction of that tea, which was the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, subversive of their liberties. The parliament of Great Britain considered the act of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, as an open defiance of that country. The demerit of the action, as an offence against property, was lost in the supposed superior demerit of treasonable intention, to emancipate themselves from a state of colonial dependence. The Americans conceived the case to be intimately connected with their liberties; the inhabitants of Great Britain, with their supremacy. The former considered it as a duty they owed their country, to make a common cause with the people of Boston; the latter thought themselves under equal obligations, to support the privileges of parliament.

On the third reading of the Boston port bill, a petition was presented by the lord mayor, in the name of several natives and inhabitants of North America, then residing in London. It was drawn with great force of language, and stated that, "the proceedings of parliament against Boston were repugnant to every principle of law and justice, and established a precedent, by which no man in America could enjoy a moment's security." The friends of parliamentary supremacy had long regretted the democratic constitutions of the provinces, as adverse to their schemes.—They saw, with concern, the steady opposition that was given to their measures, by the American legislatures. These constitutions were planned, when Great Britain neither feared nor cared for her colonies. Not suspecting that she was laying the foundation of future states, she granted charters that gave to the people so much of the powers of government, as enabled them to make, not only a formidable, but a regular, constitutional opposition to the country from which they sprung.

Long had her rulers wished for an opportunity to revoke these charters, and to new-model these governments.* The present moment seemed favourable to this design. The temper of the nation was high; and the resentment against the province of Massachusetts general and violent. The late outrages in Boston furnished a pretence for the attempt. An act of the British parliament speedily followed to the one for shutting up the port of Boston, entitled, An act for better regulating the government of Massachusetts. The object of this was to alter the charter of the province, in the following particulars.

The council, or second branch of the legislature, heretofore elected by the general court, was to be, from the first of August, 1774, appointed by the crown. The royal governor was also, by the same act, invested with the power of appointing and removing all judges of the inferior courts of common pleas, commissioners of oyer and terminer, the attorney general, provost marshal, justices, sheriffs, &c. The town meetings, which were sanctioned by the charter, were, with a few exceptions, expressly forbidden to be held, with-

* The three last kings of the Stuart line laboured hard, to annihilate the charters of the English colonies in America; and nothing but the revolution of 1688, in England, prevented the accomplishment of their designs. The four first sub-revolutionary sovereigns of England discontinued the attempt; but it was revived, in the reign of the fifth. This abrogation of the charter of Massachusetts was the entering wedge, and, if successful, would doubtless have been followed, by a prostration of the charters of the other provinces, to make room for a more courtly system, less dependent on the people. The American revolution saved the colonies, in the last case, as the English revolution had in the first:—so necessary are occasional revolutions, to bring governments back to first principles, and to teach rulers, that the people are the fountain of all legitimate power, and their happiness the object of all its delegations.

out the leave of the governor or lieutenant governor in writing, expressing the special business of said meeting, first had and obtained; and with a farther restriction, that no matter should be treated of at those meetings, except the election of public officers, and the business expressed in the leave given by the governor or lieutenant governor. Jurymen, who had been before elected by the freeholders and inhabitants of the several towns, were to be, by this new act, all summoned and returned, by the sheriffs of the respective counties. The whole executive government was taken out of the hands of the people; and the nomination of all the important officers vested in the king or his governor.

This act excited a greater alarm than the port act. The one affected only the metropolis; the other the whole province. The one had the appearance of being merited; as it was well known, that an act of violence had been committed by its inhabitants, under the sanction of a town meeting; but the other had no stronger justifying reason than that the proposed alterations were, in the opinion of the parliament, absolutely necessary, in order to the preservation of the peace and good order of the said province. In support of this bill, the minister who brought it in, alleged, that an executive power was wanting in the country. The very people, said he, who commit the riots, are the posse comitatus, in which the force of the civil power consists. He further urged the utility of making laws, the execution of which, under the present form of government in Massachusetts, might be so easily evaded; and therefore contended for a necessity to alter the whole frame of their constitution, as far as related to its executive and judicial powers. In opposition, it was urged, that the taking away the civil constitution of a whole people, secured by a solemn charter, upon general charges of delinquencies and defects, was a stretch of power of the most arbitrary and dangerous nature.

By the English constitution, charters were sacred, revocable only by a due course of law, and on a conviction of misconduct. They were solemn compacts between the prince and the people and without the constitutional power of either party. The abettors of the British schemes reasoned in a summary way. Said they, "the colonies, particularly Massachusetts, by their circular letters, associations, and town meetings, have for years past, thwarted all the measures of government, and are meditating independency. This turbulent spirit of theirs is fostered by their constitution which invests them with too much power, to be consistent with their state of subordination. Let us therefore lay the axe at the root; new model their charter; and lop off those privileges which they have abused."

When the human mind is agitated with passion, it rarely discerns its own interest, and but faintly foresees consequences. Had the parliament stopped short with the Boston port act, the motive to union and to make a common cause with that metropolis, would have been feeble, perhaps ineffectual to have roused the other provinces; but the arbitrary mutilation of the important privileges contained in a solemn charter, without a trial, and without a hearing, by the will of parliament, convinced the most moderate, that the cause of Massachusetts was the cause of all the provinces.

It readily occurred to those who guided the helm of Great Britain, that riots would probably take place, in attempting the execution of the acts just mentioned. They also discerned, that such was the temper of the people, that trials for murders, committed in suppressing riots, if held in Massachusetts, would seldom terminate in favour of the parties, who were engaged on the side of government. To make their system complete, it was necessary to go one step farther, and to screen their active friends from the apprehended partiality of such trials. It was therefore provided by law, that if any person was indicted for murder, or for any capital offence, committed in aiding magistracy, that the government might send the person so indicted, to another colony, or to Great

Britain to be tried. This law was the subject of severe comments. It was considered as an act of indemnity to those, who should embroil their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens. It was asked, how the relations of a murdered man could effectually prosecute, if they must go three thousand miles to attend that business. It was contended, that the act, by stopping the usual course of justice, would give rise to assassinations, and dark revenge among individuals; and encourage all kinds of lawless violence. The charge of partiality was retorted. For, said they, "if a party spirit, against the authority of Great Britain, would condemn an active officer, in Massachusetts, as a murderer, the same party spirit, for preserving the authority of Great Britain, would in that country, acquit a murderer as a spirited performer of his duty." The case of Captain Preston was also quoted, as a proof of the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts.

The same natives of America, who had petitioned against the Boston port bill, presented a second one against these two bills. With uncommon energy of language, they pointed out many constitutional objections against them; and concluded with fervently beseeching, "that the parliament would not by passing them, reduce their countrymen to an abject state of misery and humiliation or drive them to the last resource of despair." The lords of the minority entered also a protest against the passing of each of these bills.

It was fortunate for the people of Boston, and those who wished to promote a combination of the colonies against Great Britain, that these three several laws passed nearly at the same time.—They were presented in quick succession, either in the form of bills, or of acts, to the consideration of the inflamed Americans, and produced effects on their minds, infinitely greater than could have been expected from either, especially from the Boston port act alone.

When the fire of indignation, excited by the first, was burning intelligence of these other acts, operated like fuel, and made it flame out with increasing vehemence. The three laws were considered as forming a complete system of tyranny, from the operation of which, there was no chance of making a peaceable escape.

"By the first," said they, "the property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away, for the act of a few individuals. By the second, our chartered liberties are annihilated: and by the third, our lives may be destroyed with impunity. Property, liberty, and life, are all sacrificed on the altar of ministerial vengeance." This mode of reasoning was not peculiar to Massachusetts.—These three acts of parliament, contrary to the expectation of those who planned them, became a cement of a firm union among the colonies, from New Hampshire to Georgia. They now openly said, "Our charters and other rights and immunities, must depend on the pleasure of parliament." They were sensible that they had all concurred, more or less, in the same line of opposition, which had provoked these severe statutes against Massachusetts; and they believed, that vengeance, though delayed, was not remitted; and that the only favour, the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured. The friends of the colonies contended, that these laws were in direct contradiction to the letter and the spirit of the British constitution. Their opposers could support them on no stronger grounds than those of political necessity and expedience. They acknowledged them to be contrary to the established mode of proceeding; but defended them, as tending ultimately to preserve the constitution, from the meditated independency of the colonies.

Such was the temper of the people in England that the acts hitherto passed were popular. A general opinion had gone forth in the mother country, that the people of Massachusetts, by their violent opposition to government, had drawn on themselves merited correction.

The parliament did not stop here; but proceeded one step farther, which inflamed their enemies in

America, and lost them friends in Great Britain. The general clamour in the provinces was, that the proceedings in parliament was arbitrary and unconstitutional. Before they completed their memorable session, in the beginning of the year 1774, they passed an act rejecting the government of Quebec, which, in the opinion of their friends merited these appellations. By this act government of that province was made to extend southward to the Ohio, westward to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the boundary of the Hudson's Bay company. The principal object of the act was to form a legislative council, for all the affairs of the province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown; the office to be held during pleasure; his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to be entitled to a place therein; to establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases; and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal; and to secure, to the Roman Catholic clergy, except the regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and their tithes, from all who were of their own religion. Not only the spirit, but the letter of this act were so contrary to the English constitution, that it diminished the popularity of the measures, which had been adopted against the Americans.

Among the more southern colonists, it was conceived, that its evident object was to make the inhabitants of Canada fit instruments, in the hands of power, to reduce them to a state of slavery.

They well remembered the embarrassments occasioned to them, in the late war between France and England, by the French inhabitants of Canada. They supposed, that the British administration, meant, at this time, to use these people in the same line of attack, for their subjugation. As Great Britain had new modelled the chartered government of Massachusetts, and claimed an authority to so do in every province, the colonists were apprehensive, that, in the plenitude of her power, she would impose on each of them, in their turn, a constitution, similar to the one projected for the province of Canada.

They foresaw, or thought they foresaw, the annihilation of their ancient assemblies, and their whole legislative business transferred to creatures of the crown. The legal parliamentary right to a maintenance, conferred on the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, gave great offence to many in England; but the political consequences, expected to result from it, were most dreaded by the colonists.

They viewed the whole act as an evidence, that hostilities were intended against them, and as calculated to make Roman Catholics subservient to the purposes of military coercion.

The session of parliament, which passed these memorable acts, had stretched far into summer. As it drew near a close, the most sanguine expectations were indulged, that, from the resolution and great unanimity of parliament, on all American questions, the submission of the colonists would be immediate, and their future obedience and tranquility effectually secured. The triumphs, and congratulations, of the friends of the ministry were unusually great.

In passing the acts which have been just mentioned, dissentients in favour of America, were unusually few. The ministerial majority, believing that the refractory colonists depended chiefly on the countenance of their English abettors, were of opinion, that as soon as they received intelligence of the decrease of their friends, and of the decisive conduct of parliament, they would acquiesce in the will of Great Britain. The fame and grandeur of the nation were such, that it was never imagined, they would seriously dare to contend with so formidable a people. The late triumphs of Great Britain had made such an impression on her rulers, that they believed the Americans, on seeing the ancient spirit of the nation revive, would not risk a trial of prowess with those fleets and armies, which the combined forces of France and Spain were unable to resist. By an impious confidence in their superior strength, they precipitated the nation into rash measures, from the dire effects of which, the world may learn a useful lesson.

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings of the colonies, in 1774, in consequence of the Boston port act.

THE winter which followed the destruction of the tea in Boston, was fraught with anxiety to those of the colonists, who were given to reflection. Many conjectures were formed about the line of conduct Great Britain would probably adopt for the support of her dignity. The fears of the most timid were more than realized, by the news of the Boston port bill. This arrived on the 10th of May, 1774; and its operation was to commence the 1st of the next month. Various town meetings were called, to deliberate on the state of public affairs. On the 13th of May, the town of Boston passed the following vote:

"That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other colonies come to a joint resolution, to stop all importation from Great Britain and the West Indies, till the act, for blocking up this harbour, be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America, and her liberties. On the other hand, if they continue their exports and imports, there is high reason to fear that fraud, power, and the most odious oppression, will rise triumphant over justice, right, social happiness, and freedom. And, moreover, that this vote be transmitted by the moderator, to all our sister colonies, in the name and behalf of this town."

Copies of this vote were transmitted to each of the colonies. The opposition to Great Britain had hitherto called forth the pens of the ingenious, and, in some instances, imposed the self-denial of non-importation agreements: but the bulk of the people had little to do with the dispute. The spirited conduct of the people of Boston, in destroying the tea, and the alarming precedents set by Great Britain, in consequence thereof, brought subjects into discussion, with which every peasant and day labourer was concerned.

The patriots who had hitherto guided the helm, knew well, that, if the other colonies did not support the people of Boston, they must be crushed; and it was equally obvious, that in their coercion a precedent, injurious to liberty, would be established. It was therefore the interest of Boston to draw in the other colonies. It was also the interest of the patriots, in all the colonies, to bring over the mass of the people, to adopt such efficient measures as were likely to extricate the inhabitants of Boston from the unhappy situation in which they were involved. To effect these purposes, much prudence as well as patriotism was necessary. The other provinces were but remotely affected by the fate of Massachusetts. They had no particular cause, on their own account, to oppose the government of Great Britain. That a people so circumstanced, should take part with a distressed neighbour, at the risk of incurring the resentment of the mother country, did not accord with the selfish maxims by which states, as well as individuals, are usually governed. The ruled are, for the most part, prone to suffer as long as evils are tolerable: and, in general, they must feel before they are roused to contend with their oppressors: but the Americans acted on a contrary principle.

They commenced an opposition to Great Britain, and ultimately engaged in a defensive war, on speculation. They were not so much moved by oppression, actually felt, as by a conviction that a foundation was laid, and a precedent about to be established, for future oppressions. To convince the bulk of the people, that they had an interest in foregoing a present good, and submitting to a present evil, in order to obtain a future greater good, and to avoid a future greater evil, was the task assigned to the colonial patriots. It called for the exertion of their utmost abilities. They effected it in a great measure by means of the press. Pamphlets, essays, addresses, and newspaper dissertations, were daily presented to the public, proving that Massachusetts was suffering in the common cause; and that interest and policy required the united exertions of all the colonies, in support of

that much-injured province. It was inculcated on the people, that, if the ministerial schemes were suffered to take effect in Massachusetts, the other colonies must expect the loss of their charters, and that a new government would be imposed upon them, like that projected for Quebec. The king and parliament held no patronage in America sufficient to oppose this torrent. The few who ventured to write in their favour, found a difficulty in communicating their sentiments to the public. No pensions or preferments awaited their exertions. Neglect and contempt were their usual portion; but popularity, consequence, and fame, were the rewards of those who stepped forward in the cause of liberty. In order to interest the great body of the people, the few, who were at the helm, disclaimed any thing more decisive, than convening the inhabitants, and taking their sense on what was proper to be done. In the meantime, great pains were taken to prepare them for the adoption of vigorous measures.

The words whigs and tories, for want of better, were now introduced, as the distinguishing names of parties. By the former, were meant those who were for making a common cause with Boston, and supporting the colonies in their opposition to the claims of parliament. By the latter, those who were, at least, so far favourers of Great Britain, that they wished, either that no measures, or only palliative measures, should be adopted in opposition to her schemes.

These parties were so nearly balanced in New York, that nothing more was agreed to, at the first meeting of the inhabitants, than a recommendation to call a congress.

At Philadelphia, the patriots had a delicate part to act. The government of the colony being proprietary, a multitude of officers, connected with that interest, had much to fear from convulsions, and nothing to expect from a revolution. A still greater body of the people, called Quakers, denied the lawfulness of war; and therefore could not adopt such measures, for the support of Boston, as naturally tended to produce an event so adverse to their system of religion.

The citizens of Boston not only sent forward their public letter to the citizens of Philadelphia, but accompanied it with private communications, to individuals of known patriotism and influence, in which they stated the impossibility of their standing alone, against the torrent of ministerial vengeance, and the indispensable necessity, that the leading colony of Pennsylvania should afford them its support and countenance. The advocates in Philadelphia, for making a common cause with Boston, were fully sensible of the state of parties in Pennsylvania. They saw the dispute with Great Britain brought to a crisis, and a new scene opening, which required exertions different from any heretofore made. The success of these they well knew, depended on the wisdom, with which they were planned, and the union of the whole people, in carrying them into execution. They saw the propriety of proceeding with the greatest circumspection; and therefore resolved, at their first meeting, on nothing more than to call a general meeting of the inhabitants, on the next evening. At the second meeting, the patriots had so much moderation and policy, as to urge nothing decisive, contenting themselves with taking the sense of the inhabitants, simply on the propriety of sending an answer to the public letter from Boston. This was universally approved. The letter agreed upon was firm but temperate. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice on the present occasion; sympathized with the people of Boston in their distress; and observed that all lenient measures, for their relief, should be first tried. They said, that, if the making restitution for the tea destroyed, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a doubt what part they should act; but that it was not the value of the tea; it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, which was the matter

in consideration; that it was the common cause of America; and, therefore, necessary, in their opinion, that a congress of deputies from the several colonies should be convened, to devise means for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, and preventing matters from coming to extremities. Till this could be brought about, they recommended firmness, prudence, and moderation, to the immediate sufferers; assuring them, that the people of Pennsylvania would continue to evince a firm adherence to the cause of American liberty.

In order to awaken the attention of the people, a series of letters was published, well calculated to rouse them to a sense of their danger, and point out the fatal consequences of the late acts of parliament. Every newspaper teemed with dissertations in favour of liberty; and with debates of the members of parliament, especially with the speeches of the favourers of America, and the protests of the dissenting lords. The latter had a particular effect on the colonists, and were considered by them as proofs, that the late acts against Massachusetts were unconstitutional and arbitrary.

The minds of the people being thus prepared, the friends of liberty promoted a petition to the governor, for convening the assembly. They knew that this would not be granted, and that the refusal of it would smooth the way for calling the inhabitants together. The governor having refused to call the assembly, a general meeting of the inhabitants was requested. About eight thousand met, on the 18th of June, 1774 and adopted sundry spirited resolutions. In these they declared, that the Boston port act was unconstitutional; that it was expedient to convene a continental congress; to appoint a committee for the city and county of Philadelphia, to correspond with their sister colonies and the several counties of Pennsylvania; and to invest that committee with power to determine on the best mode for collecting the sense of the province, and appointing deputies to attend a general congress. Under the sanction of this last resolve, the committee appointed for that purpose, wrote a circular letter to all the counties of the province, requesting them to appoint deputies to a general meeting, proposed to be held on the 15th of July. Part of this letter was in the following words:

"We would not offer such an affront to the well-known public spirit of Pennsylvania, as to question your zeal on the present occasion. Our very existence in the rank of freemen, and the security of all that ought to be dear to us, evidently depends on our conducting this great cause to its proper issue, by firmness, wisdom, and magnanimity. It is with pleasure we assure you, that all the colonies, from South Carolina to New Hampshire, are animated with one spirit, in the common cause, and consider this as the proper crisis, for having our differences, with the mother country, brought to some certain issue, and our liberties fixed upon a permanent foundation. This desirable end can only be accomplished by a free communication of sentiments, and a sincere and fervent regard for the interests of our common country."

The several counties readily complied with the request of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and appointed deputies; who met at the time appointed, and passed sundry resolves, in which they reprobated the late acts of parliament; expressed their sympathy with Boston, as suffering in the common cause; approved of holding a congress; and declared their willingness to make any sacrifices, that might be recommended by a congress, for securing their liberties.

Thus, without tumult, disorder, or divided counsels, the whole province of Pennsylvania was, by prudent management and temperate proceedings, brought into the opposition, with its whole weight and influence. This is the more remarkable, as it is probable, that, if the sentiments of individuals had been separately taken, there would have been a majority against involving themselves in the consequences of taking part with the destroyers of the tea, at Boston.

While these proceedings were carrying on in Pennsylvania, three of the most distinguished patriots of Philadelphia, under colour of an excursion of pleasure, made a tour throughout the province, in order to discover the real sentiments of the common people. They were well apprized of the consequences of taking the lead in a dispute, which every day became more and more serious, unless they could depend on being supported by the yeomanry of the country. By freely associating and conversing with many of every class and denomination, they found them unanimous in the fundamental principle of the American controversy, "that the parliament of Great Britain had no right to tax them." From their general determination on this subject, a favourable prognostic was formed, of a successful opposition to the claims of Great Britain.

In Virginia, the house of burgesses, on the 26th of May, 1774, resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the operation of the Boston port bill was to commence, should be set apart by the members, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer; "devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; and to give them one heart and one mind, to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." On the publication of this resolution, the royal governor, the earl of Dunmore dissolved them. The members, notwithstanding their dissolution, met in their private capacities, and signed an agreement, in which, among other things, they declared, "that an attack made on one of their sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack made on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied."

In South Carolina the vote of the town of Boston, of the 13th of May, being presented to a number of the leading citizens of Charleston, it was unanimously agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants.

That this might be as general as possible, letters were sent to every parish and district in the province, and the people were invited to attend, either personally, or by their representatives, at a general meeting of the inhabitants. A large number assembled, in which were some, from almost every part of the province. The proceedings of the parliament against the province of Massachusetts were distinctly related to this convention. Without one dissenting voice, they passed sundry resolutions, expressive of their rights and of their sympathy with the people of Boston. They also chose five delegates to represent them, in a continental congress, and invested them "with full powers, and authority, in behalf of them and their constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such legal measures as, in their opinion, and the opinion of the other members, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances."

The events of this time may be transmitted to posterity; but the agitation of the public mind can never be fully comprehended, by those who were not witnesses of it.

In the counties and towns of the several provinces, as well as in the cities, the people assembled and passed resolutions, expressive of their rights, and of their detestation of the late acts of parliament. These had an instantaneous effect on the minds of thousands. Not only the young and impetuous, but the aged and temperate, joined in pronouncing them to be unconstitutional and oppressive. They viewed them as deadly weapons aimed at the vitals of that liberty, which they adored; and as rendering abortive the generous pains taken by their forefathers, to procure for them in a new world, the quiet enjoyment of their rights. They were the subjects of their meditation when alone, and of their conversation when in company.

Within little more than a month, after the news of the Boston port bill reached America, it was

communicated from state to state; and a flame kindled, in almost every breast, through the widely extended provinces.

In order to understand the mode by which this flame was spread; with such rapidity, over so great an extent of country, it is necessary to observe, that the several colonies were divided into counties, and these again sub-divided into districts, distinguished by the names of towns, townships, precincts, hundreds or parishes. In New England the sub-divisions, which are called towns, were, by law, bodies corporate; had their regular meetings; and might be occasionally convened by their proper officers. The advantages derived from these meetings, by uniting the whole body of the people, in the measures taken to oppose the stamp act, induced other provinces to follow the example. Accordingly, under the association which was formed to oppose the revenue act of 1767, committees were established, not only in the capitals of every province, but in most of the subordinate districts. Great Britain, without designing it, had, by her two preceding attempts at American revenue, taught her colonies, not only the advantages, but the means of union. The system of committees, which prevailed in 1765, and also in 1767, was revived in 1774. By them there was a quick transmission of intelligence, from the capital towns, through the subordinate districts, to the whole body of the people, and an union of counsels and measures was effected, among widely disseminated inhabitants.

It is perhaps impossible for human wisdom, to contrive any system more subservient to these purposes, than such a reciprocal exchange of intelligence, by committees. From the want of such a communication with each other, and consequently of union among themselves, many states have lost their liberties, and more have been unsuccessful in their attempts to regain them, after they were lost.

What the eloquence and talents of Demosthenes could not effect among the states of Greece, might have been effected by the simple device of committees of correspondence. The few have been enabled to keep the many in subjection, in every age from the want of union among the latter. Several of the provinces of Spain complained of oppression, under Charles the fifth, and in transports of rage took arms against him; but they never consulted or communicated with each other. They resisted separately, and were therefore separately subdued.

The colonists sympathizing with their distressed brethren in Massachusetts, felt themselves called upon, to do something for their relief; but to determine what was most proper, did not so obviously occur. It was a natural idea, that, for harmonising their measures, a congress of deputies from each province should be convened. This early occurred to all; and, being agreed to, was the means of producing union and concert among inhabitants, removed several hundred miles from each other. In times less animated, various questions about the place and legality of their meeting, and about the extent of their power, would have produced a great diversity of sentiments; but on this occasion, by the special agency of Providence, there was the same universal bent of inclination, in the great body of the people. A sense of common danger extinguished selfish passions. The public attention was fixed on the great cause of liberty. Local attachments and partialities were sacrificed on the altar of patriotism.

There were not wanting moderate men, who would have been willing to pay for the tea destroyed, if that would have put an end to the controversy; for, it was not for the value of the tea, nor of the tax, but the right of giving and granting their money, that the colonists contended. The act of parliament was so cautiously worded, as to prevent the opening of the port of Boston, even though the East India company had been reimbursed for all damages, "until it was made appear to his majesty in council, that peace and

obedience to the laws were so far restored, in the town of Boston, that the trade of Great Britain might be safely carried on there, and his majesty's customs duly collected." The latter part of this limitation, "the due collection of his majesty's customs," was understood to comprehend submission to the late revenue laws. It was therefore inferred, that payment for the tea destroyed, would produce no certain relief, unless they were willing to give operation to the law, for raising a revenue on future importations of that commodity, and also to acquiesce in the late mutilation of their charter. As it was deliberately resolved, never to submit to either, the most lukewarm of well-informed patriots, possessing the public confidence, neither advised nor wished for the adoption of that measure. A few in Boston, who were known to be in the royal interest, proposed a resolution for that purpose; but they met with no support. Of the many, who joined the British in the course of the war, there was scarcely an individual to be found in this early stage of the controversy, who advocated the right of parliamentary taxation. There were doubtless many timid persons, who fearing the power of Britain, would rather have submitted to her encroachments, than risked the vengeance of her arms; but such, for the most part, suppressed their sentiments. Zeal for liberty being immediately rewarded with applause, the patriots had every inducement to come forward, and avow their principles; but there was something so unpopular in appearing to be influenced by timidity, interest, or excessive caution, when essential interests were attacked, that such persons shunned public notice, and sought the shade of retirement.

In the three first months, which followed the shutting up of the port of Boston, the inhabitants of the colonies in hundreds of small circles, as well as in their provincial assemblies and congresses, expressed their abhorrence of the late proceedings of the British parliament against Massachusetts; their concurrence in the proposed measure of appointing deputies for a general congress; and their willingness to do and suffer whatever should be judged conducive to the establishment of their liberties.

A patriotic flame, created and diffused by sympathy, was communicated to so many breasts, and reflected from such a variety of objects, as to become too intense to be resisted.

While the combination of the other colonies, to support Boston, was gaining strength, new matter of dissension daily took place in Massachusetts. The resolution for shutting the port of Boston, was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage, the commander in chief of the royal forces in North America was also sent thither, in the additional capacity of governor of Massachusetts. He arrived at Boston on the third day after the inhabitants received the first intelligence of the Boston port bill. Though the people were irritated by that measure, and though their republican jealousy was hurt by the combination of the civil and military character in one person, yet the general was received with all the honours which had been usually paid to his predecessors. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery, and some cannon were landed at Boston. These troops were by degrees reinforced, with others from Ireland, New York, Halifax and Quebec.

The governor announced that he had the king's particular command, for holding the general court at Salem, after the first of June. When that eventful day arrived, the act for shutting up the port of Boston commenced its operations. It was devoutly kept at Williamsburg, as a day of fasting and humiliation. In Philadelphia, it was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity and grief. The inhabitants shut up their houses. After divine service, a stillness reigned over the city, which exhibited an appearance of the deepest distress.

In Boston, a new scene opened on the inhabi-

tants. Hitherto, that town had been the seat of commerce and of plenty. The immense business, transacted therein, afforded a comfortable subsistence to many thousands. The necessary, the useful, and even some of the elegant arts were cultivated among them. The citizens were polite and hospitable. In this happy state they were sentenced on the short notice of twenty-one days, to a total deprivation of all means of subsisting.—The blow reached every person. The rents of the landholders either ceased, or were greatly diminished. The immense property, in stores and wharves, was rendered comparatively useless.—Labourers, artificers, and others, employed in the numerous occupations created by an extensive trade, partook of the general calamity. They who depended on a regular income, flowing from previous acquisitions of property, as well as they, who, with the sweat of their brow, earned their daily subsistence, were equally deprived of the means of support; and the chief difference between them was, that the distresses of the former were rendered more intolerable, by the recollection of past enjoyments. All these inconveniences and hardships were borne with a passive, but inflexible fortitude. Their determination to persist in the same line of conduct, which had been the occasion of their suffering, was unabated.

The authors and advisers of the resolution, for destroying the tea, were in the town, and still retained their popularity and influence. The execrations of the inhabitants fell not on them, but on the British parliament. Their countrymen acquitted them of all selfish designs, and believed that in their opposition to the measures of Great Britain, they were actuated by an honest zeal for constitutional liberty. The sufferers, in Boston, had the consolation of sympathy from the other colonists. Contributions were raised, in all quarters, for their relief. Letters and addresses came to them from corporate bodies, town meetings, and provincial conventions, applauding their conduct, and exhorting them to perseverance.

The people of Marblehead, who, by their proximity, were likely to reap advantage from the distresses of Boston, generously offered the merchants thereof, the use of their harbour, wharves, ware-houses, and also their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free of all expense.

The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to Governor Gage, concluded with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce, of that convenient mart; and, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, and lost to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes, on the ruins of our suffering neighbours."

The Massachusetts general court met at Salem, according to adjournment, on the 7th of June.—Several of the popular leaders took, in a private way, the sense of the members, on what was proper to be done. Finding they were able to carry such measures, as the public exigencies required, they prepared resolves, and moved for their adoption; but before they went on the latter business, their door was shut.

One member, nevertheless, contrived means of sending information to Governor Gage of what was doing. His secretary was sent off, to dissolve the general court; but was refused admission. As he could obtain no entrance, he read the proclamation at the door, and immediately afterwards in council; and thus dissolved the general court. The house, while sitting with their doors shut, appointed five of the most respectable members as their committee, to meet committees from other provinces, that might be convened the 1st of September at Philadelphia; voted them seventy-five pounds sterling each; and recommended, to the several towns and districts, to raise the said sum by equitable proportions. By these

means, the designs of the governor were disappointed. His situation in every respect was truly disagreeable. It was his duty to forward the execution of laws, which were universally execrated. Zeal for his master's service prompted him to endeavour, that they should be carried into full effect; but his progress was retarded by obstacles from every quarter. He had to transact his official business with a people, who possessed a high sense of liberty, and were uncommonly ingenious in evading disagreeable acts of parliament. It was a part of his duty, to prevent the calling of the town meetings, after the 1st of August, 1774. These meetings were nevertheless held. On his proposing to exert authority, for the dispersion of the people, he was told by the selectmen, that they had not offended against the act of parliament; for that only prohibited the calling of town meetings; and no such call had been made: a former constitutional meeting, before the 1st of August, having only adjourned themselves from time to time. Other evasions, equally founded on the letter of even the late obnoxious laws, were practised.

As the summer advanced, the people of Massachusetts received stronger proofs of support, from the neighbouring provinces. They were, therefore encouraged to farther opposition. The inhabitants of the colonies, at this time, with regard to political opinions, might be divided into three classes. Of these, one was for rushing precipitately into extremities. They were for immediately stopping all trade, and could not even brook the delay of waiting, till the proposed continental congress should meet. Another party, equally respectable, both as to character, property, and patriotism, was more moderate; but not less firm. These were averse to the adoption of any violent resolutions, till all others were ineffectually tried. They wished that a clear statement of their rights, claims, and grievances, should precede every other measure. A third class disapproved of what was generally going on: a few from principle, and a persuasion that they ought to submit to the mother country; some from the love of ease; others from self-interest; but the bulk from fear of the mischievous consequences likely to follow. All these latter classes, for the most part, lay still, while the friends of liberty acted with spirit. If they, or any of them, ventured to oppose popular measures, they were not supported, and therefore declined farther efforts. The resentment of the people was so strong against them, that they sought for peace by remaining quiet. The same indecision, that made them willing to submit to Great Britain, made them apparently acquiesce in popular measures which they disapproved. The spirited part of the community, being on the side of liberty, the patriots had the appearance of unanimity; though many either kept at a distance from public meetings, or voted against their own opinion, to secure themselves from resentment, and promote their present ease and interest.

Under the influence of those who were for the immediate adoption of efficacious measures, an agreement, by the name of the solemn league and covenant, was adopted by numbers. The subscribers of this bound themselves, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts restored to its chartered rights.

General Gage published a proclamation, in which he styled this solemn league and covenant, "an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination." And all magistrates were charged to apprehend, and secure for trial, such as should have any agency in publishing or subscribing the same, or any similar covenant. This proclamation had no other effect, than to exercise the pens of the lawyers, in showing that the association did not come within the description of legal treason; and that, therefore, the governor's proclamation was not warranted by the principles of the constitution.

The late law, for regulating the government of the province, arrived near the beginning of Au-

gust, and was accompanied by a list of thirty-six new counsellors, appointed by the crown, and in a mode variant from that prescribed by the charter. Several of these, in the first instance, declined an acceptance of the appointment. Those, who accepted it, were every where declared to be enemies to their country. The new judges were rendered incapable of proceeding in their official duty. Upon opening the courts, the juries refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, either under them, or in conformity to the late regulations. In some places, the people assembled, and filled the court-houses, and avenues to them, in such a manner, that neither the judges, nor their officers, could obtain entrance: and, upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way to the court, they answered, "that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and to none other would they submit."

In imitation of his royal master, Governor Gage issued a proclamation, "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the prevention and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality." In this proclamation, hypocrisy was inserted as one of the immoralities, against which the people were warned. This was considered by the inhabitants, who had often been ridiculed for their strict attention to the forms of religion, to be a studied insult, and as such was more resented than an actual injury.

The proceedings and apparent dispositions of the people together with the military preparations, which were daily made through the province, induced General Gage to fortify that neck of land, which joins Boston to the continent. He also seized upon the powder lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown.

This excited a most violent and universal ferment. Several thousand of the people assembled at Cambridge; and it was with difficulty, they were restrained from marching directly to Boston, to demand a delivery of the powder, with a resolution, in case of a refusal, to attack the troops.

The people, thus assembled, proceeded to Lieutenant Governor Oliver's house, and to the houses of several of the new counsellors, and obliged them to resign, and to declare, that they would no more act under the laws lately enacted. In the confusion of these transactions, a rumour went abroad, that the royal fleet and troops were firing upon the town of Boston. This was probably circulated by the popular leaders, on purpose to ascertain what aid they might expect from the country in case of extremities. The result exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In less than twenty-four hours there were upwards of thirty thousand men in arms marching towards the capital. Other risings of the people took place in different parts of the colony; and their violence was such, that in a short time the new counsellors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had taken an active part in favour of Great Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in Boston. The new seat of government at Salem was abandoned; and all the officers connected with the revenue were obliged to consult their safety, by taking up their residence in a place, which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade.

About this time delegates from every town and district, in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town, had a meeting; at which they prefaced a number of spirited resolutions, containing a detail of the particulars of their intended opposition to the late acts of parliament, with a general declaration, "that no obedience was due from the province to either, or any part of the said acts; but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America." The resolves of this meeting were sent on to Philadelphia, for the information and opinion of the congress, which as shall hereafter be related, had met there about this time.

The people of Massachusetts rightly judged, that from the decision of Congress on these resolutions, they would be enabled to determine what

support they might expect. Notwithstanding present appearances, they feared that the other colonies, which were no more than remotely concerned, would not hazard the consequence of making a common cause with them, should subsequent events make it necessary to repel force by force. The decision of Congress exceeded their expectations. They "most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to wicked ministerial measures, had been hitherto conducted in Massachusetts; and recommended to them perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, as expressed in the resolutions of the delegates, from the county of Suffolk." By this approbation and advice, the people of Massachusetts were encouraged to resist, and the other colonies became bound to support them. The former more in need of a bridle than a spur, proceeded as they had begun; but with additional confidence.

Governor Gage had issued writs for holding a general assembly at Salem; but subsequent events, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, made him think it expedient to counteract the writs by a proclamation for suspending the meeting of the members. The legality of a proclamation for that purpose was denied; and, in defiance thereof, ninety of the newly-elected members met, at the time and place appointed. They soon afterwards resolved themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourned to Concord, about twenty miles from Charlestown. On their meeting there they chose Mr. Hancock president, and proceeded to business. One of their first acts was to appoint a committee to wait on the governor, with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their meeting, from the distressed state of the colony; complained of their grievances; and, after stating their apprehensions, from the hostile preparations on Boston neck, concluded with an earnest request, "that he would desist from the construction of the fortress, at the entrance into Boston, and restore that pass to its natural state."

The governor found some difficulty in giving them an answer, as they were not, in his opinion, a legal body; but the necessity of the times overruled his scruples. He replied, by expressing his indignation at the supposition, "that the lives, liberties, or property of any people, except enemies, could be in danger from English troops." He reminded them, that, while they complained of alterations, made in their charter, by acts of parliament, they were by their own acts subverting it altogether. He, therefore, warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. The governor's admonitions were unavailing. The provincial congress appointed a committee, to draw up a plan, for the immediate defence of the province. It was resolved to enlist a number of the inhabitants, under the name of minute men, who were to be under obligations to turn out at a minute's warning. Jedediah Pribble, Artemas Ward, and Seth Pomeroy, were elected general officers to command these minute men and the militia, in case they should be called out to action. A committee of safety, and a committee of supplies were appointed. These consisted of different persons, and were intended for different purposes. The first were invested with an authority to assemble the militia, when they thought proper, and were to recommend to the committee of supplies the purchase of such articles as the public exigencies required. The last were limited to the small sum of 15,627l. 15s. sterling, which was all the money at first voted, to oppose the power and riches of Great Britain. Under this authority, and with these means, the committee of safety and of supplies acting in concert, laid in a quantity of stores, partly at Worcester, and partly at Concord. The same congress met again, and soon afterwards resolved, to get in readiness twelve thousand men, to act on any given emergency; and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted as minute men, and receive pay. John Thomas and William Heath were appointed general officers. They

also sent persons to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to inform them of the steps they had taken, and to request their co-operation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. Committees from these several colonies, met a committee from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, and settled their plans. The proper period for commencing opposition to General Gage's troops, was determined to be, whenever they marched out with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery. The aid of the clergy was called in upon this occasion; and a circular letter was addressed to each of the several ministers in the province, requesting their assistance, "in avoiding the dreadful slavery with which they were threatened."

As the winter approached, General Gage ordered barracks for his troops to be erected; but such was the superior influence of the popular leaders, that, on their recommendation, the workmen desisted from fulfilling the general's wishes, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown.

An application to New York was equally unsuccessful; and it was with difficulty that the troops could be furnished with winter lodgings. Similar obstructions were thrown in the way of getting winter covering for the soldiery. The merchants of New York, on being applied to, answered, "that they would never supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to the country." The inhabitants of Massachusetts encouraged the desertion of the soldiers; and acted systematically in preventing their obtaining any other supplies but necessary provisions. The farmers were discouraged from selling them straw, timber, boards, and such like articles of convenience. Straw, when purchased for their service, was frequently burnt. Vessels, with bricks intended for their use, were sunk: carts with wood were overturned; and the king's property was daily destroyed.

A proclamation had been issued by the king, prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain, which reached America in the latter end of the year 1774. On receiving intelligence thereof, in Rhode Island, the people seized upon, and removed from the public battery, about forty pieces of cannon; and the assembly passed resolutions for obtaining arms and military stores by every means, and also for raising and arming the inhabitants. About this time, December 13th, a company of volunteers, headed by John Sullivan and John Langdon, beset his majesty's castle at Portsmouth. They stormed the fort, and secured and confined the garrison, till they broke open the powder house, and took the powder away. The powder being secured, the garrison was released from confinement.

Throughout this whole season, civil government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations were, in Massachusetts, to all appearance annihilated. The provincial congress exercised all the semblance of government which existed. From their coincidence with the prevailing disposition of the people, their resolutions had the weight and efficacy of the laws. Under the simple style of recommendation, they organized the militia, and made ordinances respecting public monies, and such farther regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and for defending themselves against the British troops.

In this crisis, it seemed to be the sense of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to wait events. They dreaded every evil that could flow from resistance, less than the operation of the late acts of parliament; but, at the same time, were averse to be the aggressors, in bringing on a civil war. They chose to submit to a suspension of regular government in preference to permitting the streams of justice to flow in the channel prescribed by the late acts of parliament, or to conducting them forcibly in the old one, sanctioned by their charter. From the extinction of the old, and the rejection of the new constitution, all regular government was, for several months, abolished. Some hundred thousands of people were in a state of nature,

without legislation, magistrates, or executive officers. There was, nevertheless, a surprising degree of order. Men of the purest morals were among the most active opposers of Great Britain. While municipal laws ceased to operate, the laws of reason, morality, and religion, bound the people to each other as a social band, and preserved as great a degree of decorum as had at any time prevailed. Even those who were opposed to the proceedings of the populace; when they were prudent and moderate, for the most part enjoyed safety, both at home and abroad.

Though there were no civil, there was an abundance of military officers. These were chosen by the people; but exercised more authority than any who had been honoured with commissions from the governor. The inhabitants in every place devoted themselves to arms. Handling the musket, and training, were the fashionable amusements of the men; while the women, by their presence, encouraged them to proceed. The sound of drums and fife were to be heard in all directions. The young and the old were fired with a martial spirit. On experiment, it was found, that to force on the inhabitants a form of government to which they were totally averse, was not within the fancied omnipotence of parliament.

During these transactions in Massachusetts, effectual measures had been taken, by the colonies, for convening a continental congress. Though there was no one entitled to lead in this business, yet, in consequence of the general impulse on the public mind, from a sense of common danger, not only the measure itself, but the time and place of meeting were, with surprising unanimity, agreed upon. The colonies, though formerly agitated with local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions, were led to assemble together in a general diet, and to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Within four months from the day, on which the first intelligence of the Boston port bill reached America, the deputies of eleven provinces had convened in Philadelphia; and in four days more, by the arrival of delegates from North Carolina, there was a complete representation of twelve colonies, containing three millions of people, disseminated over two hundred and sixty thousand square miles of territory. Some of the delegates were appointed by the constitutional assemblies. In other provinces where they were embarrassed by royal governors, the appointments were made in voluntary meetings of the people. Perhaps there never was a body of delegates, more faithful to the interests of their constituents, than the congress of 1774. The public voice, elevated none to a seat in that august assembly, but such as, in addition to considerable abilities, possessed that ascendancy over the minds of their fellow citizens, which can neither be acquired by birth, nor purchased by wealth. The instructions given to these deputies were various; but, in general, they contained strong professions of loyalty, and of constitutional dependence on the mother country.—The framers of them acknowledged the prerogative of the crown, and disclaimed every wish of separation from the parent state. On the other hand, they were firm in declaring, that they were entitled to all the rights of British born subjects, and that the late acts respecting Massachusetts were unconstitutional and oppressive.

They particularly stated their grievances, and for the most part concurred, in authorizing their deputies to concert and agree to such measures, in behalf of their constituents, as, in their joint opinion, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances, ascertain American rights, on constitutional principles; and establish union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. Of the various instructions, on this occasion, those which were drawn up, by a convention of delegates, from every county in the province of Pennsylvania, and presented by them, in a body, to the constitutional assembly, were the most precise and determinate. By these it appears, that the Pennsylvanians were disposed to submit to the acts of navigation, as they then stood, and, also,

to settle a certain annual revenue on his majesty, his heirs, and successors, subject to the control of parliament; and to satisfy all damages, done to the East India company, provided their grievances were redressed, and an amicable compact was settled, which, by establishing American rights, in the manner of a new magna charta, would have precluded future disputes.

Of the whole number of deputies, which formed the continental congress, of 1774, one half were lawyers. Gentlemen of that profession had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants, by their exertions in the common cause. The previous measures, in the respective provinces, had been planned and carried into effect, more by lawyers than by any other order of men. Professionally taught the rights of the people, they were among the foremost, to desecry attacks made on their liberties. Bred in the habits of public speaking, they made a distinguished figure in the meetings of the people, and were particularly able to explain to them the tendency of the late acts of parliament.—Exerting their abilities and influence, in the cause of their country, they were rewarded with its confidence.

On the meeting of Congress, they chose Peyton Randolph their president, and Charles Thomson their secretary. They agreed, as one of the rules of their doing business, that no entry should be made on their journals of any propositions discussed before them, to which they did not finally assent.*

This august body, to which all the colonies looked up for wisdom and direction, had scarcely convened, when a dispute arose about the mode of conducting business, which alarmed the friends of union. It was contended by some, that the votes of the small provinces should not count as much as those of the larger ones. This was argued with some warmth; and invidious comparisons were made between the extensive dominion of Virginia, and the small colonies of Delaware and Rhode Island. The impossibility of fixing the comparative weight of each province, from the want of proper materials, induced Congress to resolve, that each should have one equal vote. The mode of conducting business being settled, two committees were appointed: one, to state the rights of the colonies; the several instances in which these rights had been violated; and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them; the other, to examine and report the several statutes which affected the trade and manufactures of the colonies. The first committee were farther instructed, to confine themselves to the consideration of such rights, as had been infringed since the year 1763.

Congress, soon after their meeting, agreed upon a declaration of their rights, by which it was, among other things, declared, that the inhabitants of the English colonies, in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or

compacts, were entitled to life; liberty, and property; and that they had never ceded, to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent. That their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural-born subjects, within the realm of England, and by their migrating to America, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, was a right, in the people, to participate in their legislative council; and that as, the English colonists were not, and could not be properly represented in the British parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several provincial legislatures, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign. They then ran the line, between the supremacy of parliament, and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, expressed in the following words: "But, from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, bona fide, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

This was the very hinge of the controversy.—The absolute, unlimited supremacy of the British parliament, both in legislation and taxation, was contended for on one side; while, on the other, no farther authority was conceded, than such a limited legislation, with regard to external commerce, as would combine the interests of the whole empire. In government, as well as in religion, there are mysteries, from the close investigation of which little advantage can be expected. From the unity of the empire, it was necessary that some acts should extend over the whole. From the local situation of the colonies, it was equally reasonable that their legislatures should, at least in some matters, be independent. Where the supremacy of the first ended, and the independency of the last began, was to the best informed a puzzling question. A different state of things would exist at this day, had the discussion of this doubtful point never been attempted.

Congress also resolved, that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage; that they were entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they had found to be applicable to their local circumstances, and also to the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by provincial laws; that they had a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; that the keeping a standing army in the colonies, without the consent of the legislature of the colony where the army was kept, was against law; that it was indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential, by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; and that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power, in several colonies, by a council, appointed during pleasure by the crown, was unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. All of these liberties Congress, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon, as their indubitable rights, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent.

Congress then resolved, that sundry acts which had been passed in the reign of George the Third, were infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. The

acts complained of, were as follow: the several acts of 4 George III. ch. 15. and ch. 35—5 Geo. III. ch. 25—6 Geo. III. ch. 52—7 Geo. III. ch. 41. and ch. 46—8 Geo. III. ch. 22. which imposed duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extended the power of the admiralty courts, beyond their ancient limits, deprived the American subjects of trial by jury, and authorized the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages, that he might, otherwise, be liable to; requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he was allowed to defend his property.

Also, 12 Geo. III. ch. 24. entitled, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dock-yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with committing any offence, described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm.

Also, the three acts passed in the last session of parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice," &c.

Also, the act passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion, in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country had been conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers, in his majesty's service, in North America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of the colony, in which such army was kept, was against law.

Congress declared, that they could not submit to these grievous acts and measures. In hopes that their fellow-subjects in Great Britain would restore the colonies to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, they resolved, for the present, only to pursue the following peaceable measures:

1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association.

2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty.

By the association they bound themselves and their constituents, "from and after the 1st day of December next, not to import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandise, whatsoever: not to purchase any slave, imported after the said 1st day of December; not to purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East India company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and, from and after the 1st day of the next ensuing March, neither to purchase or use any East India tea whatever; that they would not, after the 10th day of the next September if their grievances were not previously redressed, export any commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe; that the merchants should, as soon as possible, write to their correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever; that, if any merchant there should ship any goods for America, in order to contravene the non-importation agreement, they would not afterwards have any commercial connexion with such merchant; that such as were owners of vessels, should give positive orders to their captains and masters, not to receive, on board their vessels, any

* This rule was adopted from policy. The firmness of two or three of the delegates was doubted by some of their more determined associates. It was apprehended, that these would bring forward some temporising scheme of accommodation, in hopes that it would operate in their favour, in case the country was conquered. The majority thought it more equal, that, in every event, all should stand or fall together, without separate subterfuges. Joseph Galloway brought forward such a scheme, which was rejected, and, of course, not entered on the journals; but he obtained a certificate of his having done so. After he had joined the British, in the low ebb of American affairs, which took place early in December, 1776, he produced those documents, to prove, that he had always been a true and loyal subject. The outlines of Galloway's schemes were a neutral government, to be instituted in America, for regulating all the common concerns of the colonies, and to be administered by a president-general, of royal appointment, with executive powers, and a negative on all proposed acts of legislation; together with a council, to be appointed by the provincial assemblies. The legislative body to be incorporated with the British parliament, so far that the assent of both should be requisite to the validity of all general acts and statutes, which were intended to operate over both countries.

The similes of the signatures to the Declaration of Independence July 4, 1776.

John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm Lloyd Wm Hooper Sam Adams
Step Hopkins Thos Nelson Geo Lymer
Thos Mearns Charles Carroll of Carroll Thos Mifflin Gerry
Roger Sherman Sam^a Huntington
N^m Whipple Thomas Lynch Jun^r
Geo Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benjⁿ Franklin
N^m Williams Rich^d Stockton John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jas Witherpiece Gro. Ross
Thos Hon^{ble} Samuel Chase Rob^t Treat Paine
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Fran^s Lewis Wm Jefferson Menja Harrison
Levis. Morris Abra Clark Phil^l Livingston
Arthur Middleton Fra^s Hopkinson
Geo Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Thos Heyward Jun^r
Benjamin Rush John Adams Rob^t Morris
Symon Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee
William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas^s Smith

Department of State 10th April 1876 I certify that this is a CORRECT Copy of the original Declaration of Independence deposited at this Department and that I have compared all the signatures with those of the original and have found them EXACT IMITATIONS

John Quincy Adams

goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement; that they would use their endeavours to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; that they would encourage frugality, economy and industry, and promote agriculture, arts and American manufactures; that they would discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation; that, on the death of relations or friends, they would wear no other mourning than a small piece of black crape or ribbon; that such, as were vendors of goods, should not take any advantage of the scarcity, so as to raise their prices; that, if any person should import goods after the 1st day of December, and before the 1st day of February, then next ensuing, the same ought to be immediately re-shipped, or delivered up to a committee to be stored or sold; and that, in the last case, all the clear profits should be applied towards the relief of the inhabitants of Boston; that, if any goods should be imported after the 1st day of February, the next ensuing, they should be sent back without breaking any of the packages; that committees should be chosen in every county, city, and town, to observe the conduct of all persons touching the association, and to publish, in gazettes, the names of the violators of it, as foes to the rights of British America; that the committees of correspondence, in the respective colonies, frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other, from time to time, of the true state thereof; that all American manufactures should be sold at reasonable prices, and no advantages to be taken of a future scarcity of goods; and lastly, that they would have no dealings or intercourse whatever, with any province or colony of North America, which should not accede to, or should violate the aforesaid associations."

These several resolutions they bound themselves and their constituents, by the sacred ties of virtue, honour, and love of their country, to observe till their grievances were redressed.

In their address to the people of Great Britain, they complimented them for having, at every hazard maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of man, and the blessings of liberty to their posterity, and requested them not to be surprised, that they, who were descendants from the same common ancestors, should refuse to surrender their rights, liberties, and constitution. They proceeded to state their rights and their grievances, and to vindicate themselves from the charges of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. They summed up their wishes in the following words: "Place us in the same situation in which we were, at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

In the memorial of Congress to the inhabitants of the British colonies, they recapitulated the proceedings of Great Britain against them, since the year 1763, in order to impress them with a belief that a deliberate system was formed for abridging their liberties. They then proceeded to state the measures they had adopted, to counteract this system, and gave the reasons which induced them to adopt the same. They encouraged them to submit to the inconveniences of non-importation and non-exportation, by desiring them, "to weigh, in the opposite balance, the endless miseries, they and their descendants must endure, from an established arbitrary power."—They concluded with informing them, "that the schemes agitated against the colonies, had been so conducted as to render it prudent to extend their views to mournful events, and to be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency."

In the petition of Congress to the king, they begged leave to lay their grievances before the throne. After a particular enumeration of these, they observed, that they wholly arose from a destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war. They assured his majesty, that they had made such provision for defraying the charges of the admin-

istration of justice, and the support of civil government, as had been judged just and suitable to their respective circumstances; and that, for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia would be fully sufficient in time of peace; and, in case of war, they were ready and willing, when constitutionally required, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies, and raising forces. They said, "we ask but for peace, liberty and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative; nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain." They then solicited for a redress of their grievances, which they had enumerated; and, appealing to that Being, who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly professed, "that their councils had been influenced by no other motives, than a dread of impending destruction." They concluded with imploring his majesty, "for the honour of Almighty God, for his own glory, for the interests of his family, and for the safety of his kingdom and dominions, that as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he would not suffer the transcendent relation, formed by these ties, to be farther violated, by uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never could compensate for the calamities, through which they must be gained."

The congress also addressed the French inhabitants of Canada; to whom they stated the right they had on becoming English subjects, to the benefits of the English constitution. They explained what these rights were; and pointed out the difference between the constitution imposed on them by act of parliament, and that to which, as British subjects, they were entitled. They introduced their countryman Montesquieu, as reproaching their parliamentary constitution, and exhorting them to join their fellow colonists, in support of their common rights. They earnestly invited them to join, with the other colonies, in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and to this end recommended, that they would choose delegates to represent them in Congress.

All these addresses were written with uncommon ability. Coming from the heart, they were calculated to move it. Inspired by a love of liberty, and roused by a sense of common danger, the patriots of that day spoke, wrote and acted, with an animation unknown in times of public tranquillity: but it was not so much, on the probable effect of these addresses, that Congress founded their hopes of obtaining a redress of their grievances, as on the consequences which they expected from the operation of their non-importation, and non-exportation agreement. The success that had followed the adoption of measures, similar to the former, in two preceding instances, had encouraged the colonists to expect much from a repetition of it. They indulged in extravagant opinions of the importance of their trade to Great Britain. The measure of the non-exportation of their commodities was a new expedient; and, from that, even more was expected, than from the non-importation agreement. They supposed, that it would produce such extensive distress among the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and, especially among the inhabitants of the British West India Islands, as would induce their general co-operation, in procuring a redress of American grievances. Events proved that young nations, like young people, are prone to overrate their own importance.

Congress having finished all this important business, in less than eight weeks, dissolved themselves, on the 26th of October, after giving their opinion, "that another congress should be held on the 10th of May, next ensuing, at Philadelphia, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained," and recommending, "to all

the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible, to be ready to attend at that time and place, should events make their meeting necessary."

On the publication of the proceedings of Congress, the people obtained that information which they desired. Zealous to do something for their country, they patiently waited for the decision of that body, to whose direction they had resigned themselves. Their determinations were no sooner known, than cheerfully obeyed. Though their power was only advisory, yet their recommendations were more generally and more effectually carried into execution, than the laws of the best regulated states. Every individual felt his liberties endangered, and was impressed with an idea, that his safety consisted in union. A common interest in warding off a common danger, proved a powerful incentive to the most implicit submission. Provincial congresses and subordinate committees were every where instituted. The resolutions of the continental congress were sanctioned with the universal approbation of these new representative bodies; and institutions were formed under their directions to carry them into effect.

The regular constitutional assemblies, also, gave their assent to the measures recommended. The assembly of New York was the only legislature, which withheld its approbation. Their metropolis had long been head quarters of the British army in the colonies; and many of their best families were connected with the people of influence in Great Britain. The unequal distribution of their land fostered an aristocratic spirit. From the operation of these and other causes, the party for royal government was both more numerous and respectable in New York, than in the other colonies.

The assembly of Pennsylvania, though composed of a majority of Quakers, or of those who were friendly to their interest, was the first legal body of representatives, that ratified unanimously, the acts of the general congress. They not only voted their approbation of what that body had done, but appointed members to represent them in the new congress, proposed to be held on the 10th day of May next ensuing; and took sundry steps to put the province in a posture of defence.

To relieve the distresses of the people of Boston, liberal collections were made, throughout the colonies, and forwarded for the supply of their immediate necessities. Domestic manufactures were encouraged, that the wants of the inhabitants, from the non-importation agreement, might be diminished; and the greatest zeal was discovered by a large majority of the people, to comply with the determination of these new made representative bodies. In this manner, while the forms of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people, that the public good required a compliance with the recommendations of Congress, that any man who discovered an anxiety about the continuance of trade and business, was considered as a selfish individual; preferring private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them, frequently, so far beyond the limits of moderation, as to apply singular punishments to particular persons, who contravened the general sense of the community.

One of these was forcibly subjecting the obnoxious persons to a stream of cold water, discharged on them from a spout of a pump. Another and more serious one was, after smearing their bodies with tar, to roll them in feathers, and expose them, thus covered with tar and feathers, to the ridicule of spectators. A more common mode was to treat them with contempt and scorn, arising in particular cases, to such a height, as to abstain from all social intercourse with them. Frequently their names were stuck up in public places, with the appellation of Tories, traitors, cowards, enemies to the country, &c.

The British ministry were not less disappointed than mortified, at this unexpected combination of

the colonies. They had flattered themselves with a belief, that the malcontents in Boston were a small party, headed by a few factious men, and that the majority of the inhabitants would arrange themselves on the side of government, as soon as they found Great Britain determined to support her authority; and, should even Massachusetts take part with its offending capital, they could not believe that the other colonies would make a common cause, in supporting so intemperate a colony: but should even that expectation fail, they conceived that their association must be founded on principles so adverse to the interests and feelings of individuals, that it could not be of long duration. They were encouraged in these ill-founded opinions, by the recollection, that the colonies were frequently quarrelling about boundaries, clashing in interests, differing in policy, manners, customs, forms of government, and religion, and under the influence of a variety of local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions. They also remembered the obstacles, which prevented the colonies from acting together, in the execution of schemes, planned for their own defence, in the late war against the French and Indians. The failure of the expected co-operation of the colonies, in one uniform system, at that time, was not only urged by the British ministry, as a reason for parliamentary control over the whole, but flattered them with a delusive hope, that they never could be brought to combine their counsels and their arms. Perhaps the colonists apprehended more danger from British encroachments, on their liberties, than from French encroachment, on Indian territories, in their neighbourhood: or more probably, the time to part being come, the Governor of the Universe, by a secret influence on their minds, disposed them to union. From whatever cause it proceeded, it is certain, that a disposition to do, to suffer, and to accommodate, spread from breast to breast, and from colony to colony, beyond the reach of human calculation. It seemed as though one mind inspired the whole. The merchants put far behind them the gains of trade, and cheerfully submitted to a total stoppage of business, in obedience to the recommendations of men, invested with no legislative powers. The cultivators of the soil, with great unanimity, assented to the determination, that the hard-earned produce of their farms should remain unshipped, although, in case of a free exportation, many would have been eager to have purchased it from them, at advanced prices. The sons and daughters of ease renounced imported conveniences: and voluntarily engaged to eat, drink, and wear, only such articles as their country afforded. These sacrifices were made, not from the pressure of present distress, but on the generous principle of sympathy with an invaded sister colony, and the prudent policy of guarding against a precedent which might, on a future day, operate against their liberties.

This season of universal distress exhibited a striking proof, how practicable it is for mankind to sacrifice ease, pleasure, and interest, when the mind is strongly excited by its passions. In the midst of their sufferings, cheerfulness appeared in the face of all the people. * They counted every thing cheap in comparison with liberty, and readily gave up whatever tended to endanger it. A noble strain of generosity and mutual support was generally excited. A great and powerful diffusion of public spirit took place. The animation of the times raised the actors in these scenes above themselves, and excited them to deeds of self-denial, which the interested prudence of calmer seasons can scarcely credit.

CHAPTER VI.

Transactions in Great Britain in consequence of the proceedings of Congress, in 1774.

SOME time before the proceedings of Congress reached England, it was justly apprehended, that a non-importation agreement would be one of the

measures they would adopt. The ministry, apprehending that this event, by distressing the trading and manufacturing towns, might influence votes against the court, in the election of a new parliament, which was of course to come on in the succeeding year, suddenly dissolved the parliament, and immediately ordered a new one to be chosen. It was their design to have the whole business of elections over, before the inconveniences of a non-importation agreement could be felt. The nation was thus surprised into an election, without knowing that the late American acts had driven the colonies into a firm combination, to support, and make a common cause with, the people of Massachusetts. A new parliament was returned; which met in thirty-four days after the proceedings of Congress were first published in Philadelphia, and before they were known in Great Britain. This, for the most part, consisted, either of the former members, or of those who held similar sentiments.

On the 30th of November, the king, in his speech to his new parliament, informed them, "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the laws, unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts, and had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had been countenanced and encouraged in his other colonies; that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of his kingdom, by unlawful combinations; and that he had taken such measures, and given such orders, as he judged most proper and effectual, for carrying into execution the laws, which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, relative to the province of Massachusetts."

An address, proposed in the house of commons, in answer to this speech, produced a warm debate. The minister was reminded of the great effects, he had predicted from the late American acts: "They were to humble that whole continent, without farther trouble; and the punishment of Boston was to strike so universal a panic in all the colonies, that it would be totally abandoned, and, instead of obtaining relief, a dread of the same fate would awe the other provinces, to a most respectful submission." An address, re-echoing the royal speech was, nevertheless, carried by a great majority. A similar address was carried, after a spirited debate, in the upper house: but the lords Richmond, Portland, Rockingham, Stanhope, Stanhope, Torrington, Ponsonby, Wycombe, and Camden entered a protest against it, which concluded with these remarkable words: "Whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity which lead others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons, who have disapproved of measures so injurious in their past effects, and future tendency, and who are not in haste, without inquiry or information, to commit ourselves in declarations, which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Soon after the meeting of the new parliament, the proceedings of the congress reached Great Britain. The first impression, made by them, was in favour of America. Administration seemed to be staggered; and their opposers triumphed, in the eventual truth of their prediction, that an universal confederacy, to resist great Britain, would be the consequence of the late American acts. The secretary of state, after a day's perusal, during which a council was held, said that the petition of Congress, to the king, was a decent and proper one. He also cheerfully undertook to present it; and afterwards reported, that his majesty was pleased very graciously to receive it; and to promise to lay it before his two houses of parliament. From these favourable circumstances, the sanguine friends of America concluded, that it was intended to make the petition a foundation of a change of measures; but these hopes were of short duration.

The partizans of administration placed so much confidence in the efficacy of the measures, they had lately taken, to bring the Americans to obe-

dience, that they regarded the boldest resolutions of Congress, as the idle clamours of an unruly multitude, which proper exertions on the part of Great Britain would speedily silence. So much had been asserted and contradicted by both parties, that the bulk of the people could form no certain opinion on the subject.

The parliament adjourned for the Christmas holidays, without coming to any decision on American affairs. As soon as they met, in January, 1775, a number of papers, containing information, were laid before them. These were mostly letters from governors, and other servants of his majesty, which detailed the opposition of the colonists, in language calculated to give a bad impression of their past conduct, and an alarming one of their future intentions.

It was a circumstance unfavourable to the lovers of peace, that the rulers of Great Britain received almost the whole of their American intelligence from those, who had an interest in deceiving them. Governors, judges, revenue officers, and other royal servants, being both appointed and paid by Great Britain, fancied that zeal, for the interest of that country, would be the most likely way to insure their farther promotion. They were therefore, in their official despatches to government, often tempted to abuse the colonists, with a view of magnifying their own watchfulness, and recommending themselves to Great Britain. The plain, simple language of truth was not acceptable to courtly ears. Ministers received and caressed those and those only, whose representations coincided with their own views and wishes. They, who contended that, by the spirit of the English constitution, British subjects, residing on one side of the Atlantic, were entitled to equal privileges, with those who resided on the other, were unnoticed; while the abettors of ministerial measures were heard with attention.

In this hour of national infatuation, lord Chatham, after a long retirement, resumed his seat in the house of lords, and exerted his unrivalled eloquence, in sundry attempts to dissuade his countrymen from attempting to subdue the Americans by force of arms. The native dignity of his superior genius and the recollection of his important services entitled him to distinguished notice. His language, voice, and gesture, were calculated to force conviction on his hearers. Though venerable for his age he spoke with the fire of youth. He introduced himself with some general observations on the importance of the American quarrel. He enlarged on the dangerous events that were coming on the nation, in consequence of the present dispute. He arraigned the conduct of ministers, with great severity; reprobated their whole system of American politics; and moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech him, to despatch orders to General Gage, to remove his majesty's forces from the town of Boston. His lordship supported this motion in a pathetic animated speech; but it was rejected by a great majority. From this and other circumstances, it soon became evident, that the Americans could expect no more favour from the new parliament, than they had experienced from the late one. A majority in both houses were against them, and resolved to compel them to obedience; but a respectable minority in their favour was strongly seconded by petitions, from the merchants and manufacturers, throughout the kingdom, and particularly from those of London and Bristol. As these were well apprised of the consequences, that must follow from the prosecution of coercive measures, and deeply interested in the event, they made uncommon exertions to prevent their adoption. They pointed out the various evils, that would result from them, and warned their countrymen of the danger to which their commercial interests were exposed.

When the petition from the merchants of London was read in the house of commons, it was moved to refer it to the committee appointed to take into consideration the American papers; but

it was moved by way of amendment, on the ministerial side, that it should be referred to a separate committee, to meet on the 27th, the day succeeding that appointed for the consideration of American papers. This, though a dishonourable evasion, was carried by a majority of more than two to one.

A similar fate attended the petitions from Bristol, Glasgow, Norwich, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and some other places. These, on their being presented, were in like manner consigned to, what the opposition humourously termed the committee of oblivion.

About the same time, a petition was offered from Mr. Bolland, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, stating that they were authorized by Congress to present their petition to the king, which his majesty had referred to that house; that they were enabled to throw great light on the subject; and praying to be heard at the bar in support of the said petition. The friends of the ministry alleged, that as Congress was not a legal body, nothing could be received from them. It was in vain replied, that the congress, however illegal as to other purposes, was sufficiently legal for presenting a petition; that, as it was signed by the individual members of Congress, it might be received as a petition from individuals; that the signers were persons of great influence in America; and that it was the right of all subjects to have their petitions heard.

In the course of the debate on lord Chatham's motion, for addressing his majesty to withdraw his troops from Boston, it had been observed, by some lords in administration, that it was common and easy to censure their measures; but those who did so proposed nothing better. Lord Chatham answered, that he should not be one of those idle censurers; that he had thought long and closely upon the subject; and purposed soon to lay before their lordships the result of his meditations, in a plan for healing the differences between Great Britain and the colonies, and for restoring peace to the empire. When he had matured his plan, he introduced it into the house, in the form of a bill, for settling the troubles in America. In this he proposed, that the colonists should make a full acknowledgment of the supremacy of the legislature, and the superintending power of the British parliament. The bill did not absolutely decide on the right of taxation; but partly, as a matter of grace, and partly as a compromise, declared and enacted, "that no tax, or other charge, should be levied in America, except by common consent in their provincial assemblies." It asserted the right of the king, to send a legal army to any part of his dominions at all times; but declared, "that no military force could ever be lawfully employed, to violate or destroy the just rights of the people." It also legalized the holding a congress, in the ensuing May, for the double purpose, "of recognizing the supreme legislative authority, and superintending power of parliament over the colonies; and for making a free grant to the king, his heirs, and successors, of a certain and perpetual revenue subject to the disposition of parliament, and applicable to the alleviation of the national debt." On these conditions the bill proposed, "to restrain the powers of the admiralty courts to their ancient limits; and suspended, for a limited time, those acts which had been complained of by Congress." It proposed to place the judges, in America, on the same footing, as to the holding of their salaries and offices, with those in England; and secured to the colonies all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, granted by their several charters and constitutions. His lordship introduced this plan with a speech, in which he explained, and supported every part of it. When he sat down, lord Dartmouth rose, and said "it contains matter of such magnitude as to require consideration; and therefore hoped, that the noble earl did not expect their lordships to decide upon it, by an immediate vote: but would be willing it should lie on the table for consideration." Lord Chatham answered, "that he ex-

pected no more;" but lord Sandwich rose, and, in a petulant speech, opposed its being received at all, and gave his opinion, "that it ought immediately to be rejected, with the contempt it deserved; that he could not believe it to be the production of any British peer; that it appeared to him rather the work of some American;" and, turning his face towards Dr. Franklin, who was leaning on the bar, said, "he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up; one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." This turned the eyes of many lords on the insulted American, who with that self-command, which is peculiar to great minds, kept his countenance unmoved. Several other lords of the administration gave their sentiments, also, for rejecting lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; urging that it not only gave a sanction to the traitorous proceedings of the congress already held, but legalized their future meeting. They enlarged on the rebellious temper, and hostile disposition of the Americans; and said, "that, though the duty on tea was the pretence, the restrictions on their commerce, and the hopes of throwing them off, were the real motives of their disobedience; and that to concede now, would be to give up the point for ever."

The dukes of Richmond and Manchester, lord Camden, lord Lyttleton, and others were for receiving lord Chatham's conciliatory bill; some from approbation of its principles; but others only from a regard to the character and dignity of the house.

Lord Dartmouth, who, from indecision, rarely had any will or judgment of his own, and who, with dispositions for the best measures, could be easily prevailed upon to join in support of the worst, finding the opposition from his coadjutors in administration unexpectedly strong, turned round, and gave his voice with them for immediately rejecting the plan. Lord Chatham, in reply to lord Sandwich, declared, "the bill proposed by him to be entirely his own; but he made no scruple to declare, that, if he were the first minister of the country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person, so perfectly acquainted with the whole of the American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected upon (Dr. Franklin:) one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with the Boyles and Newtons, who was an honour not only to the English nation but to human nature."

The plan proposed by lord Chatham was rejected, by a majority of sixty-four to thirty-two; and without being admitted to lie on the table. That a bill on so important a subject, offered by one of the first men of the age, and who, as prime minister of the nation, had, but a few years before, taken up Great Britain, when in a low despondency, and conducted her to victory and glory, through a war with two of the most powerful kingdoms of Europe, should be rejected without any consideration, or even a second reading, was not only a breach of decency, but a departure from that propriety of conduct which should mark the proceedings of a branch of the national legislature. It could not but strike every thinking American, that such legislators, influenced by passion, prejudice, and party spirit, many of whom were totally ignorant of the subject, and who would not give themselves an opportunity, by a second reading, or farther consideration, to inform themselves better were very unfit to exercise unlimited supremacy over three millions of virtuous, sensible people, inhabiting the other side of the globe.

On the day after the rejection of lord Chatham's bill, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from the planters of the sugar colonies, residing in Great Britain, and the merchants of London, trading to the colonies. In this they stated that the British property in the West India islands amounted to upwards of thirty millions; that a farther property of many millions was employed in the commerce, created by the said islands; and

that the profits and produce of these immense capitals, which ultimately centered in Great Britain, would be deranged and endangered by the continuance of the American troubles. The petitioners were admitted to a hearing; when Mr. Glover, as their agent, ably demonstrated the folly and danger of persevering in the contest; but without any effect. The immediate coercion of the colonies was resolved upon; and the ministry would not suffer themselves to be diverted from its execution. They were confident of success, if they could once bring the controversy to the decision of arms. They expected more from conquest, than they could promise themselves by negotiation or compromise. The free constitutions of the colonies, and their rapid progress in population, were beheld with a jealous eye, as the natural means of independence. They conceived the most effectual method, of retaining them long, would be to reduce them soon. They hoped to be able to extinguish remonstrance and debate, by such a speedy and decisive conquest, as would give them an opportunity to new-model the colonial constitutions, on such principles as would prevent future altercations, on the subject of their chartered rights. Every representation, that tended to retard or obstruct the coercion of the colonies, was therefore considered as tending only to prolong the controversy. Confident of victory, and believing that nothing short of it would restore the peace of the empire, the ministry turned a deaf ear to all petitions and representations. They even presumed, that the petitioners, when they found Great Britain determined on war, would assist in carrying it on with vigour, in order to expedite the settlement of the dispute. They took it for granted, that when, the petitioning towns were convinced, that a renewal of the commercial intercourse, between the two countries, would be sooner obtained by going on, than turning back, the same interest, which led them at first to petition, would lead them afterwards to support coercive measures, as the most effectual and shortest way of securing commerce from all future interruptions.

The determination of ministers, to persevere, was also forwarded by hopes of the defection of New York from her sister colonies. They flattered themselves, that, when one link of the continental chain gave way it would be easy to make an impression on the disjointed extremities.

Every attempt to close the breach, which had been opened by the former parliament, having failed, and the ministry having made up their minds, on the mode of proceeding with the colonists, their proposed plan was briefly unfolded. This was to send a greater force to America, and to bring in a temporary act, to prohibit all the foreign trade of the New England colonies, till they should make proper submissions and acknowledgments. An address to his majesty was, at the same time, moved, "to beseech him to take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."

Truly critical was the moment to the union of the empire. A new parliament might, without the charge of inconsistency, have repealed acts, passed by a former one, which had been found inconvenient on experiment; but pride and passion, under the specious names of national dignity and zeal for the supremacy of parliament, induced the adoption of measures, for immediately compelling the submission of the colonies.

The repeal of a few acts of parliament would, at this time, have satisfied America. Though she had been extending her claims, yet she was still willing that Great Britain should monopolize her trade, and that the parliament should regulate it for the common benefit of the empire. Nor was she disposed to abridge his majesty of any of his usual prerogatives. This authority was sufficient for the mother country, to retain the colonists, in a profitable state of subordination, and yet not so much as to be inconsistent with their claims, or the security of their most important interests. Britain viewed the matter in a different light. To recede, at this time would be to acknowledge,

that the ministry had hitherto been in the wrong; a concession rarely made by private persons, and more rarely by men in public stations. The leading members in parliament, not distinguishing the opposition of freemen to unconstitutional innovation, from the turbulence of licentious mobs breaking over the bounds of law and constitution, supposed that to redress grievances was to renounce sovereignty. This inference, in some degree, resulted from the broad basis, which they had assigned to the claims of the mother country. If, as was contended, on the part of Great Britain, they had a right to bind the colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and the power of parliament over them were absolute and unlimited, they were precluded from rescinding any act of theirs, however oppressive, when demanded as a matter of right. They were too highly impressed with ideas of their unlimited authority, to repeal any of their laws, on the principle, that they had not a constitutional power to enact them, and too unwise to adopt the same measure on the ground of political expediency. Unfortunately for both countries, two opinions were generally held, neither of which was, perhaps, true in its utmost extent, and one of which was most assuredly false. The ministry and parliament of England proceeded on the idea, that the claims of the colonists amounted to absolute independence, and that a fixed resolution to renounce the sovereignty of Great Britain was concealed under the specious pretext of a redress of grievances. The Americans, on the other hand, were equally confident, that the mother country not only harboured designs unfriendly to their interests, but seriously intended to introduce arbitrary government. Jealousies of each other were reciprocally indulged, to the destruction of all confidence, and to the final dismemberment of the empire.

In discussing the measures proposed by the minister, for the coercion of the colonies, the whole ground of the American controversy was traversed. The comparative merits of concession and coercion were placed in every point of view. Some of the minority, in both houses of parliament, pointed out the dangers that would attend a war with America; the likelihood of the interference of other powers; and the probability of losing, and the impossibility of gaining any thing more than was already possessed. On the other hand, the friends of the ministry asserted, that the Americans had been long aiming at independence; that they were magnifying pretended grievances, to cover a premeditated revolt; that it was the business and duty of Englishmen, at every hazard, to prevent its completion, and bring them back to a remembrance that their present greatness was owing to the mother country; and that even their existence had been purchased at an immense expense of British blood and treasure. They acknowledged the danger to be great; but said "it must be encountered; that every day's delay increased the evil; and that it would be base and cowardly to shift off, for the present, an unavoidable contest, which must fall with accumulated weight on the heads of their posterity." The danger of foreign interference was denied. "It was contended, that an appearance of vigorous measures, with a farther reinforcement of troops at Boston, would be sufficient to quell the disturbances. It was also urged, that the friends of government were both strong and numerous, and only waited for proper support, and favourable circumstances, to declare themselves.

After long and warm debates, and one or two protests, the ministerial plans were carried by great majorities. In consequence thereof, on the 9th of February, 1775, a joint address, from both lords and commons was presented to his majesty, in which, "they returned thanks for the communication of the papers, relative to the state of the British colonies in America; gave it as their opinion that a rebellion actually existed in the province of Massachusetts; besought his majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures, to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority

of the supreme legislature; and begged, in the most solemn manner, to assure his majesty, that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by his majesty against all rebellious attempts, in the maintenance of the just rights of his majesty, and of the two houses of parliament."

The lords, Richmond, Craven, Archer, Abergavenny, Rockingham, Wycombe, Courtenay, Torrington, Pousonby, Cholmondeley, Abingdon, Rutland, Camden, Effingham, Stanhope, Scarborough, Fitzwilliam, and Tankerville, protested against this address, "as founded on no proper parliamentary information, being introduced by refusing to suffer the presentation of petitions against it; as following the rejection of every mode of conciliation; as holding out no substantial offer of redress of grievances; and as promising support to those ministers, who had inflamed America, and grossly misconducted the affairs of Great Britain."

By the address against which this protest was entered, the parliament of Great Britain passed the Rubicon. In former periods, it might be alleged, that the claims of the colonies were undefined, and that their unanimous resolution to defend them was unknown; but after a free representation from twelve provinces had stated their rights, and pledged themselves to each other to support them, and their determinations were known, a resolution that a rebellion actually existed, and that at the hazard of their lives and properties, they would stand by his majesty, against all rebellious attempts, was a virtual declaration of war. Both parties were now bound, in consequence of their own acts, to submit the controversy to a decision of arms. Issue was joined, by the approbation Congress had given to the Suffolk resolves, and by this subsequent joint address of both houses of parliament to his majesty. It is probable that neither party, in the beginning, intended to go thus far; but by the inscrutable operations of Providence, each was permitted to adopt such measures as not only rent the empire, but involved them both, with their own consent, in all the calamities of a long and bloody war. The answer from the throne, to the joint addresses of parliament, contained assurances of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws, and authority of the supreme legislature. This answer was accompanied with a message to the commons, in which they were informed, that some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary. An augmentation of four thousand three hundred and eighty-three men to the land forces, and of two thousand seamen to be employed for the ensuing year, was accordingly asked for, and carried without difficulty. With the first, it was stated, that the force at Boston would be ten thousand men, a number supposed to be sufficient for enforcing the laws. Other schemes, in addition to a military force, were thought advisable for promoting the projected coercion of the colonies. With this view a punishment was proposed, so universal in its operation, that it was expected the inhabitants of the New England colonies, to obtain a riddance of its heavy pressure, would interest themselves in procuring a general submission to parliament. Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut, and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time." The motion for this bill was supported, by declaring, that, as the Americans had refused to trade with the mother country, they ought not to be permitted to trade with any other. It was known that the New England colonies carried on a circuitous trade and fishery, on the banks of Newfoundland to a great extent. To cut them off from this resource,

they were legislatively forbidden to fish, or to carry on foreign trade. It was presumed, that the wants of a large body of people, deprived of employment, would create a clamour in favour of reconciliation.

The British ministry expected to excite the same temper in the unemployed New England men, that Congress meant to raise by the non-importation agreement, among the British merchants and manufacturers. The motion for this bill, brought into view the whole of the American controversy. The opposers of it said, that its cruelty exceeded the examples of hostile rigour with avowed enemies; for that, in the most dangerous wars, the fishing craft was universally spared.—They desired the proposer of the bill to recollect, that he had often spoken of the multitude of friends he had in those provinces, and that now he confounded the innocent with the guilty; friends with enemies; and involved his own partisans in one common ruin with his opposers. They alleged farther, that the bill would operate against the people of Great Britain: as the people of New England were in debt to them, and had no other means of paying that debt, but through the fishery, and the circuitous trade depending on it. It was observed, that the fishermen, being cut off from employment, must turn soldiers; and that, therefore, while they were provoking the Americans to resistance, by one set of acts, they were furnishing them with the means of recruiting an army by another.

The favourers of the bill denied the charge of severity, alleging that the colonists could not complain of any distress the bill might bring on them, as they not only deserved it, but had set the example; and that they had entered into unlawful combinations to ruin the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. It was said, that, if any foreign power had offered a similar insult or injury, the whole nation would have demanded satisfaction. They contended that it was a bill of humanity and mercy: for, said they, the colonists have incurred all the penalties of rebellion, and are liable to the severest military execution. Instead of inflicting the extent of what they deserved, the bill only proposes to bring them to their senses, by restricting their trade. They urged farther, that the measure was necessary: for, said they, "the Americans have frequently imposed on us, by threatening to withdraw their trade, hoping through mercantile influence to bend the legislature to their demands; that this was the third time, they had thrown the commerce of Great Britain into a state of confusion; and that both colonies and commerce were better lost, than preserved on such terms." They added farther, that they must either relinquish their connexion with America, or fix it on such a basis, as would prevent a return of these evils. They admitted the bill to be coercive; but said, "that the coercion, which put the speediest end to the dispute, was eventually the most merciful."

In the progress of the bill, a petition from the merchants and traders of London, who were interested in the American commerce, was presented against it. They were heard by their agent, Mr. David Barclay; and a variety of witnesses were examined before the house. In the course of their evidence it appeared, that, in the year 1764, the four provinces of New England employed, in their several fisheries, no less than forty-five thousand eight hundred and eighty ton of shipping, and six thousand and two men; and that the produce of their fisheries that year, in foreign markets amounted to 322,220l. 16s. sterling. It also appeared, that the fisheries had very much increased since that time; that all the materials used in them, except salt, and the timber of which the vessels were built, were purchased from Great Britain; and that the net proceeds of the whole were remitted thither. All this information was disregarded. After much opposition in both houses, and a protest in the house of lords, the bill was, by a great majority, finally ratified. So intent were the ministry and parliament on the coer-

cion the colonists, that every other interest was sacrificed to its accomplishment. They conceived the question between the two countries to be, simply, whether they should abandon their claims, and at once give up all the advantages arising from sovereignty and commerce, or resort to violent measures for their security.

Since the year 1769, when a secretary of state, officially disclaimed all views of an American revenue, little mention had been made of that subject; but the decided majority, who voted with the ministry on this occasion, emboldened lord North once more to present it to the view of his countrymen. He, therefore, brought into parliament, a scheme, which had the double recommendation of holding forth the semblance of conciliation, and the prospect of an easement of British taxes, by a productive revenue from the colonies. This resolution passed on the 20th of February, and was as follows:

"Resolved, that, when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court, of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion for the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision, also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty, and the two houses of parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively."

This was introduced by the minister, in a long speech, in which he asserted, that it would be an infallible touchstone to try the Americans. "If," said he, "their opposition be only founded on the principles which they pretend, they must agree with this proposition; but if they have designs in contemplation, different from those they avow, their refusal will convict them of duplicity." The opposition to the minister's motion originated among those who had supported him in previous questions. They objected to the proposal, that, in effect, it was an acknowledgment of something grievous in the idea of taxing America by parliament; and that it was, therefore, a departure from their own principles. They contended, that it was improper to make concessions to rebels, with arms in their hands; or to enter into any measures for a settlement with the Americans, in which they did not, as a preliminary, acknowledge the supremacy of parliament. The minister was likely to be deserted by some of his partizans, till others explained the consistency of the scheme with their former declarations. It was said, "what shall parliament lose by acceding to this resolution?—Not the right of taxing America: for this is most expressly reserved. Not the profitable exercise of this right; for it proposes to enforce the only essential part of taxation, by compelling the Americans to raise not only what they, but what we, think reasonable. We are not going to war for trifles, and a vain point of honour; but for substantial revenue." The minister farther declared, that he did not expect his proposition to be generally relished by the Americans. But, said he, if it do no good in the colonies, it will do good here. It will unite the people of England, by holding out to them a distinct object of revenue. He added farther, as it tends to unite England, it is likely to disunite America; for if only one province accept the offer, their confederacy, which only makes them formidable, will be broken.

The opposers of ministry attacked the proposition, with the combined force of wit and argument.

They animadverted on the inconsistency of holding forth the same resolution as a measure of concession, and as an assertion of authority. They remarked, that, hitherto, it had been constantly denied, that they had any contest about an American revenue; and that the whole had been a dispute about obedience to trade-laws, and the general legislative authority of parliament; but now ministers suddenly changed their language, and proposed to interest the nation, and console the manufacturers, and animate the soldiery, by persuading them, that it is not a contest for empty honour, but for the acquisition of a substantial revenue. It was said, that the Americans would be as effectually taxed, without their consent by being compelled to pay a gross sum, as by an aggregate of small duties to the same amount; and that this scheme of taxation exceeded, in oppression, any that the rapacity of mankind had hitherto devised. In other cases, a specific sum was demanded; and the people might reasonably presume that the remainder was their own; but here they were wholly in the dark, as to the extent of the demand.

This proposition, however, for conciliation, though disrelished by many of the friends of ministry, was carried, on a division of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight. On its transmission to the colonies, it did not produce the effects of disunion expected from it. It was unanimously rejected.

Other plans for conciliation with the colonies, founded on principles very different from those which were the basis of lord North's conciliatory motion, were brought forward, in the house of commons; but without receiving its approbation. The most remarkable of these was proposed by Mr. Edmund Burke, in a speech, which, for strength of argument, extent of information, and sublimity of language, would bear a comparison with the most finished performance that ancient or modern times have produced. In his introduction to this admirable speech, he examined and explained the natural and accidental circumstances of the colonies, with respect to situation, resources, number, population, commerce, fisheries, and agriculture; and from these considerations showed their importance. He then inquired into their unconquerable spirit of freedom; which he traced to its original sources. From these circumstances, he inferred the line of policy which should be pursued with regard to America. He showed that all proper plans of government must be adapted to the feelings, established habits, and received opinions of the people. On these principles, Mr. Burke reprobated all plans of governing the colonies by force; and proposed, as the ground-work of his plan, that the colonists should be admitted to an interest in the constitution. He then went into an historical detail of the manner, in which the British privileges had been extended to Ireland, Wales, and the counties palatine of Chester and Durham; the state of confusion before that event; and the happy consequences which followed it.—He contended, that a communication, to the members, of an interest in the constitution, was the great ruling principle of British government. He, therefore, proposed to go back to the old policy for governing the colonies. He was for a parliamentary acknowledgment of the legal competency of the colonial assemblies, for the support of their government in peace, and for public aids in time of war. He maintained the futility of parliamentary taxation, as a method of supply. He stated, that much had been given in the old way of colonial grant; that, from the year 1748 to 1763, the journals of the house of commons repeatedly acknowledged, that the colonies not only gave, but gave to satiety; and that, from time to time, in which parliamentary imposition had superceded the free gifts of the provinces, there was much discontent, and little revenue. He, therefore, moved six resolutions, affirmatory of these facts; and grounded on them resolutions, for repealing the acts complained of by the Americans, trusting to the liberality of their future voluntary contribu-

tions. This plan of conciliation, which promised immediate peace to the whole empire, and a lasting obedience of the colonies, though recommended by the charms of the most persuasive eloquence, and supported by the most convincing arguments, was by a great majority rejected.

Mr. D. Hartley, not discouraged by the negative, which had been given to Mr. Burke's scheme, came forward with another for the same purpose. This proposed, that a letter of requisition should be sent to the colonies, by the secretary of state, on a motion from the house, for a contribution to the expenses of the whole empire. He meant to leave, to the provincial assemblies, the right to judge of the expedience, amount and application of the grant. In confidence that the colonies would give freely, when called on, in this constitutional way, he moved, to suspend the acts complained of by the Americans. This was also rejected.

Another plan was, digested in private, by Dr. Franklin, on the part of the Americans, and Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, on behalf of the British ministry. There appeared a disposition to concede something considerable on both sides; but the whole came to nothing in consequence of an inflexible determination to refuse a repeal of the act of parliament for altering the chartered government of Massachusetts. Dr. Franklin agreed, that the tea destroyed should be paid for; the British ministers, that the Boston port act should be repealed; but the latter contended, "that the late Massachusetts acts, being real amendments of their constitution, must, for that reason, be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament." On the other hand, it was declared by Dr. Franklin, "that, while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of internal legislation for the colonies, and of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; as that would render the Americans unsafe in every privilege they enjoyed, and would leave them nothing in which they could be secure."

This obstinate adherence to support parliament, in a power of altering the laws and charters of the provinces, particularly to enforce their late laws for new-modelling the chartered constitution of Massachusetts, was the fatal rock, by dashing on which the empire broke in twain; for every other point, in dispute between the two countries, seemed in a fair way for an amicable compromise.

The fishery bill was speedily followed by another, for restraining the trade and commerce of the colonies and provinces of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. The reasons assigned for this were the same with those offered for the other. These provinces had adopted the continental association. The British minister thought it proper, that, as they had voluntarily interdicted themselves from trade with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, they should be restrained from it with all other parts of the world. He contended, that the inhabitants of the colonies might render this act a dead letter, by relinquishing their own resolutions, as then they would meet with no restraint in carrying on trade in its ancient legal channel. It is remarkable, that three of the associated colonies, viz. New York, Delaware, and North Carolina, were omitted in this restraining bill. Whatever might be the view of the British ministry for this discrimination, it was considered in the colonies as calculated to promote disunion among them. It is certain, that the colonists, exempted from its operation, might have reaped a golden harvest from the exemption in their favour, had they been disposed to avail themselves of it; but such was the temper of the times, that a renunciation of immediate advantage in favour of the public was fashionable. The selfish passions, which, in seasons of peace, are too often the cause of quarrels, were hushed by the pressure of common danger.

The exempted colonies spurned the proffered favour, and submitted to the restraints imposed on their less favoured neighbours, so as to be equal sharers of their fate. The indulgence granted to

New York, in being kept out of this restraining bill, was considered by some as a premium for her superior loyalty. Her assembly had refused to approve the proceedings of the congress, and had, in some other instances, discovered less warmth than the neighbouring legislatures. Much was expected from her moderation. At the very time the British parliament was framing the restraining acts just mentioned, the constitutional assembly of New York petitioned for a redress of their grievances. Great stress had been laid on the circumstance, that Congress was not a legal assembly; and the want of constitutional sanction had been assigned as a reason for the neglect, with which their petition had been treated. Much praise had been lavished on the colony of New York, for its moderation; and occasion had been taken, from their refusing to approve the proceedings of the congress, to represent the resolutions and claims of that body to be more the ebullitions of incendiaries, than the sober sentiments of the temperate citizens. It was both unexpected and confounding to those who supported these opinions, that the representation and remonstrance of the very loyal assembly of New York stated, "that an exemption from internal taxation, and the exclusive right of providing for their own civil government, and the administration of justice in the colony, were esteemed by them as their undoubted and unalienable rights."

A motion being made, in the house of commons, for bringing up this representation and remonstrance of the assembly of New York, it was amended, on the suggestion of lord North, by adding, "in which the assembly claim to themselves rights derogatory to, and inconsistent with, the legislative authority of parliament, as declared by the declaratory act." The question, so amended, being put, passed in the negative. The fate of this representation extinguished the hopes of those moderate persons, both in the parent state, and the colonies, who flattered themselves, that the disputes, subsisting between the two countries, might be accommodated by the mediation of the constitutional assemblies. Two conclusions were drawn from this transaction; both of which were unfriendly to a reconciliation. The decided language with which the loyal assembly of New York claimed exemption from parliamentary taxation, proved to the people of Great Britain, that the colonists, however they might differ in modes of opposition, or in degrees of warmth, were, nevertheless, united in that fundamental principle. The rejection of their representation proved, that nothing more was to be expected from proceeding in the constitutional channel of the legal assemblies, than from the new system of a continental congress. Solid revenue and unlimited supremacy were the objects of Great Britain; and exemption from parliamentary taxation, that of the most moderate of the colonies. So wide were the claims of the two countries from each other, that to reconcile them on any middle ground seemed to be impossible.

CHAPTER VIII.

Consequences in America, resulting from the preceding transactions of Parliament; and of the commencement of hostilities.

THE year 1774 terminated with an expectation in America, that a few months would bring them a redress of their grievances. But the probability of that event daily diminished. The colonists had indulged themselves in an expectation that the people of Great Britain, from a consideration of the dangers and difficulties of a war with their colonies, would, in their elections, have preferred those who were friends to peace and reconciliation. But, when they were convinced of the fallacy of these hopes, they turned their attention to the means of self-defence. It had been the resolution of many, never to submit to the operation of the late acts of parliament. Their number daily increased; and in the same proportion that Great

Britain determined to enforce, did they determine to oppose. Intelligence of the rejection of lord Chatham's bill, of the address of both houses of parliament to the king on the 9th of February, and of the fishery bill, arrived among the colonists, about the same time, and diminished what remained of their first hopes of a speedy accommodation. The fishery bill excited a variety of emotions. The obvious tendency of it was to starve thousands. The severity of it did not strike an Englishman, for he viewed it as a merited correction for great provincial offences. But it appeared in the blackest colours to an American, who felt no consciousness of guilt, and who fancied that heaven approved his zeal in defence of liberty. It alienated the affections of the colonists, and produced in the breasts of thousands, a hatred of Great Britain.

The penal acts of parliament, in 1774, were all levelled against Massachusetts; but the fishery bill extended to New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island: The reasons assigned for this by lord North were, that they had aided and abetted their offending neighbours, and were so near to them that the intentions of parliament would be frustrated, unless they were in like manner comprehended in the proposed restraints. The extension of this penal statute, to three additional provinces, operated powerfully in favour of union, and convinced the most moderate, of the increasing necessity for all the provinces to make a common cause in their opposition. Whatever might be the designs of parliament, their acts had a natural tendency to enlarge the demands of the Americans, and to cement their confederacy, by firm principles of union. At first they only claimed exemption from internal taxation; but by the combination of the East India company and the British ministry, an external tax was made to answer all the purposes of a direct internal tax. They, therefore, in consistence with their own principles, were constrained to deny the right of taxing in any form for a supply. Nothing could contribute more to make the colonists deny the parliamentary claim of internal legislation, than the manner in which it was exercised, in depriving them of their charters, and passing an act relative to trials, which promised indemnity to murderers. This convinced them that an opposition to so injurious a claim was essentially necessary to their security. But they still admitted the power of parliament to bind their trade. This was conceded by Congress only a few months before an act passed, that they should have no foreign trade, nor be allowed to fish on their own coasts. The British ministry, by their successive acts, impelled the colonists, to believe, that while the mother country retained any authority over them, that authority would, in some shape or other, be exerted so as to answer all the purposes of a power to tax. While Great Britain stretched that portion of controlling supremacy which the colonists were disposed to allow her to such an extent as covered oppression equally grievous with that which they would not allow, the way was fast opening for a total renunciation of her sovereignty. The coercive measures adopted by the parent state, produced a disposition in the colonies to extend their claims: and the extension of their claims produced an increasing disposition in Great Britain to coerce them still more. The jealousy of liberty on one side, and the desire of supremacy on the other, were reciprocally cause and effect; and urged both parties, the one to rise in their demands, and the other to enforce submission. In the contest between Great Britain and her colonies, there had been a fatal progression from small to greater grounds of dissension. The trifling tax of 3d. per pound on tea, roused the jealous inhabitants of Boston to throw 340 chests of it into the ocean. This provoked the British parliament to shut up their port, and to new-model their charter. Statutes so unconstitutional and alarming, excited a combination in twelve of the colonies, to stop all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies. Their combination gave birth to the restraining

acts of parliament, by which nine of the colonies were interdicted all other trade but that from which they had voluntarily excluded themselves; and four of these nine were further devoted to famine, by being forbidden to fish on their own coasts.—Each new resolution on the one side, and new act on the other, reciprocally gave birth to something from the opposing parties, that was more irritating or oppressive, than what had preceded.

The beginning of strife, between the parent state and her colonies, was like the letting out of waters. From inconsiderable causes love was changed into suspicion, which gradually ripened into ill-will, and soon ended in hostility. Prudence, policy, and reciprocal interest, urged the expediency of concession; but pride, false honour, and misconceived dignity, drew in an opposite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which, under the influence of wisdom and humility, might have been easily compromised, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcilable breach. Flattered at length took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were substituted, in lieu of the benefits of commerce.

From the year 1768, in which a military force had been stationed in Boston, there was a constant succession of insulting words, looks and gestures. The inhabitants were exasperated against the soldiers, and they against the inhabitants. The former looked on the latter as the instruments of tyranny, and the latter on the former as seditious rioters, or fraudulent smugglers. In this irritable state, every incident, however trifling, made a sensible impression. The citizens apprehended constant danger from an armed force, in whose power they were. The soldiers, on the other hand, considered themselves in the midst of enemies, and exposed to attacks from within and from without. In proportion as the breach between Great Britain and her colonies widened, the distrust and animosity between the people and the army increased. From the latter end of 1774, hostile appearances daily threatened that the flames of war would be kindled from the collision of such inflammable materials. Whatsoever was done by either party by way of precaution, for the purposes of self-defence, was construed by the other as preparatory to an intended attack. Each disclaimed all intentions of commencing hostilities, but reciprocally manifested suspicion of the other's sincerity. As far as was practicable without an open rupture, the plans of the one were respectively thwarted by the other. From every appearance it became daily more evident that arms must ultimately decide the contest. To suffer an army that was soon expected to be an enemy, quietly to fortify themselves, when the inhabitants were both able and willing to cut them off appeared to some warm spirits the height of folly. But the prudence and moderation of others, and especially the advice and recommendation of Congress, restrained their impetuosity. It was a fortunate circumstance for the colonies that the royal army was posted at New England. The people of that northern country have their passions more under the command of reason and interest, than those in the southern latitudes, where a warmer sun excites a greater degree of irascibility. One rash offensive action against the royal forces at this early period, though successful, might have done great mischief to the cause of America. It would have lost them European friends, and weakened the disposition of the other colonies to assist them. The patient and the politic New England men, fully sensible of their situation, submitted to many insults, and bridled their resentments. In civil wars or revolutions it is a matter of much consequence who strikes the first blow. The compassion of the world is in favour of the attacked, and the displeasure of good men on those who are the first to imbrue their hands in human blood. For the space of nine months after the arrival of General Gage, the behaviour of the people of Boston is particularly worthy of imitation, by those who wish to overturn established governments.—They conducted their opposition with exquisite

address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserved peace and good order among themselves, successfully engaged the other colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted General Gage so effectually as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by patience and moderation they screened themselves from censure. Though resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.

Provisions were also collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, though zealous for his royal master's interest, discovered a prevailing desire of a peaceable accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. With this view he determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night, April 18th, 1775, 800 grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Common, landed at Phipps's farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Neither the secrecy with which this expedition was planned, the privacy with which the troops marched out, nor an order that no one in Concord should leave Boston, were sufficient to prevent intelligence from being sent to the country militia, of what was going forward. About two in the morning 130 of the Lexington militia had assembled to oppose them, but intelligence respecting the regulars being uncertain, they were dismissed, with orders to appear again at beat of drum. They collected a second time, to the number of 70, between four and five o'clock in the morning, of the 19th, and the British regulars soon afterwards reappeared. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up them and called out: "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body; on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a huzza. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence; but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals finding they were fired upon, began dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green. A few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two 24 pounders, threw 500 lb of ball into wells, and staved about sixty barrels of flour. Mr. John Buttrick, of Concord, major of a minute regiment, not knowing what had passed at Lexington, ordered his men not to give the first fire, that they might not be the aggressors. Upon his approaching near the regulars, they fired, and killed Captain Isaac Davis, and one private of the provincial minute men. The fire was returned, and a skirmish ensued. The king's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others who pouring in from all sides, fired from behind stone walls and such like coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of 900 men, under Lord Percy, which had been sent out by General Gage to support Lieutenant Colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance; but they continued a constant, though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen, put the regular troops into no small confusion; but they nevertheless kept up a brisk

retreating fire on the militia and minute men. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's-hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed the Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

There never were more than 400 provincials engaged at one time, and often not so many. As some tired and gave out, others came up and took their places. There was scarcely any discipline observed among them. Officers and privates fired when they were ready, or saw a royal uniform, without waiting for the word of command. Their knowledge of the country enabled them to gain opportunities by crossing fields and fences, and to act as flanking parties against the king's troops, who kept to the main road.

The regulars had sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the provincials fifty were killed, and thirty-eight wounded and missing.

As arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn in New England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of a single individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause. The blood of those who were killed at Lexington and Concord proved the firm cement of an extensive union.

To prevent the people within Boston from co-operating with their countrymen without, in case of an assault, which was now daily expected, General Gage agreed with a committee of the town, that upon the inhabitants lodging their arms in Faneuil hall, or any other convenient place, under the care of the selectmen, all such inhabitants as were inclined, might depart from the town, with their families and effects. In five days after the ratification of this agreement, the inhabitants lodged 1778 muskets, 634 pistols, 273 bayonets and 38 blunderbusses. The agreement was well observed in the beginning; but after a short time obstructions were thrown in the way of its final completion, on the plea that persons who went from Boston to bring in the goods of those who chose to continue within the town, were not properly treated. Congress remonstrated on the infraction of the agreement, but without effect. The general on a farther consideration of these consequences of moving the whigs out of Boston, evaded it in a manner not consistent with good faith. He was in some measure compelled to adopt this dishonourable measure, from the clamour of the tories, who alleged that none but enemies to the British government were disposed to remove, and that when they were all safe with their families and effects the town would be set on fire. To prevent the provincials from obtaining supplies which they much wanted, a quibble was made on the meaning of the word *effects* which was construed by the general as not including merchandise. By this construction, unwarranted by every rule of genuine interpretation, many who quitted the town were deprived of their usual resources for support. Passports were not universally refused, but were given out very slowly; and the business was so conducted that families were divided; wives were separated from their husbands; children from their parents; and the aged and infirm from their relations and friends. The general discovered a disinclination to part with the women and children, thinking that, on their account, the provincials would be restrained from making an assault on the town. The selectmen gave repeated assurances that the inhabitants had delivered up their arms; but, as a cover for violating the agreement, General Gage issued a proclamation, in which he asserted that he had a full proof to the contrary. A few might have secreted some favourite arms; but nearly all the training arms were delivered up. On this flimsy pretence the general sacrificed his honour to policy and the clamours of the tories. Contrary to good faith, he detained many, though fairly entitled by agreement to go out; and when

he admitted the departure of others, he would not allow them to remove their families and effects.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, despatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say: "These have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects, and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown and dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts, but the adjacent colonies, grasped their arms and marched to oppose them. The colonies were in such a state of irritability, that the least shock on any part was, by a powerful and sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt throughout the whole. The Americans who fell were revered by their countrymen, as martyrs who had died in the cause of liberty. Resentment against the British burned more strongly than ever. Marital rage took possession of the breasts of thousands. Combinations were formed, and associations subscribed, binding the inhabitants to one another by the sacred ties of honour, religion, and love of country, to do whatever their public bodies directed for the preservation of their liberties. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried only by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the colonies from hostile French and Indians, were on this occasion turned against the troops of the parent state. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for common services. Before the commencement of hostilities, these measures would have been condemned by the moderate even among the Americans; but that event justified a bolder line of opposition than had been adopted. Sundry citizens having been put to death by British troops, self preservation dictated measures which, if adopted under other circumstances, would have disunited the colonists. One of the most important of this kind was the raising an army. Men of warm tempers whose courage exceeded their prudence, had for months urged the necessity of raising troops; but they were restrained by the more moderate, who wished that the colonies might avoid extremities, or at least that they might not lead in bringing them on. The provincial congress of Massachusetts being in session at the time the battle of Lexington was fought, voted that "an army of 30,000 men be immediately raised; that 13,000 be of their own province; and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode Island." In consequence of this vote, the

business of recruiting was begun : and in a short time a provisional army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which, though far below what had been voted by the provincial congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to General Ward.

Had the British troops confined themselves to Boston, as before the 18th of April, the assembling an American army, though only for the purpose of observation and defence, would have appeared in the nature of a challenge; and would have made many less willing to support the people of Massachusetts; but after the British had commenced hostilities, the same measure was adopted without subjecting the authors of it to censure, and without giving offence or hazarding the union. The Lexington battle not only furnished the Americans with a justifying apology for raising an army, but inspired them with ideas of their own prowess. Amidst the most animated declarations of sacrificing fortune, and risking life itself for the security of American rights, a secret sigh would frequently escape from the breasts of her most determined friends, for fear that they could not stand before the bravery and discipline of British troops. Hoary sages would shake their heads, and say; "Your cause is good, and I wish you success: but I fear that your undisciplined valour must be overcome, in the unequal contest. After a few thousands of you have fallen, the provinces must ultimately bow to that power which has so repeatedly humbled France and Spain." So confident were the British of their superiority in arms, that they seemed desirous that the contest might be brought to a military decision. Some of the distinguished speakers in parliament had publicly asserted that the natives of America had nothing of the soldier in them, and that they were in no respect qualified to face a British army. European philosophers had published theories, setting forth that not only vegetables and beasts, but that even men degenerated in the western hemisphere. Departing from the spirit of true philosophy, they overlooked the state of society in the new world, and charged a comparative inferiority, on every production that was American. The colonists themselves had imbibed opinions from their forefathers, that no people on earth were equal to those with whom they were about to contend. Impressed with high ideas of British superiority, and diffident of themselves, their best-informed citizens, though willing to run all risks, feared the consequence of an appeal to arms. The success that attended their first military enterprise, in some degree banished these suggestions. Perhaps in no subsequent battle did the Americans appear to greater advantage than in their first essay at Lexington. It is almost without parallel in military history, for the yeomanry of a country to come forward in a single disjointed manner, without order, and for the most part without officers, and by an irregular fire, to put to flight troops equal in discipline to any in the world. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that Americans might effectually resist British troops. The diffident grew bold in their country's cause, and indulged in cheerful hopes that heaven would finally crown their labours with success.

Soon after the Lexington battle, and in consequence of that event, not only the arms, ammunition forts and fortifications in the colonies were secured for the use of the provincials: but regular forces were raised, and money struck for their support. These military arrangements were not confined to New England, but were general throughout the colonies. The determination of the king and parliament to enforce submission to their acts, and the news of the Lexington battle, came to the distant provinces nearly about the same time. It was supposed by many that the latter was in consequence of the former, and that General Gage had recent orders to proceed immediately to subdue the refractory colonies.

From a variety of circumstances the Americans had good reason to conclude that hostilities would

soon be carried on vigorously in Massachusetts, and also to apprehend that, sooner or later, each province would be the theatre of war. "The more speedily therefore," said they, "we are prepared for that event, the better chance we have for defending ourselves." Previous to this period, or rather to the 19th April, 1775, the dispute had been carried on by the pen, or at most by associations and legislative acts; but from this time forward it was conducted by the sword. The crisis was arrived when the colonies had no alternative, but either to submit to the mercy, or to resist the power of Great Britain. An unconquerable love of liberty could not brook the idea of submission; while reason, more temperate in her decisions, suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprized of the power of Britain; they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag waved in triumph through the four quarters of the globe; but the animated language of the time was, "It is better to die freemen, than to live slaves." Though the justice of their cause and the inspiration of liberty gave, in the opinion of disinterested judges, a superiority to the writings of Americans, yet in the latter mode of conducting their opposition, the candid among themselves acknowledged an inferiority. Their form of government was deficient in that decision, despatch and coercion, which are necessary to military operations.

Europeans, from their being generally unacquainted with fire arms, are less easily taught the use of them than Americans, who are from their youth familiar with these instruments of war; yet on other accounts they are more susceptible of military habits. The proportion of necessitous men in the new world is small compared with that in the old.

To procure subsistence is a powerful motive with an European to enlist; and the prospect of losing it makes him afraid to neglect his duty; but these incitements to the punctual discharge of military services, are wanting in America. In old countries the distinction of ranks and the submission of inferiors to superiors, generally takes place; but in the new world, an extreme sense of liberty and equality indisposes to that implicit obedience which is the soul of an army. The same causes which nurtured a spirit of independence in the colonies were hostile to their military arrangements. It was not only from the different state of society in the two countries, but from a variety of local causes, that the Americans were not able to contend in arms, on equal terms, with their parent state. From the first settlement of the British colonies, agriculture and commerce, but especially the former, had been the favourite pursuits of their inhabitants. War was a business abhorrent from their usual habits of life. They had never engaged in it from their own motion, nor in any other mode than as appendages to British troops, and under British establishments. By these means the military spirit of the colonies had had no opportunity of expanding itself. At the commencement of hostilities, the British troops possessed a knowledge of the science and discipline of war, which could be acquired only by a long series of application, and substantial establishments. Their equipments, their artillery, and every other part of their apparatus for war approached perfection. To these important circumstances was added a high national spirit of pride, which had been greatly augmented by their successes in their last contest with France and Spain. On the other hand the Americans were undisciplined, without experienced officers, and without the shadow of military establishments. In the wars which had been previously carried on, in or near the colonies, the provincials had been, by their respective legislatures, frequently added to the British troops: but the pride of the latter would not consider the former, who were without uniformity of dress, or the pertness of military airs, to be their equals. The provincial troops were therefore for the most part, assigned to services which, though laborious, were not honourable.

The ignorance of British generals commanding in the woods of America, sometimes involved them in difficulties from which they had been more than once relieved by the superior local knowledge of the colonial troops. These services were soon forgotten: and the moment the troops who performed them could be spared they were disbanded. Such like obstacles had hitherto depressed military talents in America; but they were now overcome by the ardour of the people.

In the year 1775, a martial spirit pervaded all ranks of men in the colonies. They believed their liberties to be in danger, and were generally disposed to risk their lives for their establishment. Their ignorance of the military art, prevented their weighing the chances of war with that exactness of calculation, which, if indulged, might have damped their hopes. They conceived that there was little more to do than fight manfully for their country. They consoled themselves with the idea, that though their first attempt might be unsuccessful, their numbers would admit of a repetition of the experiment, till the invaders were finally exterminated. Not considering, that in modern wars the longest purse decides oftener than the longest sword, they feared not the wealth of Britain. They both expected and wished that the whole dispute would be speedily settled in a few decisive engagements. Elevated with the love of liberty, and buoyed above the fear of consequences, by an ardent military enthusiasm, unabated by calculations about the extent, duration, or probable issue of the war, the people of America seconded the voice of their rulers, in an appeal to heaven for the vindication of their rights. At the time the colonies adopted these spirited resolutions, they possessed not a single ship of war, nor so much as an armed vessel of any kind. It had often been suggested that their seaport towns lay at the mercy of the navy of Great Britain; this was both known and believed, but disregarded. The love of property was absorbed in the love of liberty. The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature, consoled themselves with the idea that though their whole sea coast should be laid in ashes, they could retire to the western wilderness, and enjoy the luxury of being free; on this occasion it was observed in Congress, by Christopher Gadsden, one of the South Carolina delegates: "Our houses being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed, may be rebuilt; but liberty once gone is lost for ever."

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate the fervid zeal of the patriots of 1775 and 1776, who in idea sacrificed property in the cause of liberty, with the ease that they now sacrifice almost every other consideration for the acquisition of property.

The revenues of Britain were immense; and her people were habituated to the payment of large sums in every form which contributions to government have assumed. But the American colonies possessed neither money nor funds; nor were their people accustomed to taxes equal to the exigencies of war. The contest having begun about taxation, to have raised money by taxes for carrying it on, would have been impolitic. The temper of the times precluded the necessity of attempting the dangerous expedient; for such was the enthusiasm of the day, that the colonists gave up both their personal services and their property to the public, on the vague promises that they should at a future time be reimbursed. Without inquiring in the solidity of funds, or the precise period of payment, the resources of the country were demanded on general assurances, that all expenses of the war should ultimately be equalized. The parent state abounded with experienced statesmen and officers; but the dependent form of government exercised in the colonies, precluded their citizens from gaining that practical knowledge which is acquired from being at the head of public departments. There were very few in the colonies who understood the business of providing for an army, and still fewer who had experience

and knowledge to direct its operations. The disposition of the finances of the country, and the most effectual mode of drawing forth its resources, were subjects with which scarce any of the inhabitants were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were almost wholly deficient; and though the country abounded with the materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was neither time nor artists enough to supply an army with the means of defence. The country was destitute both of fortifications and engineers. Amidst so many discouragements, there were some flattering circumstances. The war could not be carried on by Great Britain, but at a great disadvantage, and at immense expense. It was easy for ministers, at St. James's, to plan campaigns: but hard was the task of the officer, from whom the execution, of them, in the woods of America, was expected. The country was so extensive, and abounded so much with Jeffries, that, by evacuating and retreating, the Americans, though they could not conquer, yet might save themselves from being conquered. The authors of the acts of Parliament, for restraining the trade of the colonies, were most excellent recruiting officers for Congress. They imposed a necessity on thousands to become soldiers. All other business being suspended, the whole resources of the country were applied in supporting an army. Though the colonists were without discipline, they possessed native valour. Though they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine, in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper, for upwards of two years, produced to them more solid advantages, than Spain derived from her superabounding precious metals. Though they had no ships to protect their trade or their towns, they had simplicity enough to live without the former, and enthusiasm enough to risk the latter: rather than submit to the power of Britain. They believed their cause to be just, and that heaven approved their exertions in defence of their rights. Zeal originating from such motives, supplied the place of discipline; and inspired a confidence and military ardour, which overleaped all difficulties.

Resistance being resolved upon by the Americans, the pulpit, the press, the bench and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers.—They connected religion and patriotism; and in their sermons and prayers, represented the cause of America, as the cause of heaven. The synod of New York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct, as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers; and, next to them, had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen.—Gentlemen, of the bench and of the bar, denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonists. A distinction founded on law, between the king and his ministry, was introduced. The former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name, to varnish their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a ministerial war became common; and was used, as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

Coeval with the resolutions for organizing an army, was one appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer to Almighty God; "to bless their rightful sovereign King George; and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects; that the British nation might be influenced, to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes; that the colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind providence, and be prospered in all their interests: that America might soon behold a gracious interposition of heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded right, a reconciliation with the pa-

rent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both."^{*} The forces which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places, for guarding the country, from farther excursions of the regulars from Boston. Breast-works were also erected in different places, for the same purpose. While both parties were attempting to carry off stock from the several islands, with, which the bay of Boston is agreeably diversified, sundry skirmishes took place. These were of real service to the Americans. They habituated them to danger; and, perhaps, much of the courage of old soldiers, is derived from an experimental conviction, that the chance of escaping unhurt from engagements, is much greater than young recruits suppose.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, arrived about the same time. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision; but before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms, to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore offered pardon, in the king's name, to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties: excepting only from the benefit of that pardon, "Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature, to admit of any other consideration, than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed, that not only the persons above-named and excepted, but also, all their adherents, associates, and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion; and treated accordingly. By this proclamation, it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." It was supposed that this proclamation was a prelude to hostilities; and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. A considerable height, by the name of Bunker's hill, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence, to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thousand men should intrench upon this height. By some mistake, Breed's hill, high and large like the other, but situated nearer Boston, was marked out for the intrenchments, instead of Bunker's hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's hill: and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning, they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on, from the sight of the works, nearly completed, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness; and, though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breast-work extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, General Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon, there-

fore, he detached Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, with the flower of his army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's point, and formed after landing; but remained in that position, till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole nearly 3000 men. While the troops, who first landed, were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines, at a small distance from each other; and filled the space between with hay, which, having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown. These were not given, because they were fired upon from the houses in that town, but from the military policy of depriving enemies of a cover in their approaches. In a short time, this ancient town, consisting of about 500 buildings, chiefly of wood, was in one great blaze. The lofty steeple of the meeting house formed a pyramid of fire above the rest, and struck the astonished eyes of numerous beholders, with a magnificent but awful spectacle. In Boston, the heights of every kind were covered with the citizens, and such of the king's troops, as were not on duty. The hills around the adjacent country, which afforded a safe and distinct view, were occupied by the inhabitants of the country.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops, beat high in the breasts of many: while others, with a keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on slowly; which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general reserved themselves, till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods; but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them, and pushed them forward with their swords; but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The Americans again reserved their fire, till their adversaries were near; and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were again successful: though the soldiers discovered a great aversion to going on. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire. The British then brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breast-works from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled; the soldiers in their rear were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances, a retreat from it was ordered: but the provincials delayed and made resistance with their discharged muskets, as if they had been clubs, so long, that the king's troops, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt, before it was given up to them.

While these operations were going on at the breast-work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials reserved their fire, till their adversaries were near; and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in a direction so true, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's

^{*} Since the fast of the Ninevites, recorded in sacred writ, perhaps there has not been one, which was more generally kept, with suitable dispositions, than that of July 20, 1775. It was no formal service. The whole body of the people felt the importance, the weight and the danger of the unequal contest, in which they were about to engage; that every thing dear to them was at stake; and that a divine blessing only could carry them through it successfully. This blessing they implored with their whole souls, poured forth in ardent supplications, issuing from hearts deeply penetrated with a sense of their unworthiness, their dependence and danger; and at the same time, impressed with an humble confidence, in the mercies and goodness of that Being, who had planted and preserved them hitherto, amid many dangers, in the wilderness of a new world.

troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new dangers; for, it could not be effected, but by marching over Charlestown neck; every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. The incessant fire kept up across this neck, prevented any considerable reinforcement from joining their countrymen who were engaged; but the few who fell on their retreat, over the same ground, proved that the apprehensions of those provincial officers, who declined passing over to succour their companions, were without any solid foundation.

The number of Americans engaged, amounted only to 1500. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to American head quarters at Cambridge; but they advanced no farther than Bunker's hill. There they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same, on Prospect hill, in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack; and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans; and the great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. Their have been few battles in modern wars, in which, all circumstances considered, there was a greater destruction of men, than in this short engagement. The loss of the British, as acknowledged by General Gage, amounted to 1051. Nineteen commissioned officers were killed and 70 more were wounded. The battle of Quebec, in 1759, which gave Great Britain the province of Canada, was not so destructive to British officers, as this affair of a slight intrenchment, the work only of a few hours. That the officers suffered so much, must be imputed to their being aimed at. None of the provincials in this engagement were rifle men: but, they were all good marksmen. The whole of their previous military knowledge had been derived from hunting, and the ordinary amusements of sportsmen. The dexterity which, by long habit, they had acquired in hitting beast, birds, and marks, was fatally applied to the destruction of British officers. From their fall, much confusion was expected. They were therefore particularly singled out. Most of those, who were near the person of General Howe, were either killed or wounded: but the general, though he greatly exposed himself, was unhurt. The light infantry and grenadiers lost three-fourths of their men. Of one company, not more than five, and of another, not more than fourteen escaped. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such, as wiped away the reproach of cowardice, which had been cast on them, by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers, merited and obtained great applause: but, the provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of the fame, for having made the utmost exertions of their adversaries necessary, to dislodge them from lines, which were the work only of a single night.

The Americans lost five pieces of cannon. Their killed amounted to one hundred and thirty-nine; their wounded and missing to three hundred and fourteen. Thirty of the former fell into the hands of the conquerors. They particularly regretted the death of General Warren. To the purest patriotism and most undaunted bravery, he added the virtues of domestic life, the eloquence of an accomplished orator, and the wisdom of an able statesman. A regard to the liberty of his country only, induced him to oppose the measures of government. He aimed not at a separation from, but a coalition with the mother country. He took an active part in defence of his country; not that he might be applauded, and rewarded for a patriotic spirit; but, because he was, in the best sense of the word, a real patriot. Having no interested or personal views to answer, the friends of liberty confided in his integrity. The soundness of his judgment, and his abilities as a public speaker, enabled him to make a distinguished figure in public councils: but, his intrepidity and active zeal,

induced his countrymen to place him in the military line. Within four days after he was appointed a major general, he fell a noble sacrifice to a cause, which he had espoused from the purest principles. Like Hampden he lived, and like Hampden he died; universally beloved, and universally regretted. His many virtues were celebrated in an elegant eulogium, written by Dr. Rush, in language, equal to the illustrious subject.

The burning of Charlestown, though a place of great trade, did not discourage the provincials. It excited resentment and execration; but not any disposition to submit. Such was the high-toned state of the public mind, and so great the indifference of property, when put in competition with liberty, that military conflagrations, though they distressed and impoverished, had no tendency to subdue the colonists. They might answer in the old world: but were not calculated for the new, where the war was undertaken, not for a change of masters, but for securing essential rights. The action at Breed's-hill or Bunker's hill, as it has been commonly called, produced many and very important consequences. It taught the British so much respect for the Americans, intrenched behind works, that their subsequent operations were retarded with a caution, that wasted away a whole campaign, to very little purpose. It added to the confidence the Americans began to have in their own abilities; but inferences, very injurious to the future interests of America, were drawn from the good conduct of the new troops, on the memorable day. It inspired some of the leading members of Congress, with such high ideas of what might be done by militia, or men engaged for a short term of enlistment, that it was long before they assented to the establishment of a permanent army. Not distinguishing the continued exertions of an army, through a series of years, from the gallant efforts of the yeomanry of the country, led directly to action, they were slow in admitting the necessity of permanent troops. They conceived the country might be defended, by the occasional exertions of her sons, without the expense and danger of an army, engaged for the war. In the progress of hostilities, as will appear in the sequel, the militia lost much of their first ardour; while leading men in the councils of America, trusting to its continuance, neglected the proper time of recruiting, for a series of years. From the want of perseverance in the militia, and the want of a disciplined standing army, the cause for which arms were at first taken up, was more than once brought to the brink of destruction.

CHAPTER IX.

The second Congress meets; organizes a regular Continental Army: makes sundry public addresses: petitions the King, &c. Transactions in Massachusetts.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, previous to its dissolution, on the 26th of October, 1774, recommended to the colonies, to choose members for another; to meet on the 10th of May, 1775; unless the redress of grievances was previously obtained. A circular letter had been addressed by lord Dartmouth, to the several colonial governors, requesting their interference, to prevent the meeting of this second congress; but ministerial requisitions had lost their influence. Delegates were elected, not only for the twelve colonies, that were before represented, but also for the parish of St. John's, in Georgia; and, in July following, for the whole province. The time of the meeting of this second congress, was fixed at so distant a day, that an opportunity might be afforded for obtaining information of the plans adopted by the British parliament in the winter of 1774, 1775. Had these been favourable, the delegates would either not have met, or dispersed after a short session: but as the resolution was then fixed, to compel the submission of the colonies, and hostilities had already commenced the meeting of

Congress, on the tenth of May, which was at first eventual, became fixed.

On their meeting, they chose Peyton Randolph, for their president, and Charles Thompson, for their secretary. On the next day Mr. Hancock laid before them a variety of depositions, proving, that the king's troops were the aggressors, in the late battle at Lexington, together with sundry papers relative to the great events, which had lately taken place in Massachusetts. Whereupon Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America. They proceeded in the same line of moderation and firmness, which marked the acts of their predecessors in the past year.

The city and county of New York, having applied to Congress, for advice how they should conduct themselves with regard to the troops they expected to land there: they were advised, "to act on the defensive, so long as might be consistent with their safety; to permit the troops to remain in the barracks, so long as they behaved peaceably: but not to suffer fortifications to be erected, or any steps to be taken for cutting off the communication between the town and country." Congress also resolved: "That exportation to all parts of British America, which had not adopted their association, should immediately cease;" and that, "no provision of any kind, or other necessities, be furnished to the British fisheries, on the American coasts;" and, "that no bill of exchange, draft, or order, of any officer in the British army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied them, by any person in America; that no provisions or necessities of any kind, be furnished or supplied, to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts Bay; that no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America, to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessities." These resolutions may be considered as the counterpart of the British acts for restraining the commerce, and prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies. They were calculated to bring distress on the British islands, in the West Indies; whose chief dependence for subsistence, was on the importation of provisions from the American continent. They also occasioned new difficulties in the support of the British army and fisheries. The colonists were so much indebted to Great Britain, that government bills for the most part found among them a ready market. A war in the colonies was therefore made subservient to commerce, by increasing the sources of resistance. This enabled the mother country, in a great degree, to supply her troops without shipping money out of the kingdom. From the operation of these resolutions, advantages of this nature were not only cut off, but the supply of the British army was rendered both precarious and expensive. In consequence of the interdiction of the American fisheries, great profits were expected, by British adventurers, in that line. Such frequently found it most convenient to obtain supplies in America, for carrying on their fisheries: but, as Great Britain had deprived the colonists of all benefits from that quarter, they now, in their turn, interdicted all supplies from being furnished to British fishermen. To obviate this unexpected embarrassment, several of the vessels employed in this business, were obliged to return home to bring out provisions, for their associates. These restrictive resolutions were not so much the effect of resentment, as of policy. The colonists conceived that by distressing the British commerce, they would increase the number of those who would interest themselves in their behalf.

The new congress had convened but a few days, when their venerable president, Peyton Randolph, was under the necessity of returning home. On his departure, John Hancock, who had lately been proscribed, by General Gage, was unanimously chosen his successor. The objects of deliberation, presented to this new congress, were, if pos-

sible, more important than those which, in the preceding year, had engaged the attention of their predecessors. The colonists had now experienced the inefficacy of those measures, from which relief had been formerly obtained. They found a new parliament disposed to run all risks in compelling their submission. They also understood, that administration was united against them, and its members firmly established in their places. Hostilities were commenced. Reinforcements had arrived; and more were daily expected. Added to this, they had information, that their adversaries had taken measures to secure the friendship and co-operation of the Indians and Canadians.

The coercion of the colonists being resolved upon, and their conquest supposed to be inevitable, the British ministry judged, that it would be for the interest of both countries, to proceed in that vigorous course, which promised the speediest attainment of their object. They hoped, by pressing the colonists on all quarters, to intimidate opposition, and ultimately to lessen the effusion of human blood.

In this awful crisis, Congress had only a choice of difficulties. The New England states had already organized an army, and blockaded General Gage. To desert them would have been contrary to plighted faith, and to sound policy: to support them, would make the war general, and involve all the provinces in one general promiscuous state of hostility. The resolution of the people in favour of the latter was fixed; and only wanted public sanction for its operation. Congress therefore resolved: "that for the express purpose of defending and securing the colonies and preserving them in safety, against all attempts to carry the late acts of parliament into execution by force of arms, they be immediately put in a state of defence: but, as they wished for a restoration of the harmony, formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." To resist, and to petition, were coeval resolutions. As freemen, they could not tamely submit: but as loyal subjects, wishing for peace as far as was compatible with their rights, they once more in the character of petitioners, humbly stated their grievances, to the common father of the empire. To dissuade the Canadians from co-operating with the British, they again addressed them: representing the pernicious tendency of the Quebec act, and apologizing for their taking Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, as measures which were dictated by the great law of self-preservation.

About the same time, Congress took measures for warding off the danger, that threatened their frontier inhabitants from the Indians. Commissioners to treat with them, were appointed: and a supply of goods for their use was ordered. A talk was also prepared by Congress, and transmitted to them, in which the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was explained in a familiar Indian style. They were told, that they had no concern in the family quarrel; and were urged by the ties of ancient friendship, and a common birth place, to remain at home; keep their hatchet buried deep; and to join neither party.

The novel situation of Massachusetts, made it necessary for the ruling powers of that province, to ask the advice of Congress, on a very interesting subject: "the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." For many months they had been kept together, in tolerable peace and order, by the force of ancient habits; under the simple style of recommendation and advice from popular bodies, invested with no legislative authority. But, as war now raged in their borders, and a numerous army was actually raised, some more efficient form of government became necessary. At this early day, it neither comported with the wishes, nor the designs of the colonists, to erect forms of government independent of Great Britain. Congress, therefore, recommended only such regulations, as were immedi-

ately necessary: and these were conformed, as near as possible, to the spirit and substance of the charter; and were only to last, till a governor, of his majesty's appointment, would consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

On the same principles of necessity, another assumption of new powers became unavoidable. The great intercourse that daily took place throughout the colonies, pointed out the propriety of establishing a general post-office. This was accordingly done; and Dr. Franklin who, had by royal authority, been dismissed from a similar employment about three years before, was appointed by his country, the head of the new department.

While Congress was making arrangements for their proposed continental army, it was thought expedient, once more to address the inhabitants of Great Britain and to publish to the world a declaration setting forth their reasons for taking up arms: to address the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, and the inhabitants of Ireland; and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king. In their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, they again vindicated themselves, from the charge of aiming at independency; professed their willingness to submit to the several acts of trade and navigation, which were passed before the year 1763; recapitulated their reasons for rejecting lord North's conciliatory motion; stated the hardships they suffered, from the operations of the royal army in Boston; and insinuated the danger that the inhabitants of Britain would be in, of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued.

In their declaration, setting forth their causes and necessity of their taking up arms, they enumerated the injuries they had received, and the methods taken by the British ministry to compel their submission; and then said: "we are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." They asserted "that foreign assistance was undoubtedly attainable." This was not founded on any private information, but was an opinion derived from their knowledge of the principles of policy, by which states usually regulate their conduct towards each other.

In their address to the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, they dilated on the arbitrary systems of the British ministry; and informed them, that in order to obtain a redress of their grievances, they had appealed to the justice, humanity, and interest, of Great Britain. They stated, that to make their schemes of non-importation and non-exportation, produce the desired effects, they were obliged to extend them to the islands. "From that necessity, and from that alone, said they, our conduct has proceeded." They concluded with saying: "the peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance; but we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind, we shall always derive consolation."

In their address to the people of Ireland, they recapitulated their grievances; stated their humble petitions, and the neglect with which they had been treated. "In defence of our persons and properties under actual violations," said they, "we have taken up arms. When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also."

These several addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favour of the American cause, than any other of their productions. This was in a great measure carried through Congress by Mr. Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the colonies, were of opinion, that farther petitions were nugatory:

but this, worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the expediency and policy of trying, once more, the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities, induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labour lost. The petition agreed upon, was the work of Mr. Dickinson's pen. In this among other things, it was stated: "That, notwithstanding their sufferings, they had retained too high a regard for the kingdom, from which they derived their origin, to request such a reconciliation, as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity and welfare. Attached to his majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society; and deploring every event that tended, in any degree, to weaken them, they not only most fervently desired the former harmony, between her and the colonies, to be restored, but that a concord might be established between them, upon so firm a basis, as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations, in both countries. They, therefore, besought, that his majesty would be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." By this last clause, Congress meant, that the mother country should propose a plan for establishing by compact, something like Magna Charta, for the colonies. They did not aim at a total exemption from the control of parliament; nor were they unwilling to contribute in their own way, to the expenses of government: but they feared the horrors of war less than submission to unlimited parliamentary supremacy. They desired an amicable compact, in which doubtful, undefined points should be ascertained, so as to secure that proportion of authority and liberty, which would be for the general good of the whole empire. They fancied themselves in the condition of the barons at Runnymede; with this difference, that, in addition to opposing the king, they had also to oppose the parliament. This difference was more nominal than real; for, in the latter case, the king and parliament stood precisely in the same relation to the people of America, which subsisted in the former, between the king and people of England. In both, popular leaders were contending with the sovereign, for the privileges of subjects.

This well-meant petition was presented on September 1st, 1775, by Mr. Penn, and Mr. Lee; and, on the 4th, lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it, no answer would be given." This slight contributed, not a little, to the union and perseverance of the colonists. When pressed by the calamities of war, a doubt would sometimes arise, in the minds of scrupulous persons, that they had been too hasty in their opposition to the protecting, parent state. To such, it was usual to present the second petition of Congress to the king: observing thereon, that all the blood, and all the guilt of the war, must be charged on British, and not the American counsels. Though the colonists were accused, in a speech from the throne, as meaning only "to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to their king, while they were preparing for a general revolt; and that their rebellious war was manifestly carried on, for the purpose of establishing an independent empire:" yet, at that time, and for months after a redress of grievances was their ultimate aim. Conscious of this intention, and assenting, in the sincerity of their souls, to the submissive language of their petition, they illy brooked the contempt, with which their joint supplication was treated; and still worse, that they should be charged from the throne, with studied duplicity.

Nothing contributes more to the success of

revolutions, than moderation. Intemperate zealots overshoot their object, and soon spend their force; while the calm and dispassionate persevere to the end. The bulk of the people, in civil commotions, are influenced to a choice of sides, by the general complexion of the measures adopted by the respective parties. When these appear to be dictated by justice and prudence, and to be uninfluenced by passion, ambition, or avarice, they are disposed to favour them. Such was the effect of this second petition, through a long and trying war, in which, men of serious reflection were often called upon to examine the rectitude of their conduct.

Though the refusal of an answer, to this renewed application of Congress to the king, was censured by numbers in Great Britain, as well as in the colonies; yet, the partizans of the ministry vanished the measure, as proper and expedient. They contended, that the petition, as it contained no offers of submission, was unavailing, as a ground work of negotiation. Nothing was farther from the thoughts of Congress, than such concessions as were expected in Great Britain. They conceived themselves more sinned against than sinning. They claimed a redress of grievances, as a matter of right: but were persuaded, that concessions, for this purpose, were acts of justice, and not of humiliation; and therefore, could not be disgraceful to those by whom they were made. To prevent future altercations, they wished for an amicable compact, to ascertain the extent of parliamentary supremacy. The mother country wished for absolute submission to her authority; the colonists, for a repeal of every act, that imposed taxes, or that interfered in their internal legislation. The ministry of England, being determined not to repeal these acts, and the congress equally determined not to submit to them; the claims of the two countries were so wide from each other as to afford no reasonable ground to expect a compromise. It was, therefore, concluded, that any notice taken of the petition would only afford an opportunity for the colonies to prepare themselves for the last extremity.

A military opposition to the armies of Great Britain, being resolved upon by the colonies, it became an object of consequence to fix on a proper person to conduct that opposition. Many of the colonists had titles of high rank in the militia, and several had seen something of real service, in the late war between France and England: but there was no individual of such superior military experience, as to entitle him to a decided pre-eminence; or even to qualify him, on that ground, to contend, on equal terms, with the British masters of the art of war. In elevating one man, by the free voice of an invaded country, to the command of thousands of his equal fellow citizens, no consideration was regarded but the interest of the community. To bind the uninvaded provinces more closely to the common cause, policy directed the views of Congress to the south.

Among the southern colonies, Virginia, for numbers, wealth, and influence, stood pre-eminent. To attach so respectable a colony to the aid of Massachusetts, by selecting from it a commander in chief, was not less warranted by the great military genius of one of its distinguished citizens, than dictated by sound policy. George Washington was, by an unanimous vote, appointed commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies. It was a fortunate circumstance attending his election, that it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy. That same general impulse on the public mind, which led the colonists to agree in many other particulars, pointed to him as the most proper person for presiding over the military arrangements of America. Not only Congress, but the inhabitants, in the east and the west, in the north and the south, as well before as at the time of embodying a continental army, were in a great degree unanimous in his favour.

General Washington was born on the 22d of February, 1732. His education favoured the production of a solid mind, and a vigorous body.

Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country, the wholesome toils of the chase, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual, graceful and well proportioned size. His youth was spent in the acquisition of useful knowledge, and in pursuits, tending to the improvement of his fortune, or the benefit of his country. Fitted more for active, than for speculative life, he devoted the greater portion of his time to the latter: but this was amply compensated by his being frequently in such situations, as called forth the powers of his mind, and strengthened them by repeated exercise. Early in life, in obedience to his country's call, he entered the military line, and began his career of fame, in opposing that power, in concert with whose troops, he acquired his last and most distinguished honours. He was aid-de-camp to General Braddock in 1755; when that unfortunate officer was killed. He was eminently serviceable in covering the retreat, and saving the remains of the routed army. For three years after the defeat of Braddock, George Washington was commander in chief of the forces of Virginia, against the incursions of the French and Indians, from the Ohio. He continued in service, till the reduction of Fort Duquesne, 1758, gave peace to the frontiers of his native colony, Virginia. Soon after that event, he retired to his estate, Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomac, and with great industry and success pursued the arts of peaceful life.

When the proceedings of the British parliament alarmed the colonists with apprehensions, that a blow was levelled at their liberties, he again came forward into public view, and was appointed a delegate to the congress, which met in September, 1774. Possessed of a large proportion of common sense and directed by a sound judgment, he was better fitted for the exalted station to which he was called, than many others, who, to a greater brilliancy of parts, frequently add the eccentricity of original genius. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most proper method of accomplishing proposed objects. His passions were subdued and kept in subjection to reason. His soul, superior to party spirit, to prejudice, and illiberal views, moved according to the impulses it received from an honest heart, a good understanding, common sense and a sound judgment. He was habituated to view things on every side to consider them in all relations, and to trace the possible and probable consequences of proposed measures. Much addicted to close thinking, his mind was constantly employed. By frequent exercise, his understanding and judgment expanded, so as to be able to discern truth, and to know what was proper to be done, in the most difficult conjunctures.

Soon after General Washington was appointed commander in chief, four major generals, one adjutant general, with the rank of a brigadier, and eight brigadier generals, were appointed, in subordination to him; who were as follows:

Maj. Generals.	Brig. Generals.
1st, Artemas Ward.	1st, Seth Pomeroy.
2d, Charles Lee.	2d, Richard Montgomery.
3d, Philip Schuyler.	3d, David Wooster.
4th, Israel Putnam.	4th, William Heath.
	5th, Joseph Spencer.
Adj. General,	6th, John Thomas.
Horatio Gates.	7th, John Sullivan.
	8th, Nath. Greene.

General Washington replied, to the president of Congress, announcing his appointment, in the following words:

Mr. President,

"Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me, in this appointment, yet, I feel great distress from a consciousness, that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However as the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks, for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

A special commission was drawn up, and presented to him, and at the same time, a unanimous resolution was adopted by Congress: "that they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty." Instructions were also given him for his government, by which, after reciting various particulars, he was directed: "to destroy or make prisoners, of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear in arms against the good people of the colonies." The whole was summed up in authorising him, "to order and dispose of the army under his command, as might be most advantageous for obtaining the end, for which it had been raised; making it his special care, in discharge of the great trust committed to him, that the liberties of America received no detriment." About the same time, twelve companies of riflemen were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The men, to the amount of 1430, were procured, and forwarded with great expedition. They had to march from 4 to 760 miles; and yet, the whole business was completed, and they joined the American army at Cambridge, in less than two months, from the day on which the first resolution for raising them was agreed to.

Coeval with the resolution for raising an army, was another for emitting a sum, not exceeding two million of dollars, in bills of credit, for the defence of America; and the colonies were pledged for their redemption. This sum was increased from time to time by farther emissions. The colonies, having neither money nor revenue at their command, were forced to adopt this expedient: the only one which was in their power for supporting an army. No one delegate opposed the measure. So great had been the credit of the former emissions of paper, in the greater part of the colonies, that every few at that time foresaw or apprehended the consequences of unfunded paper emissions: but had all the consequences which resulted from this measure, in the course of the war, been foreseen, it must, notwithstanding, have been adopted; for it was a less evil, than there should be a general wreck of property, than that the essential rights and liberties of a growing country should be lost. A happy ignorance of future events, combined with the ardour of the times, prevented many reflections on this subject, and gave credit and circulation to these bills of credit.

General Washington, soon after his appointment to the command of the American army, set out for the camp, at Cambridge. On his way thither, he was treated with the highest honours, in every place through which he passed. Large detachments of volunteers, composed of private gentlemen, turned out to escort him.

On his arrival at Cambridge, July 2d, 1775, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. At the head of his troops, he published a declaration, previously drawn up by Congress, in the nature of a manifesto, setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. In this, after enumerating various grievances of the colonies, and vindicating them from a premeditated design, of establishing independent states, it was added: "In our own native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the industry of our forefathers, and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms; we shall

lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed, shall be removed, and not before."

When General Washington joined the American army, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copse's hill, and were strongly fortified on the neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter hill, Prospect hill, and Roxbury communicating with one another by small posts over a distance of ten miles. There were also parties stationed in several towns, along the sea coast. They had neither engineers to plan suitable works, nor sufficient tools for their erection.

In the American camp, was collected a large body of men: but without those conveniences, which ancient establishments have introduced for the comfort of regular armies. Instead of tents, sails, (now rendered useless by the obstructions of commerce,) were applied for their covering: but, even of them, there was not a sufficiency. The American soldiers, having joined the camp, in all that variety of clothing, which they used in their daily labour, were without uniformity of dress. To abolish provincial distinctions, the hunting shirt was introduced. They were also without those heads of departments, in the line of commissaries, or quartermasters, which are necessary for the regular and economical supply of armies. Individuals, brought to camp their own provisions, on their own horses. In some parts committees of supplies, were appointed, who purchased necessities at public expense, sent them on to camp, and distributed them to such as were in want, without any regularity or system. The country afforded provisions; and nothing more was wanting, than proper systems for their collection, and distribution. Other articles, though equally necessary, were almost wholly deficient; and could not be procured, but with difficulty. On the 4th of August, the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines, of the four New England provinces, would make little more than nine rounds a man. The continental army remained in this destitute condition, for a fortnight or more. This was generally known among themselves, and was also communicated to the British, by a deserter: but they, suspecting a plot, would not believe it. A supply of a few tons was sent on to them from the committee of Elizabethtown: but this was done privately, lest the adjacent inhabitants, who were equally destitute, should stop it for their own use. The public rulers in Massachusetts issued a recommendation to the inhabitants, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark; in order that they might husband their little stock, for the more necessary purposes of shooting men. A supply of several thousand pounds weight of powder, was soon after obtained from Africa, in exchange for New England rum. This was managed with so much address, that every ounce for sale in the British Forts on the African coasts, was purchased up, and brought off for the use of the Americans.

Embarrassments, from various quarters, occurred in the formation of a continental army. The appointment of general officers, made by Congress, was not satisfactory. Enterprising leaders had come forward, with their followers, on the commencement of hostilities, without scrupulous attention to rank. When these were all blended together, it was impossible to assign to every officer the station which his services merited, or his vanity demanded. Materials for a good army were collected. The husbandmen who flew to arms, were active, zealous, and of unquestionable courage: but to introduce discipline and subordination, among freemen who were habituated to think for themselves, was an arduous labour.

The want of system and of union under proper heads, pervaded every department. From the circumstance, that the persons employed in providing necessities for the army were unconnected with each other, much waste and unnecessary

delays were occasioned. The troops of the different colonies came into service, under variant establishments. Some were enlisted with the express condition of choosing their officers. The rations furnished by the local legislatures, varied both as to quantity, quality, and price. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials, and to subject the licentiousness of independent freemen to the control of military discipline, was a delicate and difficult business.

The continental army, put under the command of General Washington, amounted to 14,500 men. These had been so judiciously stationed around Boston as to confine the British to the town, and to exclude them from the forage and provisions, which the adjacent country and islands in Boston bay afforded. This force was thrown into three grand divisions. General Ward commanded the right wing, at Roxbury. General Lee, the left, at Prospect hill; and the centre was commanded by General Washington. In arraying the army, the military skill of Adjutant General Gates was introduced. The officers and privates were taught to know their respective places, and to have the mechanism and movements, as well as the name of an army.

When some effectual pains had been taken to discipline the army, it was found that the term, for which enlistments had taken place, was on the point of expiring. The troops from Connecticut and Rhode Island, were engaged only, till the 1st day of December, 1775; and no part of the army longer than the 1st day of January, 1776. Such mistaken apprehensions respecting the future conduct of Great Britain prevailed, that many thought the assumption of a determined spirit of resistance, would lead to a redress of all grievances.

The Massachusetts assembly and the continental congress, both resolved in November, to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the American coast, for the purpose of intercepting warlike stores and supplies, designed for the use of the British army. The object was at first limited; but as the prospect of accommodation vanished, it was extended to all British property afloat, on the high seas. The Americans were diffident of their ability to do any thing on the water, in opposition to the greatest naval power in the world: but from a combination of circumstances, their first attempts were successful.

The Lee privateer, Captain Manly, took the brig Nancy, an ordnance ship, from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition; with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps, and artillery. Had Congress sent an order for supplies, they could not have made out a list of articles, more suitable to their situation, than those, thus providentially thrown into their hands.

In about nine days after, three ships, with various stores, for the British army, and a brig from Antigua, with rum, were taken by Captain Manly. Before five days more had elapsed, several other store ships were captured. By these means, the distresses of the British troops, in Boston, were increased, and supplies, or the continental army, were procured. Naval captures, being unexpected, were matter of triumph to the Americans, and of surprise to the British. The latter scarcely believed, that the former would oppose them by land, with a regular army: but never suspected, that a people so unfurnished as they were, with many things necessary for arming vessels, would presume to attempt any thing on the seas. A spirit of enterprise, invigorated by patriotic zeal, prompted the hardy New-England-men to undertake the hazardous business; and their success encouraged them to proceed. Before the close of the year, Congress determined to build five vessels of 32 guns, five of 28, and three of 24. About this time, an event took place, which would have disposed a less determined people to desist from provoking the vengeance of the British navy. This was the burning of Falmouth, in the northern part

of Massachusetts. Captain Moet, in the *Cancaux*, of sixteen guns, on the 18th of October, 1775, destroyed 139 houses, and 278 stores, and other buildings in that town.*

This spread an alarm on the coast, but produced no disposition to submit. Many moved from the sea ports, with their families and effects; but no solicitations were preferred to obtain British protection.

In a few days after the burning of Falmouth, the old south meeting house, in Boston, was taken into possession by the British; and destined for a riding school, and the service of the light dragoons. These proceedings produced, in the minds of the colonists, a more determined spirit of resistance, and a more general aversion to Great Britain.

CHAPTER X.

Ticonderoga taken; Canada invaded, and evacuated.

It early occurred to many, that if the sword decided the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies, the possession of Ticonderoga would be essential to the security of the latter. Situated on a promontory, formed at the junction of the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain; it is the key of all communication between New York and Canada. Messrs. Deane, Wooster, Parsons, Stephens and others, of Connecticut, planned a scheme to obtain possession of this valuable post. Having procured a loan of 1800 dollars of public money, and provided a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, they set off for Bennington, to obtain the co-operation of Colonel Allen, of that place. Two hundred and seventy men, mostly of that brave and hardy people, who are called green mountain boys, were speedily collected at Castleton; which was fixed on as the place of rendezvous. At this place, Colonel Arnold, who, though attended only with a servant, was prosecuting the same object, unexpectedly joined them. He had been early chosen captain of a volunteer company, by the inhabitants of New Haven, among whom he resided. As soon as he received news of the Lexington battle, he marched off with his company for the vicinity of Boston, and arrived there, though 150 miles distant, in a few days. Immediately after his arrival, he waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them that that there were, at Ticonderoga, many pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of valuable stores; and that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and garrisoned only by about forty men. They appointed him a colonel, and commissioned

* Captain Moet had been frequently at Falmouth, and was there hospitably entertained. After hostilities had commenced, but before serious war was contemplated, he landed as formerly; but not as an enemy. Brigadier Thompson, under no orders of government, took him prisoner. The inhabitants interposed; and, from motives of justice and policy, urged and accomplished his unconditional discharge. The affront rankled in the heart of the captain. He soon after returned with a small naval force, and gave notice, that he was under orders to reduce the town to ashes, and that he should begin the business at sun rise, the next morning. No resistance was made. The inhabitants employed themselves, during the night, in removing their effects. The next morning, the town was in flames. Moet's armed naval force lay all day before it, and, without cessation, threw shells, carcasses, and hot shot into it till its destruction was completed. This being done, Captain Moet, with his fleet, drew off. Thus the pride of the province of Maine was laid desolate, in one day; and 139 families, who, 24 hours before, lived in ease and comfort, were reduced to want, and had no shelter from the autumnal storms, and approaching winter. Falmouth had formerly been twice sacked by Indians, and some of its inhabitants had been killed by them; but no act of theirs, was to be compared to this conflagration. The Indians scalped women and children to obtain a bounty. They robbed houses, for the sake of plunder; but Captain Moet, without the hope of gain, and without provocation, destroyed the subsistence and blasted the hopes of a whole community. A new town, like the phoenix, has arisen from the ashes of the old, and is now in flourishing circumstances. See Sullivan's History of the District of Maine, page 205, 208.

him to raise 400 men, and to take Ticonderoga. The leaders of the party, which had previously rendezvoused at Castleton, admitted Colonel Arnold to join them. It was agreed that Colonel Allen should be the commander in chief of the expedition, and that Colonel Arnold should be his assistant. They proceeded without delay, and arrived, in the night, at lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. They contended who should go in first: but it was at last agreed, that they should both go in together. They advanced abreast, and entered the fort at the dawning of day. A sentry snapped his piece at one of them, and then retreated, through the covered way, to the parade. The Americans followed, and immediately drew up. The commander, surprised in his bed, was called upon to surrender the fort. He asked, by what authority? Colonel Allen replied: "I demand it in the name of the Great Jehovah, and of the continental congress."

No resistance was made; and the fort, with 100 pieces of cannon, other valuable stores, and 48 prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans. The boats had been sent back, for the remainder of the men: but the business was done before they got over. Col. Seth Warner was sent off with a party to take possession of Crown-Point, where a sergeant and twelve men performed garrison duty. This was speedily effected.

The next object, calling for the attention of the Americans, was to obtain the command of lake Champlain: but, to accomplish this, it was necessary for them to get possession of a sloop of war, lying at St. John's, at the northern extremity of the lake. With the view of capturing this sloop, it was agreed to man and arm a schooner, lying at South Bay; that Arnold should command her, and that Allen should command some bateaux on the same expedition. A favourable wind carried the schooner ahead of the bateaux, and Colonel Arnold got immediate possession of the sloop by surprise. The wind again favouring him, he returned, with his prize, to Ticonderoga, and rejoined Colonel Allen. The latter soon went home; and the former, with a number of men, agreed to remain there in garrison. In this rapid manner, the possession of Ticonderoga, and the command of lake Champlain, was obtained, without any loss, by a few determined men. Intelligence of these events was in a few days, communicated to Congress, which met, for the first time, at ten o'clock of the same day, in the morning of which, Ticonderoga was taken. They rejoiced in the spirit of enterprise, displayed by their countrymen: but feared the charge of being aggressors, or of doing any thing to widen the breach between Great Britain and the colonies; for an accommodation was, at that time, their unanimous wish. They therefore recommended to the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, to cause the cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of lake George, and to take an exact inventory of them: "in order that they might be safely returned, when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, should render it prudent, and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation."

Colonel Arnold having begun his military career with a series of successes, was urged by his native impetuosity to project more extensive operations. He, on the 13th of June, wrote a letter to Congress, strongly urging an expedition into Canada, and offering with 2000 men to reduce the whole province. In his ardent zeal to oppose Great Britain, he had advised the adoption of offensive war, even before Congress had organized an army, or appointed a single military officer. His importunity was at last successful, as shall hereafter be related: but not till two months had elapsed, subsequent to his first proposition of conducting an expedition against Canada. Such was the increasing fervour of the public mind in 1775, that what, in the early part of the year, was

deemed violent and dangerous, was in its progress pronounced both moderate and expedient.

Sir Guy Carleton, the king's governor in Canada no sooner heard that the Americans had surprised Ticonderoga, and Crown-Point, and obtained the command of lake Champlain, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. Having only a few regular troops under his command, he endeavoured to induce the Canadians and Indians, to co-operate with him; but they both declined. He established martial law, that he might compel the inhabitants to take arms. They declared themselves ready to defend the province: but refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities on their neighbours. Colonel Johnson had, on the same occasion, repeated conferences with the Indians, and endeavoured to influence them to take up the hatchet; but they steadily refused. In order to gain their co-operation, he invited them to feast on a Bostonian, and to drink his blood. This, in the Indian style, meant no more than to partake of a roasted ox and a pipe of wine, at a public entertainment; which was given to induce their co-operation with the British troops. The colonial patriots affected to understand it in its literal sense. It furnished in their mode of explication, a convenient handle for operating on the passions of the people.

These exertions in Canada, which were principally made with a view to recover Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and the command of lake Champlain, induced Congress to believe that a formidable invasion of their northwestern frontier was intended, from that quarter. The evident tendency of the Quebec act favoured this opinion. Believing it to be the fixed purpose of the British ministry, to attack the united colonies on that side, they conceived that they would be inexcusable if they neglected the proper means of warding off so terrible a blow. They were also sensible that the only practicable plan to effect this purpose, was to make a vigorous attack upon Canada, while it was unable to resist the unexpected impression. Their success at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, had already paved the way for this bold enterprise, and had broken down the fences which guarded the entrance into that province. On the other hand, they were sensible that by taking this step, they changed at once the whole nature of the war. From defensive it became offensive; and subjected them to the imputation of being the aggressors.— They were well aware that several who had espoused their cause in Britain, would probably be offended at this measure; and charge them with heightening the mischiefs occasioned by the dispute. They knew that the principles of resistance, as far as they had hitherto acted upon them, were abetted by a considerable party in Great Britain; and that to forfeit their good opinion, might be of great disservice. Considerations of this kind made them weigh well the important step, before they ventured upon it. They, on the other hand, reflected that the eloquence of the minority in parliament, and the petitions and remonstrances of the merchants in Great Britain, had produced no solid advantages in their favour: and that they had no chance of relief, but from the smiles of heaven on their own endeavours. The danger was pressing. War was not only inevitable, but already begun. To wait till they were attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant when their utmost exertions would be requisite, perhaps insufficient, to protect their cities and sea coast, against an invasion from Britain, would be the summit of folly. The laws of war and of nations justified the forestalling of an enemy. The colonists maintained that to prevent known hostile intentions, was a matter of self-defence. They were also sensible they had already gone such lengths, as could only be vindicated by arms; and that, if a certain degree of success did not attend their resistance, they would be at the mercy of an irritated government, and their moderation in the single instance of Canada, would be an unavailing plea for indulgence. They were also encouraged to proceed, by certain information, that the French inhab-

itants of Canada, except the noblesse and the clergy, were as much discontented with their present system of government as the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that they would consider the provincials, rather as friends, than as enemies. The invasion of that province was therefore determined upon, if found practicable, and not disagreeable to the Canadians.

Congress had committed the management of their military arrangements, in this northern department, to Generals Schuyler and Montgomery. While the former remained at Albany, to attend an Indian treaty, the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New York and New England. About this time, General Schuyler addressed the inhabitants, informing them, "that the only views of Congress were to restore to them those rights, which every subject of the British Empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled to; and that, in the execution of these trusts, he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and sacredly to guard their property." The Americans, about 1000 in number, effected a landing at St. John's; which, being the first British post in Canada, lies only 115 miles to the northward of Ticonderoga. The British picquets were driven into the fort. The environs was then reconnoitred, and the fortifications were found to be much stronger than had been suspected. This induced the calling of a council of war, which recommended a retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, to throw a boom across the channel, and to erect works for its defence. Soon after this event, a bad state of health induced General Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga; and the command devolved on General Montgomery.

This enterprising officer, in a few days, returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it. Ammunition was so scarce, that the siege could not be carried on, with any prospect of speedy success. The general detached a small body of troops, to attempt the reduction of fort Chamblée, only six miles distant. Success attended this enterprise. By its surrender, six tons of gunpowder were obtained, which enabled the general to prosecute the siege of St. John's with vigour. The garrison, though straitened for provisions, persevered in defending themselves with unabating fortitude. While General Montgomery was prosecuting this siege, the governor of the province collected, at Montreal, about 800 men, chiefly militia and Indians. He endeavoured to cross the river St. Lawrence, with this force, and to land at Longueuil, intending to proceed thence to attack the besiegers: but Colonel Warner, with 300 green mountain boys, and a four pounder, prevented the execution of the design. The governor's party was suffered to come near the shore; but was then fired upon, with such effect as to make them retire, after sustaining great loss.

An account of this affair being communicated to the garrison in St. John's, Major Preston, the commanding officer, surrendered, on receiving honourable terms of capitulation. About 500 regulars and 100 Canadians became prisoners to the provincials. They also acquired 39 pieces of cannon, seven mortars, two howitzers, and about 800 stand of arms. Among the cannon were many brass field pieces; an article of which the Americans were nearly destitute.

While the siege of St. John's was pending, Colonel Allen, who was returning with about 86 men from a tour on which he had been sent by his general, was captured by the British near Montreal. Though he had surrendered in action, with arms in his hands, under a verbal capitulation that he should receive good treatment, he was loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England.*

* Colonel Allen, after his exchange, published an interesting narrative of his captivity. The crime alleged against him was his taking Ticonderoga; and it was intended that he should be tried for this, as an act of rebellion. From his narrative, it appears that the irons placed on him were uncommonly heavy, and so fasten-

After the reduction of St. John's, General Montgomery proceeded towards Montreal. The few British forces there, unable to stand their ground, repaired for safety on board their shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but they were prevented. General Prescott, who was on board with several officers, and about 120 privates, having no chance of escape, submitted to be prisoners on terms of capitulation. Eleven sail of vessels, with all their contents, consisting of ammunition, provisions, and intrenching tools, became the property of the provincials. Governor Carleton was about this time conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles, by a secret way to the Three Rivers, and thence to Quebec in a few days.

When Montreal was evacuated by the troops, the inhabitants applied to General Montgomery for a capitulation. He informed them as they were defenceless, they could not expect such a concession: but, he engaged, upon his honour, to maintain the individuals and religious communities of the city, in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, and the free exercise of their religion. In all his transactions, he spoke, wrote, and acted with dignity and propriety; and treated the inhabitants with liberality and politeness.

Montreal which at this time surrendered to the provincials, carried on an extensive trade, and contained many of those articles, which from the operation of the resolutions of Congress, could not be imported into any of the united colonies. From these stores, the American soldiers, who had hitherto suffered from the want of suitable clothing, obtained a plentiful supply.

General Montgomery, after leaving some troops

ed, that he could not lie down otherwise than on his back. A chest was his seat by day and his bed by night. In letters to the British general Prescott, he urged his claim to better treatment, on the ground of his humanity and politeness to all the prisoners he had taken; but no answer ever came to his hands. After he had been sent in irons as a state prisoner to England, he was sent back as a prisoner of war to America. On his return, when the fleet, on board of which he was confined, rendezvoused at the Cove of Cork, he received from the kindness of the inhabitants of that city, a plentiful supply for all his wants; but their benevolence was intercepted by Captain Symonds, of the British navy, who swore that "the damned American rebels should not be so feasted by the damned rebels of Ireland." After much bad usage in a circuitous voyage he was landed at Halifax, sick with the scurvy, and there put in prison. Thence he was sent to New York, and for a few months was admitted to his parole; but in August, 1777, on pretence of breaking it, was confined in the provost jail. During his residence there, he was witness of the most horrid scenes of oppression and cruelty, to the American prisoners; and declares, that, from his own knowledge, he had no doubt, that upwards of 2000 of them perished with hunger, cold, and sickness, occasioned by the filth of the places in which they were confined, and the scanty unwholesome provisions, with which they were served. He further states, that till the defeat of the Hessians at Trenton, in December, 1776, the conquest of the country was considered as certain; that the forfeiture of estates, and the execution of the leaders of the rebellion, were spoken of, as events near at hand; and that the severe treatment of the prisoners was founded on the idea, that every thing short of immediate execution, was better than they as rebels, had a right to expect; that the most ungenerous and cruel methods, by starvation, and otherwise, were adopted to compel their enlistment into the British service; that many submitted to death, in preference to that mode of obtaining a release; that the halter and the gallows were, in the early periods of the war, often presented to his own view, as the consequence of his obstinacy and rebellion; but, afterwards, high command, and a large tract of the conquered country was offered him on condition he would join the British. To the last he replied: "that he viewed their offer, of conquered United States' land, to be similar to that which the devil offered to Jesus Christ; to give him all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him, when at the same time, the poor devil had not one foot of land upon earth." A review of this narrative naturally excites speculations on the numerous executions, and extensive confiscations which, probably, would have been the consequence of the failure of the revolution, and ought to excite gratitude in the breast of every American, that these ruinous measures were prevented, by the final success of their arms. Colonel Allen was confined in the provost jail, of New York, till May, 1778, when he was exchanged; and, to the great joy of his country restored to activity in its service.

in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province, advanced towards the capital. His little army arrived with expedition before Quebec. Success had hitherto crowned every attempt of General Montgomery; but his situation was nevertheless very embarrassing. Much to be pitied is the officer, who, having been bred to arms, in the strict discipline of regular armies, is afterwards called to command men, who carry with them the spirit of freedom into the field. The greater part of the Americans, officers, as well as soldiers, having never seen any service, were ignorant of their duty, and feebly impressed with the military ideas of union, subordination and discipline. The army was continental in name and pay; but in no other respect. Not only the troops of different colonies conceived themselves independent of each other; but, in some instances, the different regiments of the same colony were backward to submit to the orders of officers in a higher grade of another line. They were soon tired of a military life. Novelty and the first impulse of passion had led them to camp; but, the approaching cold season, together with the fatigues and dangers incident to war induced a general wish to relinquish the service. Though, by the terms of their enlistment, they were to be discharged in a few weeks, they could not brook an absence from their homes, for that short space of time. The ideas of liberty and independence, which roused the colonists to oppose the claims of Great Britain, operated against that implicit obedience, which is necessary to a well regulated army.

Even in European states, where long habits have established submission to superiors, as a primary duty of the common people, the difficulty of governing recruits, when first led to the field from the civil occupations, is great: to exercise discipline over freemen, accustomed to act only from the impulse of their own minds, required not only a knowledge of human nature, but an accommodating spirit, and a degree of patience, which are rarely found among officers of regular armies. The troops under the immediate command of General Montgomery, were, from their usual habits, averse to the ideas of subordination, and had suddenly passed from domestic ease, to the numberless wants and distresses, which are incident to marches through strange and desert countries. Every difficulty was increased by the short term, for which they were enlisted. To secure the affections of the Canadians, it was necessary for the American general to restrain the appetites, and control the licentiousness of his soldiery; while the appearance of military harshness was dangerous, lest their good will might be forfeited. In this choice of difficulties, the genius of Montgomery surmounted many obstacles. During his short, but glorious career, he conducted with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful, whether we ought to admire most, the goodness of the man, or the address of the general.

About the same time that Canada was invaded in the usual route from New York, a considerable detachment, from the American army at Cambridge, was conducted into that royal province, by a new and unexpected passage. Colonel Arnold, who successfully conducted this bold undertaking, thereby acquired the name of the American Hannibal. He was detached, with a thousand men, from Cambridge, to penetrate into Canada, by ascending the river Kennebeck, and descending by the Chaudiere, to the river St. Lawrence. Great were the difficulties these troops had to encounter, in marching by an unexplored route, three hundred miles, through an uninhabited country. In ascending the Kennebeck, they were constantly obliged to work upwards, against an impetuous current. They were often compelled, by cataracts or other impediments, to land, and to haul their batteaux up rapid streams, and over falls of rivers. Nor was their march by land more eligible, than this passage by water. They had deep swamps, thick woods, difficult mountains, and craggy precipices alternately to encounter. At some places, they

had to cut their way, for miles together, through forests so embarrassed, that their progress was only four or five miles a day. The constant fatigue caused many to fall sick. One third of the number which set out, was from want of necessities, obliged to return; the others proceeded with unabated fortitude and constancy. Provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, cartouch boxes, breeches, and shoes. When they were an hundred miles from any habitation, or prospect of a supply, their whole store was divided, which yielded four pints of flour to each man. - After they had baked and eaten their last morsel, they had thirty miles to travel, before they could expect any farther supply. The men bore up under these complicated distresses, with the greatest fortitude.* They gloried in the hope of completing a march, which would rival the fame of similar expeditions undertaken by the heroes of antiquity. Having spent thirty-one days, in traversing a hideous wilderness, without ever seeing any thing human, they at length reached the inhabited parts of Canada. They were there well received, and supplied with every thing necessary for their comfort. The Canadians were struck with amazement, when they saw this armed force emerging from the wilderness. It had never entered their conceptions, that it was possible for human beings to traverse such immense wilds. The most pointed instructions had been given to this corps, to conciliate the affections of the Canadians. It was particularly enjoined upon them, if the son of lord Chatham, then an officer in one of the British regiments in that province, should fall into their hands, to treat him with all possible attention, in return for the great exertions of his father, in behalf of American liberty. A manifesto, subscribed by General Washington, which had been sent from Cambridge with this detachment was circulated among the inhabitants of Canada. In this, they were invited to arrange themselves under the standard of general liberty; and were informed that the American army was sent, not to plunder but to protect them.

While General Montgomery lay at Montreal, Colonel Arnold arrived at Point Levy, opposite to Quebec. Such was the consternation of the garrison and inhabitants, at his unexpected appearance, that had not the river intervened, an immediate attack, in the first surprise and confusion, might have been successful. The bold enterprise of one American army, marching through the wilderness, at a time when success was crowning every undertaking of another, invading in a different direction, struck terror into the breast of those Canadians, who were unfriendly to the designs of Congress. The embarrassments of the garrison were increased by the absence of Sir Guy Carleton. That gallant officer on hearing of Montgomery's invasion, prepared to oppose him in the extremes of the province. While he was collecting a force to attack invaders in one direction, a different corps, emerging out of the depths of an unexplored wilderness, suddenly appeared from another. In a few days Colonel Arnold crossed the river St. Lawrence; but his chance of succeeding by a coup de main, was in that short space greatly diminished. The critical moment was past. The panic occasioned by his first appearance had abated, and solid preparations for the defence of the town were adopted. The inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. Alarmed for their property, they were at their own request, embodied for its security. The sailors were taken from the shipping in the harbour, and put to the batteries on shore. As Colonel Arnold had no artillery, after parading some days on the heights near Quebec, he drew off his troops, intending nothing more until the arrival of Montgomery, than to cut off supplies from entering the garrison.

So favourable were the prospects of the united

* Aaron Burr, afterwards vice-president of the United States, was one of his party. He was then about twenty years old, and had broken off from his legal studies that he might serve on his expedition.

colonies at this period, that General Montgomery set on foot a regiment of Canadians, to be in the pay of Congress. James Livingston, a native of New York who had long resided in Canada, was appointed to the command thereof; and several recruits were engaged for the term of twelve months. The inhabitants, on both sides of the river St. Lawrence, were very friendly. Expresses in the employ of the Americans, went without molestation, backwards and forwards, between Montreal and Quebec. Many individuals performed signal services, in favour of the invading army. Among a considerable number, Mr. Price stands conspicuous, who advanced 5000*l* in specie, for their use.

Various causes had contributed to attach the inhabitants of Canada, especially those of the inferior classes to the interest of Congress, and to alienate their affections from the government of Great Britain. The contest was for liberty; and there is something in that sound captivating to the mind of man, in a state of original simplicity. It was for the colonies; and Canada was also a colony. The objects of the war were therefore supposed to be for their common advantage. The form of government, lately imposed on them by act of parliament, was far from being so free, as the constitutions of the other colonies, and was in many respects particularly oppressive. The common people had no representative share in enacting the laws, by which they were to be governed; and were subjected to the arbitrary will of persons, over whom they had no control. Distinctions so degrading were not unobserved by the native Canadians: but were more obvious to those who had known the privileges enjoyed in the neighbouring provinces. Several individuals, educated in New England and New York, with the high ideas of liberty, inspired by their free constitutions, had, in the interval between the peace of Paris, 1763, and the commencement of the American war, migrated into Canada. Such sensibly felt the difference between the governments they had left, and the arbitrary constitution imposed on them; and, both from principle and affection, earnestly persuaded the Canadians to make a common cause with the united colonies.

Though motives of this kind induced the peasantry of the country to espouse the interest of Congress, yet sundry individuals, and some whole orders of men, threw the weight of their influence into the opposite scale. The legal privileges which the Roman catholic clergy enjoyed, made them averse to a change, lest they should be endangered, by a more intimate connexion with their protestant neighbours. They used their supposed influence in the next world, as an engine to operate on the movements of the present. They refused absolution to such of their flocks as abetted the Americans. This interdiction of the joys of heaven, by those who were supposed to hold the keys of it, operated powerfully on the opinions and practices of the superstitious multitude. The seigneurs had immunities unknown in the other colonies. Such is the fondness for power in every human breast, that revolutions are rarely favoured by any order of men, who have reason to apprehend that their future situation, in case of a change, will be less pre-eminent than before.

The sagacious General Montgomery, no less a man of the world than an officer, discovered great address in accommodating himself to these clashing interests. Though he knew the part the popish clergy had acted, in opposition to him, yet he conducted towards them, as if totally ignorant of the matter; and treated them and their religion with great respect and attention. As far as he was authorised to promise, he engaged that their ecclesiastical property should be secured, and the free exercise of their religion continued. To all, he held forth the flattering idea of calling a convention of representatives, freely chosen, to institute, by its own will, such a form of government as they approved. While the great mind of this illustrious man, was meditating schemes of

liberty and happiness, a military force was collecting and training to oppose him, which in a short time put a period to his valuable life.

At the time the Americans were before Montreal, General Carleton, as has been related, escaped through their hands, and got safe to Quebec. His presence was itself a garrison. The confidence reposed in his talents inspired the men under his command, to make the most determined resistance. Soon after his arrival, he issued a proclamation, setting forth: "That all persons liable to do militia duty, and residing in Quebec, who refused to arm in conjunction with the royal army, should, in four days, quit Quebec, with their families, and withdraw from the limits of the district, by the first of December, on pain of being treated afterwards as spies or rebels." All who were unwilling to co-operate with the British army, being thus disposed of, the remaining inhabitants, though unused to arms, became, in a little time, so far acquainted with them, as to be very useful in defending the town. They supported fatigue, and submitted to command, with a patience and cheerfulness, that could not be exceeded by men familiarized to the hardships and subordination of a military life.

General Montgomery, having effected at Point aux Trembles a junction with Colonel Arnold, commenced the siege of Quebec. Upon his arrival before the town, he wrote a letter to the British governor, recommending an immediate surrender, to prevent the dreadful consequences of a storm. Though the flag which conveyed this letter was fired upon, and all communication refused, General Montgomery found other means to convey a letter of the same tenor into the garrison: but the firmness of the governor could not be moved, either by threats or dangers. The Americans soon after commenced a bombardment with five small mortars; but with very little effect. In a few days General Montgomery opened a six gun battery, at the distance of seven hundred yards from the walls; but his metal was too light to make any impression.

The news of General Montgomery's success in Canada had filled the colonies with expectations, that the conquest of Quebec would soon add fresh lustre to his already brilliant fame. He knew well the consequences of popular disappointment, and was of opinion that unless something decisive was immediately done, the benefit of his previous acquisitions would, in a great degree, be lost to the American cause. On both accounts, he was strongly impelled to make every exertion, for satisfying the expectations and promoting the interest of a people, who had honoured him with so great a share of their confidence. The government of Great Britain, in the extensive province of Canada, was at that time reduced to the single town of Quebec. The astonished world saw peaceable colonists, suddenly transformed into soldiers, and these marching through unexplored wildernesses, and extending themselves by conquests, in the first moment after they had assumed the profession of arms.

Towards the end of the year, the tide of fortune began to turn. Dissensions broke out between Colonel Arnold and some of his officers, threatening the annihilation of discipline. The continental currency had no circulation in Canada, and all the hard money furnished for the expedition was nearly expended. Difficulties of every kind were daily increasing. The extremities of fatigue were constantly to be encountered. The American general had not a sufficient number of men to make the proper relief, in the daily labours they underwent; and that inconsiderable number, worn down with toil, was constantly exposed to the severities of a Canada winter. The period for which a great part of his men had enlisted, being on the point of expiration, he apprehended that they who were entitled to it, would insist on their discharge. On the other hand, he saw no prospect of staggering the resolution of the garrison. They were well supplied with every thing necessary for their defence, and were daily acquiring

additional firmness. The extremity of winter was fast approaching.

From these combined circumstances, General Montgomery was impressed with a conviction, that the siege should either be raised, or brought to a summary termination. To storm the place, was the only feasible method of effecting the latter purpose. But this was an undertaking, in which success was but barely possible. Great minds are seldom exact calculators of danger. Nor do they minutely attend to the difficulties which obstruct the attainment of their objects. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, has ever had an influence in the success or failure of military enterprises. Some of the greatest achievements, of that kind, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms.

The upper part of Quebec was surrounded with very strong works, and the access from the lower town was excessively difficult, from its almost perpendicular steepness. General Montgomery, from a native intrepidity, and an ardent thirst for glory, overlooked all these dangers; and resolved at once, either to carry the place or perish in the attempt. Trusting much to his good fortune; and confiding in the bravery of his troops, and their readiness to follow whithersoever he should lead; and depending somewhat on the extensiveness of the works, he determined to attempt the town by escalade.

The garrison of Quebec at this time consisted of about 1520 men, of which 800 were militia, and 450 were seamen belonging to the king's frigates, or merchant ships in the harbour. The rest were marines, regulars, or Colonel Macleau's new-raised emigrants. The American army consisted of about 800 men. Some had been left at Montreal, and near a third of Arnold's detachment, as has been related, had returned to Cambridge.

General Montgomery, having divided this little force into four detachments, ordered two to be made against the upper town; one by Colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; and the other by Major Brown, against Cape Diamond; reserving to himself and Colonel Arnold the two principal attacks, against the lower town. At five o'clock in the morning, General Montgomery, advanced against the lower town. He passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attack the second, when he was killed, together with Captain John M'Pherson, Captain Cheesman, and some others. This so dispirited the men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to draw them off. In the mean time Colonel Arnold, at the head of about 350 men, passed through St. Roques, and approached near a two gun battery, without being discovered. This he attacked, and, though it was well defended, carried it; but with considerable loss. In this attack, Colonel Arnold received a wound, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. His party nevertheless continued the assault, and pushing on, made themselves masters of a second barrier. These brave men sustained the force of the whole garrison for three hours; but finding themselves hemmed in, and without hopes either of success, relief or retreat, they yielded to numbers, and the advantageous situation of their adversaries.

The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners. Among the slain were Captain Kendricks, Lieutenant Humphries, and Lieutenant Cooper. The behaviour of the provincial troops was such, as might have silenced those who had reproached them, for being deficient in courage. The most experienced veterans could not have exceeded the firmness they displayed in their last attack. The issue of this assault relieved the garrison of Quebec, from all apprehensions for its safety.

The provincials were so much weakened, as to be scarcely equal to their own defence. However Colonel Arnold had the boldness to encamp within three miles of the town, and had the address, even with his reduced numbers, to impede the conveyance of refreshments and provisions into the gar-

ison. His situation was extremely difficult. He was at an immense distance from those parts, whence effectual assistance could be expected. On his first entrance into the province, he had experienced much kind treatment from the inhabitants. The Canadians, besides being fickle in their resolutions are apt to be biased by success. Their disposition to aid the Americans, became daily more precarious. It was even difficult to keep the provincial troops from returning to their respective homes. Their sufferings were great. While their adversaries were comfortably housed in Quebec, they were exposed in the open air, to the extreme rigour of the season. The severity of a Canada winter was far beyond any thing with which they were acquainted. The snow lay about four feet deep on a level.

This deliverance of Quebec may be considered as a proof, how much may be done by one man, for the preservation of a country. It also proves, that soldiers may in a short time be formed out of the mass of citizens.

The conflict being over, the ill will which had subsisted, during the siege, between the royal and provincial troops, gave way to sentiments of humanity. The Americans, who surrendered, were treated with kindness. Ample provision was made for their wounded, and no unnecessary severity was shown to any. Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle; and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune, and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war, instituted for the defence of the community, of which he was an adopted member. His well known character, was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America, he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that illustrious assembly, displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise, and lamenting his fate. Those in particular, who had been his fellow soldiers in the late war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself acknowledged his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric, by saying: "Curse on his virtues they have undone his country."

Though the invasion of Canada was finally unsuccessful, yet the advantages which the Americans gained in the months of September and October, gave fresh spirits to their army and people. The boldness of the enterprise might have taught Great Britain the folly of persisting in the design of subjugating America. But instead of preserving the union, and restoring the peace of the empire, by repealing a few of her laws, she, from mistaken dignity, resolved on a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

The tide of good fortune, which, in the autumn of 1775, flowed in upon General Montgomery, induced Congress to reinforce the army under his command. Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal having surrendered, a fair prospect opened of expelling the British from Canada, and of annexing that province to the united colonies. While they were in imagination anticipating these events, the army in which they confided was defeated, and the general whom they so highly esteemed slain.

The intelligence transmitted from General Montgomery, previous to his assault on Quebec, encouraged Congress to resolve that nine battalions should be kept up and maintained in Canada. The repulse of their army, though discouraging, did not extinguish the ardour of the Americans. It was no sooner known at head quarters in Cambridge, than General Washington convened a coun-

cil of war, by which it was resolved: "That as no troops could be spared from Cambridge, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire should be requested to raise three regiments, and forward them to Canada. Congress also resolved to forward the reinforcements previously voted, and to raise four battalions in New York, for the defence of that colony, and to garrison Crown Point, and the several posts to the southward of that fortress. That the army might be supplied with blankets for this winter expedition, a committee was appointed to procure from householders, such as could be spared from their families. To obtain a supply of hard money, for the use of the army in Canada, proper persons were employed to exchange paper money for specie. Such was the enthusiasm of the times, that many thousand Mexican dollars were frequently exchanged at par, by individuals, for the paper bills of Congress. It was also resolved, to raise a corps of artillery for this service, and to take into the pay of the colonies, one thousand Canadians, in addition to Colonel Livingston's regiment. Moses Hazen, a native of Massachusetts, who had resided many years in Canada, was appointed to the command of this new corps.

Congress addressed a letter to the Canadians, in which they observed: "Such is the lot of human nature, that the best causes are subject to vicissitudes: but generous souls, enlightened and warmed with the fire of liberty, become more resolute as difficulties increase." They stated to them, "that eight battalions were raising to proceed to their province, and, that if more force were necessary, it should be sent." They requested them to seize, with eagerness, the favourable opportunity then offered to co-operate in the present glorious enterprise; and advised them to establish associations in their different parishes; to elect deputies for forming a provincial assembly, and for representing them in Congress.

The cause of the Americans had received such powerful aid from many patriotic publications in their gazettes, and from the fervent exhortations of popular preachers, connecting the cause of liberty with the animating principles of religion, that it was determined to employ these two powerful instruments of revolutions, printing and preaching, to operate on the minds of the Canadian. A complete apparatus for printing, together with a printer and a clergyman, were therefore sent into Canada.

Congress also appointed Dr. Franklin, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Carrol, the two first of whom were members of their body, and the last a respectable gentleman of the Roman Catholic persuasion, to proceed to Canada with the view of gaining over the people of that colony to the cause of America; and authorized them to promise, on behalf of the united colonies, that Canada should be received into their association on equal terms; and also that the inhabitants thereof should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the peaceable possession of all their ecclesiastical property.

The desire of effecting something decisive in Canada, before the approaching spring would permit relief to ascend the river St. Lawrence, added to the enthusiasm of the day, encountered difficulties, which, in less animated times, would be reckoned insurmountable. Arthur St. Clair, who was appointed colonel of one of the Pennsylvania regiments, received his recruiting orders on the 10th of January; and, notwithstanding the shortness of the period, his regiment was not only raised, but six companies of it had, in this extremely cold season, completed their march from Pennsylvania to Canada, a distance of several hundred miles; and, on the eleventh of April following joined the American army before Quebec.

Though Congress and the states made great exertions to support the war in Canada, yet from the fall of Montgomery their interest in that colony daily declined. The reduction of Quebec was an object to which their resources were inadequate. Their unsuccessful assault on Quebec made an impression both on the Canadians and

Indians unfavourable to their views. A woman, infected with the small-pox, had either been sent out, or voluntarily came out of Quebec, and, by mixing with the American soldiers, propagated that scourge of the new world, to the great diminution of the effective force of their army. The soldiers inoculated themselves, though their officers issued positive orders to the contrary. By the first of May, so many new troops had arrived, that the American army, in name, amounted to 3000: but from the prevalence of the small-pox, there were only 900 fit for duty. The increasing number of invalids retarded military operations, while the opposite party was buoyed up, with the expectation that the advancing season would soon bring them relief. To these causes of the declining interest of Congress, it must be added that the affections of the Canadians were alienated. They had many, and well-founded complaints against the American soldiers. Unrestrained by the terror of the civil law, and refusing obedience to a military code, the hope of impunity, and the love of plunder led many of the invading army to practices not less disgraceful to themselves, than injurious to the cause in which they had taken arms. Not only the common soldiers, but the officers of the American army deviated in their intercourse with the Canadians, from the maxims of sound policy. Several of them, having been lately taken from obscure life, were giddy with their exaltation. Far from home, they were unawed by those checks, which commonly restrain the ferocity of man.

The reduction of Chamblee, St. John's, and Montreal, together with the exposed situation of Quebec, being known in England, measures were without delay adopted by the British ministry, to introduce into Canada, as soon as possible, a force sufficient for the double purpose of recovering what they had lost, and of prosecuting offensive operations from that quarter against the revolted colonies. The van of this force made good its passage, very early in May, through the ice, up the river St. Lawrence. The expectation of their coming had for some time damped the hopes of the besiegers, and had induced them to think of a retreat. The day before the first of the British reinforcements arrived, the measure was resolved upon by a council of war, and arrangements were made for carrying it into execution.

Governor Carleton was too great a proficient in the art of war, to delay seizing the advantages which the consternation of the besiegers, and the arrival of a reinforcement, afforded. A small detachment of soldiers and marines from the ships, which had just ascended the river St. Lawrence, being landed, and joined to the garrison in Quebec, he marched out at their head to attack the Americans. On his approach, he found every thing in confusion. The late besiegers, abandoning their artillery and military stores, had in great precipitation retreated. In this manner, at the expiration of five months, the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec was raised. The fortitude and perseverance of the garrison reflected honour on both officers and privates.

The reputation acquired by General Carleton in his military character, for bravery and judiciously defending the province committed to his care, was exceeded by the superior applause merited from his exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity. Among the numerous sick in the American hospitals, several incapable of being moved were left behind. The victorious general proved himself worthy of success, by the treatment of these unfortunate men: he not only fed and clothed them, but permitted them when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than, by applying for relief, make themselves known he removed their doubts by a proclamation, in which he engaged: "that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces." This humane line of conduct was more injurious to the

views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders. The truly politic, as well as humane General Carleton dismissed these prisoners after liberally supplying their wants, with a recommendation, "to go home, mind their farms, and keep themselves and their neighbours from all participation in the unhappy war."

The small force which arrived at Quebec early in May, was followed by several British regiments, together with the Brunswick troops, in such a rapid succession, that in a few weeks the whole was estimated at 13,000 men.

The Americans retreated forty-five miles before they stopped. After a short halt, they proceeded to the Sorrel, at which place, they threw up some slight works for their safety. They were there joined by some battalions coming to reinforce them. About this time General Thomas, the commander in chief in Canada, was seized with the small-pox, and died; having forbidden his men to inoculate, he conformed to his own rule, and refused to avail himself of that precaution. On his death, the command devolved at first on General Arnold, and afterwards on General Sullivan. It soon became evident, that the Americans must abandon the whole province of Canada.

From a desire to do something which might counterbalance, in the minds of the Canadians, the unfavourable impression which this farther retreat would communicate, General Thompson projected an attack upon the British post at the Three Rivers. This lies about half way between Quebec and Montreal, and is so called from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged through three mouths into the St. Lawrence.

A plan of operations was agreed upon, in which it was determined to make the attack, in four different places, at the same time; and very early in the morning, in the hope of surprising the enemy. Much resolution was discovered in its execution: but the concurrence of too many circumstances was necessary to ensure success. The expectation of simultaneous operations failed; the chance of a surprise was lost. The assailants were repulsed and driven some miles through a deep swamp. General Thomson and Colonel Irvine, with 200 men, were taken prisoners, and about 25 were killed. The loss of the British was considerable.

The British forces having arrived, and a considerable body of them having rendezvoused at the Three Rivers, a serious pursuit of the American army commenced. Had sir Guy Carleton taken no pains to cut off their retreat, and at once attacked their post, or rather their fortified camp at Sorrel, it would probably have fallen into his hands: but either the bold, though unsuccessful attack at the Three Rivers had taught them to respect them, or he wished to reduce them without bloodshed. In the pursuit he made three divisions of his army, and arranged them so as to embrace the whole American encampment, and to command it in every part. The retreat was delayed so long that the Americans evacuated Sorrel, only about two hours before one division of the British made its appearance.

While the Americans were retreating, they were daily assailed by the remonstrances of the inhabitants of Canada, who had either joined or befriended them. Great numbers of Canadians had taken a decided part in their favour, rendered them essential services, and thereby incurred the heavy penalties annexed to the crime of supporting rebellion. These, though Congress had assured them but a few months before, "that they would never abandon them to the fury of their common enemies," were, from the necessity of the case, left exposed to the resentment of their provincial rulers. Several of them, with tears in their eyes, expostulated with the retreating army, and, bewailing their hard fate, prayed for support. The only relief the Americans could offer, was an assurance of continued protection if they retreated with them; but this was a hard alternative, to men who had wives,

children and immoveable effects. They generally concluded, that it was the least of two evils, to cast themselves on the mercy of that government, against which they had offended.

The distresses of the retreating army were great. The British were close on their rear, and threatening them with destruction. The unfurnished state of the colonies in point of ordnance, imposed a necessity of preserving their cannon. The men were obliged to drag their loaded batteaux up the rapids by mere strength, and when they were to the waist in water. The retreating army was also encumbered with great numbers labouring under the small pox, and other diseases. Two regiments, at one time, had not a single man in health. Another had only six, and a fourth only forty, and two more were in nearly the same condition.

To retreat in face of an enemy is at all times hazardous: but, on this occasion, it was attended with an unusual proportion of embarrassments.—General Sullivan, who conducted the retreat, nevertheless, acted with so much judgment and propriety, that the baggage and public stores were saved and the numerous sick brought off. The American army reached Crown Point on the first of July, and at that place made their first stand.

A short time before the Americans evacuated the province of Canada, General Arnold convened the merchants of Montreal, and proposed to them to furnish a quantity of specified articles for the use of the army in the service of Congress. While they were deliberating on the subject, he placed sentinels at their shop doors, and made such arrangements, that what was at first only a request, operated as a command. A great quantity of goods were taken on pretence that they were wanted for the use of the American army, but in their number were many articles only serviceable to women, and to persons in civil life. His nephew soon after opened a store in Albany, and publicly disposed of goods which had been procured at Montreal.

The possession of Canada so eminently favoured the plans of defence adopted by Congress, that the province was evacuated with great reluctance. The Americans were not only mortified at the disappointment of their favourite scheme, of annexing it as a fourteenth link in the chain of their confederacy: but apprehended the most serious consequences from the ascendancy of the British power in that quarter. Anxious to preserve a footing there, they had persevered for a long time, in stemming the tide of unfavourable events.

General Gates was appointed to command in Canada, June 17th, 1776: but on coming to the knowledge of the late events in that province, he concluded to stop short within the limits of New York. The scene was henceforth reversed. Instead of meditating the recommencement of offensive operations, that army, which had lately excited so much terror in Canada, was called upon to be prepared for repelling an invasion threatened from that province.

The attention of the Americans being exclusively fixed on plans of defence, their general officers, commanding in the northern department, were convened to deliberate on the place and means, most suitable for that purpose. To form a judgment on this subject, a recollection of the events of the late war, between France and England, was of advantage. The same ground was to be fought over, and the same posts to be again contended for. On the confines of lake George and lake Champlain, two inland seas, which stretch almost from the sources of Hudson's river to the St. Lawrence, are situated the famous posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These are of primary necessity to any power which contends for the possession of the adjacent country; for they afford the most convenient stand either for its annoyance or defence. In the opinion of some American officers, Crown Point, to which the army on the evacuation of Canada had retreated, was the most proper place for erecting works of defence; but it was otherwise determined, by the

council convened on this occasion. It was also by their advice resolved to move lower down, and to make the principal work on the strong ground east of Ticonderoga, and especially by every means to endeavour to maintain a naval superiority on lake Champlain. In conformity to these resolutions, General Gates, with about 12,000 men, which collected in the course of the summer, was fixed in command at Ticonderoga, and a fleet was constructed at Skenesborough. This was carried on with so much rapidity, that in a short time there were afloat, in lake Champlain, one sloop, three schooners, and six gondolas, carrying in the whole 58 guns, 86 swivels, and 440 men. Six other vessels were also nearly ready for launching at the same time. The fleet was put under the command of Arnold, and he was instructed to proceed beyond Crown Point, down lake Champlain to the Split Rock: but most peremptorily restrained from advancing any farther; for security against an apprehended invasion was the ultimate end of the armament.

The expulsion of the American invaders from Canada, was only a part of the British designs in that quarter. They urged the pursuit no farther than St. John's: but indulged in a hope of being soon in a condition for passing the lakes, and penetrating through the country to Albany, so as to form a communication with New York. The objects they had in view were great, and the obstacles in the way of their accomplishment equally so. Before they could advance with any prospect of success, a fleet, superior to that of the Americans on the lakes, was to be constructed. The materials of some large vessels were, for this purpose, brought from England: but their transportation, and the labour necessary to put them together, required both time and patience. The spirit of the British commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. Nevertheless, it was late in the month of October, before their fleet was prepared to face the American naval force, on lake Champlain. The former consisted of the ship *Inflexible*, mounting 18 twelve pounders, which was so expeditiously constructed, that she sailed from St. John's 28 days after laying her keel; one schooner mounting 14, and another 12 six pounders; a flat bottomed radeau, carrying six 24 and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers, and a gondola with seven 9 pounders. There were also twenty smaller vessels, with brass field pieces, from 9 to 24 pounders, or with howitzers. Some long boats were furnished in the same manner. An equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Besides these vessels of war, there was a vast number destined for the transportation of the army, its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions. The whole was put under the command of Captain Pringle. The naval force of the Americans, from the deficiency of means, was far short of what was brought against them. Their principal armed vessel was a schooner, which mounted only 12 six and four pounders; and their whole fleet, in addition to this, consisted of only fifteen vessels of inferior force.

No one step could be taken towards accomplishing the designs of the British, on the northern frontiers of New York, till they had the command of lake Champlain. With this view, their fleet proceeded up the lake, and engaged the Americans. The wind was so unfavourable to the British, that their ship *Inflexible*, and some other vessels of force, could not be brought into action. This lessened the inequality between the contending fleets so much, that the principal damage sustained by the Americans, was the loss of a schooner and gondola. At the approach of night, the action was discontinued. The vanquished took the advantage which the darkness afforded, to make their escape. This was effected by General Arnold, with great judgment and ability. By the next morning, the whole fleet under his command was out of sight. The British pursued with all the sail they could crowd. The wind having become more favourable, they overtook the Americans, and brought them to action near Crown

Point. A smart engagement ensued, and was well supported on both sides, for about two hours. Some of the American vessels which were most ahead escaped to Ticonderoga. Two gallees and five gondolas remained and resisted an unequal force, with a spirit approaching to desperation. One of the gallees struck and was taken. General Arnold, though he knew that to escape was impossible, and to resist unavailing, yet, instead of surrendering, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessels a reinforcement to the British. The spirited resolution was executed with a judgment, equal to the boldness with which it had been adopted. He ran the Congress galley, on board which he was, together with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a position as enabled him to land his men and blow up the vessels. In the execution of this perilous enterprise, he paid a romantic attention to a point of honour. He did not quit his own galley till she was in flames, lest the British should board her and strike his flag. The result of this action, though unfavourable to the Americans, raised the reputation of General Arnold, higher than ever. In addition to the fame of a brave soldier, he acquired that of an able sea officer.

The American naval force being nearly destroyed, the British had undisputed possession of lake Champlain. On this event, a few continental troops which had been at Crown Point, retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. General Carleton took possession of the ground from which they had retreated, and was there soon joined by his army. He sent out several reconnoitering parties, and at one time pushed forward a strong detachment on both sides of the lake, which approached near to Ticonderoga. Some British vessels appeared at the same time within cannon shot of the American works at that place. It is probable he had it in contemplation, if circumstances favoured, to reduce the post: and that the apparent strength of the works restrained him from making the attempt, and induced his return to Canada.

Such was the termination of the northern campaign, in 1776. Though after the surrender of Montreal, evacuations, defeats and retreats had almost interruptedly been the lot of the Americans, yet, with respect to the great object of defence on the one side, and of conquest on the other, a whole campaign was gained to them and lost to their adversaries.

The British had cleared Canada of its invaders and destroyed the American fleet on the lakes; yet, from impediments thrown in their way, they failed in their ulterior designs. The delays, contrived by General Gates, retarded the British, for so great a part of the summer, that, by the time they had reached Ticonderoga, their retreat, on account of the approaching winter became immediately necessary. On the part of the Americans, some men and a few armed vessels were lost; but time was gained; their army saved: and the frontier of the adjacent states secured from a projected invasion. On the part of the British, the object of a campaign, in which 13,000 men were employed, and nearly a million of money expended was rendered in a great measure abortive.

CHAPTER XI.

Transactions in Virginia; the Carolinas; Georgia; the general state of public affairs, in the colonies in 1775. Transactions in Massachusetts; evacuation of Boston, 1776.

It has already been mentioned that the colonists, from the rising of Congress, in October, 1774, and particularly after the Lexington battle were attentive to the training of their militia, and making the necessary preparations for their defence.

The effects of their arrangement, for this purpose varied with circumstances.

Where there were no royal troops, and where

ordinary prudence was observed, the public peace was undisturbed. In other cases, the intemperate zeal of governors, and the imprudent warmth of the people, anticipated the calamities of war. Virginia, though there was not a single British soldier within its limit, was, by the indiscretion of its governor, lord Dunmore, involved for several months in difficulties, little short of those to which the inhabitants of Massachusetts were subjected. His lordship was very unfit to be at the helm, in this tempestuous season. His passions predominated over his understanding, and precipitated him into measures injurious both to the people whom he governed, and to the interest of his royal master. The Virginians, from the earliest stage of the controversy, had been in the foremost line of the opposition to the claims of Great Britain; but, at the same time, treated lord Dunmore with the attention that was due to his station. In common with the other provinces, they had taken effectual measures to prepare their militia, for the purposes of defence.

While they were pursuing this object, his lordship engaged a party, belonging to a royal vessel in James's river, to convey some public powder from a magazine in Williamsburgh, on board their ship. The value or quantity of the powder was inconsiderable; but the circumstances attending its removal begat suspicions, that lord Dunmore meant to deprive the inhabitants of the means of defence. They were, therefore, alarmed, and assembled with arms to demand its restitution.

By the interposition of the mayor and corporation of Williamsburgh, extremities were prevented. Reports were soon afterwards spread, that a second attempt to rob the magazine was intended. The inhabitants again took arms and instituted nightly patrols, with a determined resolution to protect it. The governor was irritated at these commotions, and in the warmth of his temper, threatened to set up the royal standard, enfranchise the negroes, and arm them against their masters. This irritated, but did not intimidate. Several public meetings were held in the different counties, in all of which, the removal of the powder from the magazine, and the governor's threats, were entirely condemned. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and the neighbouring counties, assembled in arms, under the conduct of Mr. Patrick Henry, and marched towards Williamsburgh, with an avowed design to obtain restitution of the powder, and to take measures for securing the public treasury. This ended in a negotiation, by which it was agreed, that payment for the powder, by the receiver general of the colony, should be accepted in lieu of restitution: and, that, upon the engagement of the inhabitants of Williamsburgh to guard both the treasury and the magazine, the armed parties should return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair induced lord Dunmore to send his lady and family on board the Fowey man of war, in James's river. About the same time, his lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, fortified his palace, and surrounded it with artillery. He soon after issued a proclamation in which Mr. Henry and his associates were charged with rebellious practices; and the existing commotions were attributed to a desire in the people, of changing the established form of government. Several meetings were held in the neighbouring counties, in which, the conduct of Henry and his associates was applauded; and resolutions were adopted, that, at every risk, he and they should be indemnified. About this time, copies of some letters from governor Dunmore, to the minister of the American department, were made public. These, in the opinion of the Virginians, contained unfair and unjust representations of facts, and also of their temper and disposition. Many severe things were said on both sides, and fame, as usual magnified or misrepresented whatever was said or done. One distrust begat another. Every thing tended to produce a spirit of discontent, and the fever of the public mind daily increased.

In this state of disorder, the governor convened

the general assembly. The leading motive, for this unexpected measure, was, to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms of the conciliatory motion, agreed to in parliament, on the 20th of the preceding February. His lordship introduced this to their consideration, in a long and plausible speech. In a few days, they presented their address in answer; in which, among other grounds of rejection, they stated, that "the proposed plan only changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burden;" but, they referred the papers for a final determination, to Congress. For themselves they declared: "We have exhausted every mode of application, which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our king with supplication; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

The assembly, among their first acts, appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances; and particularly to examine the state of the magazines they found most of the remaining powder buried; the muskets deprived of their locks; and spring guns planted in the magazine.

These discoveries irritated the people, and occasioned intemperate expressions of resentment. Lord Dunmore quitted the palace privately, and retired on board the Fowey man of war, which then lay near York Town. He left a message for the house of burgesses, acquainting them, "that he thought it prudent to retire to a place of safety, having reason to believe that he was in constant danger of falling a sacrifice to popular fury. He, nevertheless, hoped that they would proceed in the great business before them: and he engaged to render the communication between him and the house, as easy and as safe as possible. He assured them that he would attend, as heretofore, to the duties of his office; and that he was well disposed to restore that harmony which had been unhappily interrupted."

This message produced a joint address from the council and house of burgesses; in which, they represented his lordship's fears to be groundless, and declared their willingness to concur in any measure he would propose for the security of himself and family; and concluded, by entreating his return to the palace. Lord Dunmore, in reply, justified his apprehensions of danger, from the threats which had been repeatedly thrown out. He charged the house of burgesses with countenancing the violent proceedings of the people, and with a design to usurp the executive power, and subvert the constitution. This produced a reply fraught with recrimination and defensive arguments. Every incident afforded fresh room for altercation. There was a continued intercourse by addresses, messages, and answers, between the house of burgesses and the Fowey; but little of the public business was completed. His lordship was still acknowledged as the lawful governor of the province: but did not think proper to set his foot on shore, in the country over which his functions were to be exercised.

At length, when the necessary bills were ready for ratification, the council and burgesses jointly entreated the governor's presence, to give his assent to them and finish the session. After several messages and answers, lord Dunmore peremptorily refused to meet the assembly at the capitol, their usual place for deliberation: but said, he would be ready to receive them on the next Monday at his present residence on board the Fowey, for the purpose of giving his assent to such bills as he should approve of. Upon receiving this answer, the house of burgesses passed resolutions, in which they declared, that the message, requiring them to attend the governor on board of a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges: that they had reason to fear a dangerous attack was meditated against the colony; and it was, therefore, their opinion, that they should prepare for the pre-

servation of their rights and liberties. After strongly professing loyalty to the king, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their session.

The royal government in Virginia, from that day, July 10th, 1775, ceased. Soon afterwards, a convention of delegates was appointed to supply the place of the assembly. As these had unlimited confidence reposed in them, they became at once possessed of undefined discretionary powers, both legislative and executive. They exercised this authority, for the security of their constituents. They raised and embodied an armed force, and took measures for putting the colony in a state of defence. They published a justification of their conduct, and set forth the necessity of the measures they had adopted. They concluded with professions of loyalty, and declared, that though they were determined at every hazard to maintain their rights and privileges, it was also their fixed resolution to disband such forces as were raised for the defence of the colony, whenever their danger was removed.

The headstrong passions of lord Dunmore precipitated him into farther follies. With the aid of the loyalists, run away negroes, and some frigates that were on the station, he established a marine force. By degrees he equipped, and armed a number of vessels, of different kinds and sizes, in one of which he constantly resided, except when he went on shore, in a hostile manner. This force was calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. Obnoxious persons were seized and taken on board. Negroes were carried off; plantations ravaged; and houses burnt. These proceedings occasioned the sending of some detachments, of the newly-raised provincial forces, to protect the coasts. This produced a predatory war, from which neither honour nor benefit could be acquired, and in which, every supply from the shore was purchased at the risk of blood. The forces under his lordship attempted to burn Hampton: but the crews of the royal vessels employed in that business, though they had begun to cannonade it, were so annoyed by riflemen from the shore, that they were obliged to quit their station. In a few days after this repulse, Nov. 7th, 1775, a proclamation was issued by the governor dated on board the ship *William*, off Norfolk, declaring that, as the civil law was at present insufficient to punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throughout the colony; and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms, to repair to his majesty's standard, or to be considered as traitors. He also declared all indentured servants, negroes and others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his majesty's forces, to be free.

Among the circumstances which induced the rulers of Great Britain to count on an easy conquest of America, the great number of slaves had a considerable weight. On the sea coast of five of the most southern provinces the number of slaves exceeded that of freemen. It was supposed that the proffer of freedom would detach them from their masters' interest, and bind them by strong ties to support the royal standard. Perhaps, under favourable circumstances, these expectations would in some degree, have been realized; but lord Dunmore's indiscretion deprived his royal master of this resource. Six months had elapsed since his lordship first threatened its adoption. The negroes had in a great measure ceased to believe and the inhabitants to fear. It excited less surprise, and produced less effect, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. The country was now in a tolerable state of defence, and the force for protecting the negroes, in case they had closed with his lordship's offer, was far short of what would have been necessary for their security.

The injury, done the royal cause by the bare proposal of the scheme, far outweighed any advantage that resulted from it. The colonists were struck with horror, and filled with detestation of a government, which was exercised in loosening the

bands of society, and destroying domestic security. The union and vigour, which were given to their opposition, was great, while the additional force, acquired by his lordship, was considerable. It nevertheless produced some effect in Norfolk and the adjoining country, where his lordship was joined by several hundreds, both whites and blacks. The governor, having once more got footing on the main, amused himself with hopes of acquiring the glory of reducing one part of the province by means of the other. The provincials had now an object, against which they might direct their arms. An expedition was therefore concerted against the force which had taken post at Norfolk.

To protect his adherents, lord Dunmore constructed a fort at the great bridge, on the Norfolk side and furnished it with artillery. The provincials also fortified themselves, near to the same place with a narrow causeway in their front. In this state, both parties continued quiet for some days. The royalists commenced an attack. Captain Fordyce, at the head of about 60 British grenadiers, passed the causeway, and boldly marched up to the provincial intrenchments with fixed bayonets. They were exposed, without cover, to the fire of the provincials in front, and enflayed by another part of their works. The brave captain and several of his men fell. The lieutenant, with others, was taken; and all who survived were wounded. The slaves in this engagement were more prejudicial to their British employers than to the provincials. Captain Fordyce was interred by the victors, with military honour. The English prisoners were treated with kindness; but the Americans, who had joined the king's standard, experienced the resentment of their countrymen.

The royal forces on the ensuing night, evacuated their post at the great bridge; lord Dunmore shortly afterwards abandoned Norfolk, and retired with his people on board his ships. Many of the tories, a name which was given to those who adhered to the royal interest, sought the same asylum, for themselves and moveable effects. The provincials took possession of Norfolk; and the fleet, with its new incumbrances, removed to a greater distance. The people on board, cut off from all peaceable intercourse with the shore, were distressed for provisions and necessities of every kind. This occasioned sundry unimportant contests, between the provincial forces and the armed ships and boats. At length on the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore, to put the question, whether they would supply his majesty's ships with provisions?

An answer was returned in the negative. It was then determined to destroy the town. This was carried into effect; and Jan. 1, 1776, Norfolk was reduced to ashes. The whole loss was estimated at 300,000*l.* sterling. The provincials, to deprive the ships of every source of supply, destroyed the houses and plantations near the water, and obliged the people to move their cattle, provisions, and effects, further into the country.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet, continued for several months on the coast and in the rivers of Virginia. His unhappy followers suffered a complication of distresses. The scarcity of water and provisions, the closeness and filth of the small vessels produced diseases which were fatal to many, especially to the negroes. Though his whole force was trifling when compared with the resources of Virginia; yet the want of suitable armed vessels made its expulsion impracticable. The experience of that day evinced the inadequacy of land forces, for the defence of a maritime country; and the extensive mischief which may be done, by even an inconsiderable marine, when unopposed in its own way. The want of a navy was both seen and felt. Some arrangements to procure one were therefore made. Either the expectation of an attack from this quarter, or the sufferings of the crews on board, induced his lordship, in the summer of 1776, to burn the least valuable of his vessels, and to send the remainder, amounting to 30 or 40 sail, to Florida, Bermuda,

and the West Indies. The hopes which lord Dunmore had entertained of subduing Virginia, by the co-operation of the negroes, terminated with this movement. The unhappy Africans, who had engaged in it, are said to have almost universally perished.

While these transactions were carrying on, another scheme, in which lord Dunmore was a party in like manner miscarried. It was in contemplation to raise a considerable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia, and the Carolinas. Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania, was the framer of the design. He had gained the approbation of lord Dunmore, and had been sent to him by General Gage at Boston, and from him he received a commission to act as colonel commandant. It was intended that the British garrisons at Detroit, and some other remote spots, with their artillery and ammunition, should be subservient to this design. Connelly also hoped for the aid of the Canadians and Indians. He was authorized to grant commissions, and to have the supreme direction of the new forces. As soon as they were in readiness he was to penetrate through Virginia, and to meet lord Dunmore near Alexandria, on the river Potomac. Connelly was taken up on suspicion, by one of the committees in Maryland, while on his way to the scene of action. The papers found in his possession betrayed the whole. Among these, were a general sketch of the plan, and a letter from lord Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs. He was imprisoned, and the papers published. So many fortunate escapes induced a belief among serious Americans, that their cause was favoured by heaven. The various projects which were devised, and put in operation against them, pointed out the increasing necessity of union; while the havoc made on their coasts, the proffer of freedom to their slaves, and the encouragement proposed to Indians, for making war on their frontier inhabitants, quickened their resentment against Great Britain.

North Carolina was more fortunate than Virginia. The governors of both were perhaps equally zealous for the royal interest, and the people of both equally attached to the cause of America; but the former escaped with a smaller portion of public calamity. Several regulations were at this time adopted by most of the provinces. Councils of safety, committees, and conventions, were common substitutes for regular government. Similar plans for raising, arming and supporting troops, and for training the militia, were, from north to south, generally adopted. In like manner, royal governors, throughout the provinces, were exerting themselves in attaching the people to the schemes of Great Britain. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, was particularly zealous in his business. He fortified and armed his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. While he was thus employed, such commotions were excited among the people, that he thought it expedient to retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river.—The people found powder and various military stores, which had been buried in his garden and yard.

Governor Martin, though he had abandoned his usual place of residence, continued his exertions for reducing North Carolina to obedience. He particularly addressed himself to the regulators and Highland emigrants. The former had acquired this name from attempting to regulate the administration of justice, in the remote settlements, in a summary manner, subversive of the public peace. They had suffered the consequences of opposing royal government, and, from obvious principles of human nature, were disposed to support the authority, whose power to punish they had recently experienced. The Highland emigrants had been only a short time in America, and were yet more under the influence of European ideas, than those which their new situation was calculated to inspire.

Governor Martin sent commissions among these people, for raising and commanding regiments;

and he granted one to Mr. M'Donald, to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation commanding all persons, on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard. This was erected by General M'Donald, about the middle of February. Upon the first intelligence of their assembling, Brigadier General Moore, with some provincial troops and militia, and some pieces of cannon, marched to oppose them. He took possession of Rock-fish bridge, and threw up some works. He had not been there many days, when M'Donald approached; and sent a letter to Moore, enclosing the governor's proclamation and advising him and his party to join the king's standard; and adding, that in case of a refusal, they must be treated as enemies. To this Moore replied, that he and his officers considered themselves as engaged in a cause, the most glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of mankind; and in his turn offered, that if M'Donald's party laid down their arms, they should be received as friends; but, otherwise they must expect consequences, similar to those which they threatened. Soon after this, General M'Donald, with his adherents, pushed on to join Governor Martin: but Colonels Lillington and Caswell, with about 1000 militia men, took possession of Moore's creek bridge, which lay in their way, and raised a small breast work to secure themselves.

On the next morning, the Highland emigrants attacked the militia posted at the bridge; but M'Cleod, the second in command, and some more of their officers being killed at the first onset, they fled with precipitation. General M'Donald was taken prisoner, and the whole of the party broken and dispersed. The overthrow produced consequences very injurious to the British interest. A royal fleet and army was expected on the coast. A junction formed between them and the Highland emigrants, in the interior country, might have made a sensible impression on the province. From an eagerness to do something, the insurgents prematurely took arms, and being crushed before the arrival of proper support, their spirits were so entirely broken, that no future effort could be expected from them.

While the war raged only in Massachusetts, each province conducted as if it expected to be the next attacked. Georgia, though a majority of its inhabitants were at first against the measures, yet, about the middle of this year, joined the other colonies. Having not concurred in the petitions from Congress to the king, they petitioned by themselves; and stated their rights and grievances, in firm and decided language. They also adopted the continental association, and sent on their deputies to Congress.

In South Carolina, there was an eagerness to be prepared for defence, which was not surpassed in any of the provinces. Regiments were raised; forts were built; the militia trained; and every necessary preparation made for that purpose. Lord William Campbell, the royal governor, endeavoured to form a party for the support of government, and was in some degree successful. Distrusting his personal safety on shore, about the middle of September, he took up his residence on board an armed vessel, then in the harbour.

The royal government still existed in name and form: but the real power, which the people obeyed, was exercised by a provincial congress, a council of safety, and subordinate committees. To conciliate the friendship of the Indians, the popular leaders sent a small supply of powder into their country. They who were opposed to Congress, embodied, and robbed the wagons which were employed in its transportation. To inflame the minds of their adherents, they propagated a report that the powder was intended to be given to the Indians, for the purpose of massacring the friends of royal government. The inhabitants took arms, some to support royal government, but more to support the American measures.

The royalists acted feebly, and were easily overpowered. They were disheartened by the

superior numbers that opposed them. They everywhere gave way, and were obliged either to fly or feign submission. Solicitations had been made about this time for royal forces to awe the southern provinces; but without effect, till the proper season was over. One scheme for this purpose was frustrated by a single device. Private intelligence had been received of an express being sent from sir James Wright, governor of Georgia, to General Gage. By him, the necessity of ordering a part of the royal army to the southward was fully stated. The express was waylaid, and compelled by two gentlemen to deliver his letters. One to General Gage was kept back, and another one forwarded in its room. The seal and hand-writing were so exactly imitated that the deception was not suspected. The forged letter was received and acted upon. It is stated the degree of peace and tranquility to be such as induced an opinion, that there was no necessity of sending royal troops to the southward.

While these states were thus left to themselves, they had time and opportunity to prepare for extremities; and, in the mean time, the friends of royal government were severally crushed. A series of disasters followed the royal cause in the year 1775. General Gage's army was cooped up in Boston, and rendered useless. In the southern states, where a small force would have made an impression, the royal governors were unsupported. Much was done to irritate the colonists, and to cement their union; but very little, either in the way of conquest and concession, to subdue their spirits or conciliate their affections.

In this year the people of America generally took the side of the colonies. Every art was made use of, by the popular leaders, to attach the inhabitants to their cause; nor were the votaries of the royal interest inactive: but little impression was made by the latter, except among the uninformed. The great mass of the wealth, learning, and influence, in all the southern colonies, and in most of the northern, was in favour of the American cause. Some aged persons were exceptions to the contrary. Attached to ancient habits, and enjoying the fruits of their industry, they were slow in approving new measures, subversive of the former, and endangering the latter. A few, who had basked in the sunshine of court favour, were restrained by honour, principle, and interest, from forsaking the fountain of their enjoyments. Some feared the power of Britain, and others doubted the perseverance of America; but a great majority resolved to hazard every thing, in preference to a tame submission. In the beginning of the year 1776, the colonists were farmers, merchants, and mechanics: but in its close, they had assumed the profession of soldiers. So sudden a transformation of so numerous, and so dispersed a people, is without a parallel.

This year was also remarkable for the general termination of royal government. This was effected without any violence to its executive officers. The new system was not so much forcibly imposed, or designedly adopted, as introduced through necessity, and the imperceptive agency of a common danger, operating uniformly on the mind of the public. The royal governors, for the most part voluntarily abdicated their governments, and retired on board ships of war. They assigned for reason that they apprehended personal danger; but this, in every instance, was unfounded. Perhaps, these representatives of royalty thought, that as they were constitutionally necessary to the administration of justice, the horrors of anarchy would deter the people from prosecuting their opposition. If they acted from this principle, they were mistaken. Their withdrawing from the exercise of their official duties both furnished an apology, and induced a necessity for organizing a system of government, independent of royal authority. By encouraging opposition to the popular measures, they involved their friends in distress. The unsuccessful insurrections, which they fomented, being improperly timed, and unsupported, were easily overthrown; and actually

strengthened the popular government, which they meant to destroy.

As the year 1775 drew near to a close, the friends of Congress were embarrassed with a new difficulty. The army was temporary, and only engaged to serve out the year. The object, for which they had taken up arms, was not obtained. Every reason, which had previously induced the provinces to embody a military force, still existed and with increasing weight. It was therefore resolved to form a new army. The same flattering hopes were indulged, that an army for the ensuing year would answer every purpose. A committee of Congress, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lyneh, and Mr. Harrison, repaired to head quarters at Cambridge; and there, in conjunction with General Washington, made arrangements for organizing an army for the year 1776. It was presumed that the spirit, which had hitherto operated on the yeomanry of the country, would induce most of the same individuals to engage for another twelvemonth; but, on experiment, it was found that much of their military ardour had already evaporated. The first impulse of passion, and the novelty of the scene, had brought many to the field, who had great objections against continuing in the military line.—They found, that to be soldiers, required sacrifices, of which, when they assumed that character, they had no idea. So unacquainted were the bulk of the people with the mode of carrying on modern war, that some of them flew to arms, with the delusive expectation of settling the whole dispute, by a few decisive and immediate engagements. Experience soon taught them, that to risk life in open fighting was but a part of a soldier's duty. Several of the inferior officers retired; the men frequently refused to enlist, unless they were allowed to choose their officers. Others would not engage unless they were indulged with furloughs. Fifty would apply together for leave of absence; indulgence threatened less ruinous consequences than a refusal would probably have produced. On the whole, enlistments went on slowly. Though the recruits for the new army had not arrived; yet, the Connecticut troops, whose time expired on the first of December could not be persuaded to continue in service. On their way home, several of them were stopped by the country people, and compelled to return. When every thing seemed to be exposed, by the departure of so great a part of the late army, the militia were called on for a temporary aid. A new difficulty obstructed, as well the recruiting of the army, as the coming in of the militia. Sundry persons, infected with the small-pox, were sent out of Boston and landed at Point Shirley. Such was the dread of that disease, that the British army scarcely excited equal terror. So many difficulties retarded the recruiting service, that on the last day of the year, 1775, the whole American army amounted to no more than 9650 men. Of the remarkable events, with which the subsequent important year was replete, it was not the least, that, within musket shot of twenty British regiments, one army was disbanded and another enlisted.

All this time the British troops at Boston were suffering the inconvenience of a blockade. From the 19th of April, they were cut off from those refreshments which their situation required. Their supplies from Britain did not reach the coast, for a long time after they were expected. Several were taken by the American cruisers, and others were lost at sea. This was in particular the fate of many of their coal ships. The want of fuel was particularly felt, in a climate where the winter is both severe and tedious. They relieved themselves, in part, from their sufferings on this account, by the timber of houses, which they pulled down and burnt. Vessels were despatched to the West Indies to procure provisions: but the islands were so straitened, that they could afford little assistance. Armed ships and transports were ordered to Georgia, with an intent to procure rice; but the people of that province, with the aid of a party from South Carolina, so effectually opposed them, that of eleven vessels, only two got off safe with

their cargoes. It was not till the stock of the garrison was nearly exhausted, that the transports from England entered the port of Boston, and relieved the distresses of the garrison.

While the troops within the lines were apprehensive of suffering from want of provisions, the troops without were equally uneasy for want of employment. Used to labour and motion on their farms, they could not brook the inactivity and confinement of a camp life. Fiery spirits declaimed in favour of an assault. They preferred a bold spirit of enterprise, to that passive fortitude, which bears up under present evils, while it waits for favourable junctures. To be in readiness for an attempt of this kind, a council of war recommended to call in 7280 militia men, from New Hampshire or Connecticut. This number, added to the regular army before Boston, would have made an operating force of about 17,000 men.

The provincials laboured under great inconveniences from the want of arms and ammunition.—Very early in the contest, the king of Great Britain, by proclamation, forbade the exportation of warlike stores to the colonies. Great exertions had been made to manufacture saltpetre and gunpowder: but the supply was slow and inadequate. A secret committee of Congress had been appointed, with ample power to lay in a stock of this necessary article. Some swift sailing vessels had been despatched to the coast of Africa, to purchase what could be procured in that distant region. A party from Charleston forcibly took about 17,000 lbs. of powder, from a vessel near the bar of St. Augustine. Some time after, Commodore Hopkins stripped Providence, one of the Bahama islands, of a quantity of artillery and stores; but the whole, procured from all these quarters, was far short of a sufficiency. In order to supply the new army before Boston, with the necessary means of defence, an application was made to Massachusetts for arms: but, on examination, it was found that their public stores afforded only 200. Orders were issued to purchase firelocks from private persons: but few had any to sell, and fewer would part with them. In the month of February, there were 2000 of the American infantry, who were destitute of arms. Powder was equally scarce, and yet daily applications were made for dividends of the small quantity which was on hand, for the defence of various parts threatened with invasion. The eastern colonies presented an unusual sight. A powerful enemy safely entrenched in their first city, while a fleet was ready to transport them to any part of the coast. A numerous body of husbandmen was resolutely bent on opposition; but without the necessary arms and ammunition for self-defence. The eyes of all were fixed on General Washington; and it was unreasonably expected, that he would, by a bold exertion, free the town of Boston from the British troops. The dangerous situation of public affairs led him to conceal the real scarcity of arms and ammunition; and, with that magnanimity which is characteristic of great minds, to suffer his character to be assailed, rather than vindicate himself, by exposing his many wants. There were not wanting persons, who, judging from the superior numbers of men in the American army, boldly asserted, that, if the commander in chief were not desirous of prolonging his importance at the head of an army, he might, by a vigorous exertion, gain possession of Boston. Such suggestions were reported and believed by several, while they were contradicted by the general, who chose to risk his fame, rather than expose his army and his country.

Agreeably to the request of the council of war, about 7000 of the militia had rendezvoused in February. General Washington stated to his officers, that the troops in camp, together with the reinforcements which had been called for, and were daily coming in, would amount nearly to 17,000 men; that he had not powder sufficient for a bombardment; and asked their advice, whether, as reinforcements might be daily expected in the enemy, it would not be prudent before that event took place, to make an assault

on the British lines. The proposition was negatived: but it was recommended to take possession of Dorchester heights. To conceal this design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a bombardment of the town from other directions commenced, and was carried on for three days, with as much briskness as a deficient stock of powder would admit. In this first essay, three of the mortars were broken, either from a defect in their construction, or, more probably, from ignorance of the proper mode of using them.

The night of the 4th of March was fixed upon for taking possession of Dorchester heights. A covering party of about 800 men led the way. These were followed by the carts, with the intrenching tools, 1200 of a working party, commanded by General Thomas. In the rear, there were more than two hundred carts, loaded with fascines, and hay in bundles. While the cannon were playing in other parts, the greatest silence was kept by this working party. The active zeal of the industrious provincials completed lines of defence, by morning, which astonished the garrison. The difference between Dorchester heights on the evening of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th, seemed to realize the tales of romance. The admiral informed General Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he would not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbour. It was therefore determined in a council of war, to attempt to dislodge them. An engagement was hourly expected. It was intended by General Washington, in that case, to force his way into Boston with 4000 men, who were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge river. The militia had come forward with great alertness each bringing three days' provision, in expectation of an immediate assault. The men were in high spirits, and impatiently waiting for the appeal.

They were reminded, that it was the 5th of March, and were called upon to avenge the death of their countrymen killed on that day. The many eminences in and near Boston, which overlooked the ground on which it was expected that the contending parties would engage, were crowded with numerous spectators; but General Howe did not intend to attack until the next day. In the night, a most violent storm, and, towards morning, a heavy flood of rain, came on. A carnage was thus providentially prevented, that would probably have equalled, if not exceeded, the fatal 17th of June at Bunker's Hill. In this situation, it was agreed by the British, in council of war, to evacuate the town as soon as possible.

In a few days after, a flag came out of Boston, with a paper signed by four selectmen, informing, "that they had applied to General Robertson, who, on an application to General Howe, was authorised to assure them, that he had no intention of burning the town, unless the troops under his command were molested, during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the armed force without." When this paper was presented to General Washington, he replied, "that as it was an unauthenticated paper, and without an address, and not obligatory on General Howe, he could take no notice of it;" but at the same time intimated his good wishes for the security of the town.

A proclamation was issued by General Howe, ordering all woollen and linen goods to be delivered to Crean Brush, Esq. Shops were opened and stripped of their goods. A licentious plundering took place. Much was carried off, and more was wantonly destroyed. These irregularities were forbidden in orders, and the guilty threatened with death; but, nevertheless, great mischief was committed.

The British, amounting to more than 7000 men evacuated Boston, March 17th, 1776; leaving their barracks standing; a number of pieces of cannon spiked; four large iron sea mortars; and stores to the value of 30,000*l*. They demolished the castle, and knocked off the trunions of the cannon. Various incidents caused a delay of nine days after the evacuation, before they left Nantasket road.

This embarkation was attended with many circumstances of distress and embarrassment. On the departure of the royal army from Boston, a great number of the inhabitants, attached to their sovereign, and afraid of public resentment, chose to abandon their country. From the great multitude about to depart, there was no possibility of procuring purchasers for their furniture; neither was there a sufficiency of vessels for its convenient transportation. Mutual jealousy subsisted between the army and navy: each charging the other as the cause of their common distress. The army was full of discontent. Reinforcements, though long promised, had not arrived. Both officers and soldiers, thought themselves neglected. Five months had elapsed since they had received any advice of their destination. Wants and inconveniences increased their ill humour. Their intended voyage to Halifax subjected them to great dangers. The coast at all times hazardous, was imminently so at that tempestuous equinoctial season. They had reason to fear, that they would be blown off to the West Indies, and without a sufficient stock of provisions. They were also going to a barren country. To add to their difficulties, this dangerous voyage, when completed, was directly so much out of their way. Their business lay to the southward; and they were going northward. Under all these difficulties, and with all these gloomy prospect, the fleet steered for Halifax. Contrary to appearances, the voyage thither was both short and prosperous. They remained there some time, waiting for reinforcements and instructions from England.

When the royal fleet and army departed from Boston, several ships were left behind, for the protection of vessels coming from England; but the American privateers were so alert, that they nevertheless made many prizes. Some of the vessels which they captured, were laden with arms and warlike stores. Some transports, with troops on board, were also taken. These had run into the harbour, not knowing that the place was evacuated. The boats employed in the embarkation of the British troops, had scarce completed their business, when General Washington, with his army, marched into Boston. He was received with marks of approbation more flattering than the pomps of a triumph. The inhabitants, released from the severities of a garrison life, and from the various indignities to which they were subjected, hailed him as their deliverer. The evacuation of Boston had been previously determined upon, by the British ministry, from principles of political expediency. Being resolved to carry on the war, for purposes affecting all the colonies, they conceived a central position to be preferable to Boston. Policy of this kind had induced the adoption of the measure; but the American works on Roxbury expedited its execution.

CHAPTER XII.

The Proceedings of Parliament, against the Colonies, 1775-6; Operations in South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey.

THE operations, carried on against the united colonies, in the year 1775, were adapted to cases of criminal combination, among subjects not in arms. The military arrangements for that year, were therefore made on the idea of a trifling addition to a peace establishment. It was either not known, that a majority of the Americans had determined to resist the power of Great Britain, rather than submit to the coercive laws, or it was not believed that they had spirit sufficient to act in conformity to that determination. The propensity in human nature, to believe that to be true, which is wished to be so, had deceived the royal servants in America, and the British ministry in England, so far as to induce their general belief, that a determined spirit on the part of government, and a few thousand troops to support that determination, would easily compose the troubles

in America. Their military operations, in the year 1775, were therefore calculated on the small scale of strengthening the civil power, and not on the large one of resisting an organized army. Though it had been declared by parliament in February, 1775, that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, yet it was not believed that the colonists would dare to abet their opposition by an armed force.

The resistance made by the militia at Lexington, the consequent military arrangements adopted, first by Massachusetts, and afterwards by Congress, together with the defence of Bunker's hill, all conspired to prove that the Americans were far from being contemptible adversaries. The nation, finding itself, by a fatal progression of the unhappy dispute, involved in a civil war, was roused to recollection. Though several corporate bodies, and sundry distinguished individuals in Great Britain were opposed to coercive measures, yet there was a majority for proceeding. The pride of the nation was interested in humbling the colonists, who had dared to resist the power which had lately triumphed over the combined force of France and Spain. The prospect of freeing their own estates from a part of the heavy taxes charged thereon, induced numbers of the landed gentlemen in Great Britain to support the same measures. They conceived the coercion of the colonies to be the most direct mode of securing their contribution towards sinking the national debt. Influenced by these opinions, they not only justified the adoption of rigorous measures, but cheerfully consented to present additional taxes, with the same spirit which induces litigants in private life, to advance money for forwarding a lawsuit, from the termination of which great profits are expected.

Lord North, the prime minister of England, finding himself supported by so many powerful interests, was encouraged to proceed. He had already subdued a powerful party in the city of London, and triumphed over the East India company. The submission of the colonies was only wanting to complete the glory of his administration. Previous success emboldened him to attempt the arduous business. He flattered himself, that the accomplishment of it would not only restore peace to the empire, but give a brilliancy to his name, far exceeding that of any of his predecessors.

Such was the temper of a great part of the nation, and such the ambitious views of its prime minister; when the parliament was convened, on the 21st of October, 1775. In the speech from the throne, great complaints were made of the leaders in the colonies, who were said, by their misrepresentations, to have infused into the minds of the deluded multitude, opinions repugnant to their constitutional subordination; and afterwards to have proceeded to the commencement of hostilities, and the usurpation of the whole powers of government. His majesty also charged his subjects in America, with "meaning only to amuse, by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, while they were preparing for a general revolt." And he farther asserted, "that the rebellious war now levied by them was become more general, and manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire; and that it had become the part of wisdom, and, in its effects, of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the most decisive exertions."

Information was also given, that "the most friendly offers of foreign assistance had been received; and that his majesty's electoral troops were sent to the garrison of Gibraltar, and Port Mahon, in order that a large number of the established forces of the kingdom might be applied to the maintenance of its authority." The severity of these assertions was mitigated by the declaration, "that when the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom this force should be directed, would become sensible of their error, his majesty would be ready to receive the misled with tenderness and mercy;" and "that to prevent inconveniences, he should give authority to certain persons on the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities to such as should be disposed to return

to their allegiance." The sentiments expressed in this speech, and the heavy charges therein laid against the colonists, were re-echoed in addresses to the king from both houses of parliament, but not without a spirited protest in the house of lords. In this, nineteen dissenting members asserted the American war to be "unjust and impolitic in its principles, and fatal in its consequences." They also declared, that they could not consent to an address, "which might deceive his majesty and the public into a belief of the confidence of their house in the present ministers, who had disgraced parliament; deceived the nation; lost the colonies; and involved them in a civil war against their clearest interests, and, upon the most unjustifiable grounds, wantonly spilling the blood of thousands of their fellow subjects."

The sanction of parliament being obtained for a vigorous prosecution of the American war, estimates for the public service were agreed to, on the idea of operating against the colonies, as an hostile armed foreign power. To this end, it was voted to employ 28,000 seamen, and 55,000 land forces; and authority was given to engage foreign mercenaries. No ministry had, in any preceding war, exerted themselves more to prosecute military operations against alien enemies, than the present, to make the ensuing campaign decisive of the dispute, between the mother country and the colonies. One legislative act was still wanting, to give full efficacy to the intended prosecution of hostilities. This was brought into parliament, in a bill interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies, Nov. 20th, 1775. By it, all property of Americans, whether of ships or goods on the high seas, or in harbour, was declared "to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war." It farther enacted, "that the masters, crews and other persons found on board captured American vessels, should be entered on board his majesty's vessels of war, and there considered to be in his majesty's service, to all intents and purposes, as if they had entered of their own accord." This bill also authorised the crown to appoint commissioners, who, over and above granting pardons to individuals, were empowered to "inquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any colony, or part of a colony, had returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle it to be received within the king's peace and protection." In that case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, "the restrictions of the proposed law were to cease."

It was said in favour of this bill, "that as the Americans were already in a state of war, it became necessary that hostilities should be carried on against them, as was usual against alien enemies; that the more vigorously and extensively military operations were prosecuted, the sooner would peace and order be restored; that as the commissioners went out with the sword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other, it was in the power of the colonists to prevent the infliction of any real or apparent severities, in the proposed statute."

In opposition, it was said, "that treating the Americans as a foreign nation, was chalking out the way for their independence." One member observed, that as the indiscriminate rapine of property authorised by the bill, would oblige the colonists to coalesce as one man, its title ought to be: "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the resolves of Congress." The clause, for vesting the property of the seizures in the captors, was reprobated as tending to extinguish in the breasts of seamen the principles of patriotism; of national pride and glory; and to substitute in their room, habits of cruelty, of piracy and robbery. But of all parts of this bill, none was so severely condemned as that clause, by which persons, taken on board the American vessels, were indiscriminately compelled to serve as common sailors in British ships of war. This was said to be "a refinement of tyranny worse than death." It was also said, "that no man could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time

obliged to serve as a citizen; and that compelling captives to bear arms, against their families, kindred, friends and country, and, after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren, was unexampled, except among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society."

To all these high charges the ministry replied, "that the measure was an act of grace and favour; for," said they, "the crews of American vessels, instead of being put to death, the legal punishment of their demerits, as traitors and rebels, are by this law to be rated on the king's books, and treated as if they were on the same footing with a great body of his most useful and faithful subjects." It was also said, "that their pay and emoluments, in the service of their lawful sovereign, would be a compensation for all scruples that might arise from the supposed violation of their principles."

In the progress of the debates on this bill, lord Mansfield declared, "that the questions of original right and wrong were no longer to be considered; that they were engaged in a war, and must use their utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by it; that they must either fight or be pursued; and that the justice of the cause must give way to the present situation." Perhaps no speech, in or out of parliament, operated more extensively on the irritated minds of the colonists than this one.

The great abilities and profound legal knowledge of lord Mansfield, were both known and admired in America. That this illustrious oracle of law should declare from the seat of legislation, "that the justice of the cause was no longer to be regarded," excited the astonishment, and cemented the union of the colonists. A number of lords, as usual, entered a spirited protest against the bill; but it was carried by a great majority in both houses of parliament, and, Dec. 21, 1775, received the royal assent.

This law arrived in the colonies in March, 1776. The effects resulting from it were such as had been predicted by its opposers. It not only united the colonies in resisting Great Britain, but produced a favourable opinion of independence in the minds of thousands, who previously reprobated that measure. It was considered from New Hampshire to Georgia, as a legal discharge from allegiance to their native sovereign. What was wanting to produce a decided majority of the party for breaking off all connexion with Great Britain, was speedily obtained from the irritation excited, by the hiring of foreign troops to fight against the colonists. This measure was nearly coincident with the ratification of the prohibitory law just mentioned; and intelligence of both arrived in the colonies about the same time.

The treaties, which had been lately concluded with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for hiring their troops to the king of Great Britain, to be employed in the American service, being laid before the house of commons, a motion was made thereon for referring them to the committee of supply. This occasioned a very interesting debate, on the propriety of employing foreign troops against the Americans. The measure was supported on the necessity of prosecuting the war, and the impracticability of raising a sufficient number of domestic levies. It was also urged, "that foreign troops, inspired with the military maxims, and ideas of implicit submission, would be less apt to be biased by that false lenity, which native soldiers might indulge, at the expense of national interest." It was asked: "are we to sit still and suffer an unprovoked rebellion to terminate in the formation of an independent hostile empire?" "Are we to suffer our colonies, the object of great national expense, and of two bloody wars, to be lost for ever to us; and given away to strangers, from a scruple of employing foreign troops to preserve our just rights over colonies for which we have paid so dear a purchase? As the Americans, by refusing the obedience and taxes of subjects, deny themselves to be a part of the British empire, and make themselves foreigners,

they cannot complain that foreigners are employed against them."

On the other side, the measure was severely condemned. The necessity of the war was denied, and the nation was represented as disgraced by applying to the petty princes of Germany, for succour against her own rebellious subjects. The tendency of the example, to induce the Americans to form alliances with foreign powers, was strongly urged. It was said, "hitherto the colonists have ventured to commit themselves singly in this arduous contest, without having recourse to foreign aid; but it is not to be doubted, that in future they will think themselves fully justified, both by our example, and the laws of self-preservation, to engage foreigners to assist them in opposing those mercenaries, whom we are about to transport for their destruction. Nor is it doubtful, that in case of their application, European powers of a rank far superior to that of those petty princes to whom we have so abjectly sued for aid, will consider themselves to be equally entitled to interfere in the quarrel between us and our colonies."

The supposition of the Americans, receiving aid from France or Spain, was, on this and several other occasions, ridiculed, on the idea that these powers would not dare to set to their own colonies the dangerous example of encouraging those of Great Britain, in opposing their sovereign. It was also supposed, that they would be influenced by considerations of future danger to their American possessions, from the establishment of an independent empire in their vicinity.

In this session of parliament, between the 26th of October, 1775, and the 23d of May 1776, the ultimate plan for reducing the colonies was completely fixed. The Americans were declared out of the royal protection; and 16,000 foreign mercenaries employed by national authority, to effect their subjugation. These measures induced Congress, in the following summer, to declare themselves independent, and to seek for foreign aid: events which shall be hereafter more fully explained.

Parliamentary sanction, for carrying on the war against the colonists, as against alien enemies, being obtained, it became necessary to fix on a commander of the royal forces to be employed on this occasion. This, as a matter of right, was, in the first instance, offered to General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia; as being the first on the list of general officers. To the surprise of the minister, that respectable veteran readily accepted the command, on condition of his being properly supported. A numerous, well-appointed army, and a powerful fleet were promised him; to which he replied: "I will undertake the business without a man, or a ship of war, provided you will authorise me to assure the colonists on my arrival among them, that you will do them justice." He added farther: "I know the people of America well, and am satisfied, that his majesty has not in any part of his dominions, more obedient, or more loyal subjects. You may secure their obedience by doing them justice; but you will never subdue them by force of arms."* These opinions, so favourable to the Americans, proved General Oglethorpe to be an improper person for the purpose intended by the British ministry. He was therefore passed over, and the command given to Sir William Howe.

It was resolved to open the campaign, with such a powerful force, as "would look down all opposition, and effectuate submission without bloodshed;" and to direct its operations to the accomplishment of three objects. The first was the relief of Quebec, and the recovery of Canada; which also included a subsequent invasion of the north-western frontiers of the adjacent provinces. The second was, a strong impression on some of the southern colonies. The third and principal, was to take possession of New York, with a force sufficiently

powerful to keep possession of Hudson's river, and form a line of communication with the royal army in Canada, or to overrun the adjacent country.

The partial success of the first part of this plan, has been, in the preceding chapter, explained. The execution of the second part was committed to General Clinton, and sir Peter Parker. The former, with a small force, having called at New York, and also visited in Virginia lord Dunmore, the late royal governor of that colony, and finding that nothing could be done at either place, proceeded to Cape Fear river. At that place, he issued a proclamation from on board the Pallas transport, offering free pardon to all such as should lay down their arms, excepting Cornelius Harnett, and Robert Howe: but the recent defeat of the regulators and Highlanders, restrained even their friends from paying any attention to this act of grace.

At Cape Fear, a junction was formed between sir Henry Clinton and sir Peter Parker; the latter of whom had sailed with his squadron directly from Europe. They concluded to attempt the reduction of Charleston, as being, of all places within the line of their instructions, the objects at which they could strike, with the greatest prospect of advantage. They had 2,800 land forces, which, they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.

For some months past, every exertion had been made to put the colony of South Carolina, and especially its capital, Charleston, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's Island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it.

On the 28th of June, 1775, sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island with two fifty gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment; four frigates, the Active, Acteon, Solebay, and Syren, each of 28 guns; the Sphinx of 20 guns, the Friendship armed vessel of 22 guns; Ranger sloop and Thunderbomb, each of 8 guns. On the fort were mounted 26 cannon, 26, 18 and 9 pounders. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and was continued for upwards of ten hours. The garrison, consisting of 374 regulars and a few militia under the command of Colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately; for the most part took aim, and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces; and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 200 men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed, and 22 wounded. The fort, being built of palmetto, was little damaged. The shot which struck it were ineffectually buried in its soft wood.

General Clinton, had, some time before the engagement, landed with a number of troops on Long Island: and it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage, which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear; but the extreme danger, to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt.

Colonel Thompson, with 7 or 800 men, was stationed at the east end of Sullivan's island, to oppose their crossing. No serious attempt was made to land, either from the fleet, or the detachment commanded by sir Henry Clinton. The firing ceased in the evening, and the ships slipped their cables. Before morning, they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days more, the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New York. The thanks of Congress were given to General Lee, who had been sent on by Congress to take the command in Carolina; and also to Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, for their good conduct on this memorable day. In compliment to the commanding officer, the fort was from this time called Fort Moultrie.

During this engagement, the inhabitants stood with arms in their hands, at their respective posts, prepared to receive the enemy wherever they might

land; impressed with high ideas of British prowess and bravery, they were apprehensive that the fort would be either silenced or passed, and that they should be called to immediate action. They were cantoned in the various landing places near Charleston, and their resolution was fixed to meet the invaders at the water's edge, and dispute every inch of ground, trusting the event to heaven.

By the repulse of this armament, the southern states obtained a respite from the calamities of war, for two years and a half. The defeat the British met with at Charleston, seemed in some measure to counterbalance the unfavourable impression, made by their subsequent successes, to the northward. Throughout the whole summer, and till the close of the year, Congress had little else than the victory on Sullivan's island, to console them under the various evacuations, retreats, and defeats, to which, as shall hereafter be related, their armies were obliged to submit, in every other part of the union. The event of the expedition contributed greatly to establish the cause, which it was intended to overset. In opposition to the bold assertions of some, and the desponding fears of others, experience proved that America might effectually resist a British fleet and army. Those who, from interested motives, abetted the royal government, ashamed of their opposition to the struggles of an infant people for their dearest rights, retired into obscurity.

The effects of this victory, in animating the Americans, were much greater than could be warranted by the circumstances of the action. As it was the first attack made by the British navy, its unsuccessful issue inspired a confidence, which a more exact knowledge of military calculations would have corrected. The circumstance of its happening in the early part of the war, and in one of the weaker provinces, were happily instrumental in dispelling the gloom which overshadowed the minds of many of the colonists, on hearing of the powerful fleets and numerous armies which were coming against them.

The command of the force, which was designed to operate against New York in this campaign, was given to admiral lord Howe, and his brother sir William, officers who, as well from their personal characters, as the known bravery of their family, stood high in the confidence of the British nation. To this service, was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about 30,000 men. This force was far superior to any thing that America had hitherto seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind; and were supported by a numerous fleet. The admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.

General Howe, having in vain waited two months at Halifax, for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, impatient of farther delays, sailed from that harbour, with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New York, arrived in the latter end of June, off Sandy Hook. Admiral lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax, soon after his brother's departure. Without dropping anchor, he followed and joined him near Staten Island. The British general, on his approach, found every part of New York island, and the most exposed parts of Long Island, fortified and well defended by artillery. About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island, which had not been so much the object of attention. The inhabitants thereof, either from fear, policy, or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the royal forces. General Howe were there met by Tryon, late governor of the province, and by several of the loyalists, who had taken refuge with him, in an armed vessel. He was also joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey; and 200 of the inhabitants of Staten Island were embodied, as a royal militia. From these appearances, great hopes were indulged that as soon as the army was in a condition to penetrate into the country, and protect the loyal-

* This anecdote was communicated to the author by Henry Laurens, Esq. who received it from general Oglethorpe.

ists, such numbers would flock to their standard, as would facilitate the attainment of the object of the campaign.

On the fourth day after the British transports appeared off Sandy Hook, Congress, though fully informed of the numbers and appointments of the force about to be employed against the colonies, ratified their famous declaration of independence. This was publicly read to the American army, and received by them with unfeigned acclamations of joy. Though it was well known that Great Britain had employed a force of 55,000 men, to war upon the new formed states, and that the continental army was not nearly equal to half that number, and only engaged for a few months, and that Congress was without any assurance of foreign aid; yet both the American officers and privates gave every evidence of their hearty approbation of the decree, which severed the colonies from Great Britain, and submitted to the decision of the sword, whether they should be free states or conquered provinces. "Now," said they, "we know the ground on which we stand. Now we are a nation. No more shall the opprobrious term of rebel, with any appearance of justice, be applied to us. Should the fortune of war throw us into the hands of our enemies, we may expect the treatment of prisoners, and not the punishment of rebels. The prize for which we contend is of such magnitude, that we may freely risk our lives to obtain it."

It had early occurred to General Washington, that the possession of New York would be with the British a favourite object. Its central situation, and contiguity to the ocean, enabled them to carry, with facility, the war to any part of the sea coast. The possession of it was rendered still more valuable, by the ease with which it could be maintained. Surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number of British ships, against adversaries, whose whole navy consisted only of a few frigates. Hudson's river, being navigable for ships of the largest size to a great distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the more southern states, and of preventing almost any communication between them.

From these well-known advantages, it was presumed by the Americans, that the British would make great exertions to effect the reduction of New York. General Lee, while the British were yet in possession of the capital of Massachusetts, had been detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New York into a posture of defence. As the departure of the British from Boston became more certain, the probability of their instantly going to New York increased the necessity of collecting a force for its safety. It had been therefore agreed in a council of war, that five regiments, together with a rifle battalion, should march without delay to New York; and that the states of New York and New Jersey should be requested to furnish, the former two thousand, and the latter one thousand men, for its immediate defence. General Washington soon followed, and early in April fixed his head quarters in that city. A new distribution of the American army took place. Part was left in Massachusetts. Between two and three thousand were ordered to Canada; but the greater part rendezvoused at New York.

Experience had taught the Americans the difficulty of attacking an army, after it had effected a lodgment. They therefore made strenuous exertions to prevent the British from enjoying the advantages in New York, which had resulted from their having been permitted to land and fortify themselves in Boston. The sudden commencement of hostilities in Massachusetts, together with the previous undisturbed landing of the royal army, allowed no time for deliberating on a system of war. A change of circumstances indicated the propriety of fixing on a plan, for conducting the defence of the new formed states. On this occasion, General Washington, after much thought, determined on a war of posts. This mode of conducting military operations gave confidence to the Americans, and it both retarded and alarmed their adversaries. The soldiers in the American army

were new levies, and had not yet learned to stand uncovered before the instruments of death. Habituating them to the sound of fire arms, while they were sheltered from danger, was one step towards inspiring them with a portion of mechanical courage. The British remembered Bunker's hill, and had no small reverence for even slight fortifications, when defended by freemen. With views of this kind, works were erected in and about New York, on Long Island, and the heights of Harlem. These, besides batteries, were field redoubts, formed of earth, with a parapet and ditch. The former were sometimes frused, and the latter palisaded: but they were in no instance formed to sustain a siege. Slight as they were, the campaign was nearly wasted away, before they were so far reduced, as to permit the royal army to penetrate into the country.

The war having taken a more important turn than in the preceding year had been foreseen, Congress at the opening of the campaign, found themselves destitute of a force sufficient for their defence. They, therefore, in June, determined on a plan to reinforce their continental army, by bringing into the field, a new species of troops, that would be more permanent than the common militia, and yet more easily raised than regulars. With this view they instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia. Ten thousand men were called for from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December. Congress at the same time called for 13,800 of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The men, for forming the flying camp, were generally procured; but there were great deficiencies of the militia; and many of those who obeyed their country's call, so far as to turn out, manifested a reluctance to submit to the necessary discipline.

The difficulty of providing the troops with arms, while before Boston, was exceeded by the superiority of supplying them in their new position. By the returns of the garrison at Fort Montgomery, in the Highlands, in April, it appeared that there were 208 privates, and only 41 muskets fit for use. In the garrison at Fort Constitution, there were 136 men, and only 68 muskets fit for use. Flints were also much wanted. Lead would have been equally deficient, had not a supply for the musquetry been obtained by stripping dwelling houses.

The uncertainty of the place where the British would commence their operations, added much to the embarrassment of General Washington. Not only each colony, but each sea-port town, supposed itself to be the object of the British, and was ardent in its supplications to the commander in chief, for his peculiar attention. The people of Massachusetts were strongly impressed with an idea, that the evacuation of Boston was only a feint, and that the British army would soon return. They were for that reason very desirous, that the continental troops should not be withdrawn from their state. The inhabitants of Rhode Island urged, in a long petition, that their maritime situation exposed them to uncommon danger, while their great exertions in fitting out armed vessels, had deprived them of many of their citizens. They therefore prayed for a body of continental soldiers, to be stationed for their constant and peculiar defence. So various were the applications for troops, so numerous the calls for arms, that a decided conduct became necessary to prevent the feeble American force, and the deficient stock of public arms, from being divided and subdivided, so as to be unequal to the proper defence of any one place.

In this crisis of particular danger, the people of New York acted with spirit. Though they knew they were to receive the first impressions of the British army, yet their convention resolved, "that all persons, residing within the state of New York, and claiming protection from its laws, owed it allegiance; and that any person owing it allegiance, and levying war against the state, or being an ad-

herent to the king of Great Britain, should be deemed guilty of treason, and suffer death." They also resolved, "that one fourth of the militia of West Chester, Dutchess, and Orange counties, should be forthwith drawn out for the defence of the liberties, property, wives and children of the good people of the state; to be continued in service to the last day of December;" and, "that as the inhabitants of King's county had determined not to oppose the enemy, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the authenticity of these reports, and to disarm and secure the disaffected; to remove or destroy the stock of grain, and, if necessary, to lay the whole country waste."

The two royal commissioners, Admiral and General Howe, thought proper, before they commenced their military operations, to try what might be done in their civil capacity, towards effecting a re-union between Great Britain and the colonies. It was one of the first acts of Lord Howe, to send on shore, a circular letter, to several of the royal governors in America, informing them of the late act of parliament, "for restoring peace to the colonies, and granting pardon to such as should deserve mercy;" and desiring them to publish a declaration which accompanied the same. In this, he informed the colonists of the power with which his brother and he were intrusted; of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty;" and of declaring, "any colony, province, county or town, port, district or place, to be in the peace of his majesty."* Congress, impressed with a belief, that

* With these circular letters to the governors, Lord Howe sent a private one to Dr. Franklin: to which a most interesting answer was returned, worthy of everlasting remembrance. The letter and answer were as follow:

Lord Howe to Dr. Franklin.

"I cannot, my worthy friend, permit the letters and parcels which I have sent, to be landed, without adding a word upon the subject of the injurious extremities in which our unhappy disputes have engaged us.

"You will learn the nature of my mission from the official despatches, which I have recommended to be forwarded by the same conveyance. Retaining all the earnestness I ever expressed, to see our differences accommodated, I shall conceive, if I meet with the disposition in the colonies, which I was once taught to expect, the most flattering hopes of proving serviceable in the objects of the king's paternal solicitude, by promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies: but, if the deep-rooted prejudices of America, and the necessity of preventing her trade from passing into foreign channels, must keep us still a divided people, I shall, from every private as well as public motive, most heartily lament that this is not the moment wherein those great objects of my ambition are to be attained; and that I am to be longer deprived of an opportunity to assure you, personally, of the regard with which I am," &c.

Dr. Franklin answered—

"I received safe the letters your lordship so kindly forwarded to me, and beg you to accept my thanks.

"The official despatches, to which you refer me, contain nothing more than what we had seen in the act of parliament; 'offers of pardon upon submission;' which I am sorry to find, as it must give your lordship pain, to be sent so far on so hopeless a business.

"Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness, and insensibility, which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burned our defenceless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is even now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. These atrocious injuries have extinguished every spark of affection for that parent country, that we once held so dear; but were it possible for us to forget and forgive them, it is not possible for you, I mean the British nation, to forgive the people you have so heavily injured. You can never confide again in those, as fellow subjects, and permit them to enjoy equal freedom; to whom you know you have given such just causes of lasting enmity; and this must compel you, were you again under your government, to endeavor to break our spirit, by the severest tyranny, and obstructing, by every means in your power, our growing strength and prosperity.

the proposals of the commissioners. Instead of uniting the people, would have a contrary effect, ordered them to be speedily published in the several American newspapers. Had a redress of grievances been at this late hour offered, though the honour of the states was involved in supporting their late declaration of independence, yet the love of peace, and the bias of great numbers to their parent state, would in all probability, have made a powerful party for rescinding the act of separation, and for re-uniting with Great Britain; but, when it appeared that the power of the royal commissioners was little more than to grant pardons, Congress appealed to the good sense of the people, for the necessity of adhering to the act of independence. The resolution for publishing the circular letter, and the declaration of the royal commissioners, assigned as a reason thereof, "that the good people of the United States may be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still

"Your lordship mentions the 'king's paternal solicitude for promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonists.' If, by peace, be here meant a peace, to be entered into by distinct states, now at war, and his majesty has given your lordship powers to treat with us, of such a peace, I may venture to say, though without authority, that I think a treaty for that purpose not quite impracticable before we enter into foreign alliances; but I am persuaded you have no such powers. Your nation, though by punishing those American governors, who have fomented the discord; rebuilding our burnt towns; and repairing, as far as possible, the mischiefs done us, she might recover a great share of our regard, and the greatest share of our growing commerce, with all the advantages of that additional strength to be derived from a friendship with us; yet, I know too well her abounding pride and deficient wisdom, to believe she will ever take such salutary measures. Her fondness for conquest, as a warlike nation; her lust of dominion, as an ambitious one; and her thirst for a gainful monopoly, as a commercial one, none of them legitimate causes of war, will join to hide from her eyes every view of her true interest, and continually goad her on, in these ruinous distant expeditions, so destructive both of lives and of treasure, that they must prove as pernicious to her in the end, as the cruelties formerly were to most of the nations of Europe.

"I have not the vanity, my lord, to think of intimidating by thus predicting the effects of this war: for I know that it will in England have the fate of all my former predictions, not to be believed till the event shall verify it.

"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking, that fine and noble porcelain vase, the British empire; for, I knew, that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength and value that existed in the whole, and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wetted my cheek, when at your good sister's, in London, you once gave me expectation that a reconciliation might take place. I had the misfortune to find these expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was labouring to prevent. My consolation, under that groundless and malevolent treatment, was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men, in that country, and among the rest some share in the regard of lord Howe.

"The well-founded esteem, and permit me to say, affection, which I shall always have for your lordship, make it painful to me to see you engaged in conducting a war, the great ground of which, as described in your letter, is, 'the necessity of preventing the American trade from passing into foreign channels. To me, it seems that neither the obtaining or retaining any trade, how valuable soever, is an object for which men may justly spill each other's blood; that the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities; and that the profits of no trade can ever be equal to the expense of compelling it, and holding it by fleets and armies. I consider this war against us, therefore, as both unjust and unwise; and I am persuaded that cool and dispassionate posterity will condemn to infamy those who advised it; and that even success will not save from some degree of dishonour those who have voluntarily engaged to conduct it.

"I know your great motive in coming hither was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation: and, I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honourable private station.

"With the greatest and most sincere respect, I have the honour to be" &c.

remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties."

About the same time, flags were sent ashore by lord Howe, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq. which he refused to receive, as not being addressed to him with the title due to his rank. In his letter to Congress, on this subject, he wrote as follows: "I would not, on any occasion, sacrifice essentials to punctilio: but, in this instance, I deemed it a duty to my country and appointment, to insist on that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived." Congress applauded his conduct in a public resolution, and at the same time directed that no letter or message should be received, on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the commander in chief, or others the commanders of the American army, but such as were directed to them in the characters they severally sustained.

Some time after, Adjutant General Patterson was sent to New York, by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. On an interview with the adjutant general, Washington declared that he would decline receiving any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station. A long conference ensued, in which the adjutant general observed, that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." He received for answer, "that from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon." Soon after this interview, a letter from Howe, respecting prisoners, which was properly addressed to Washington, was received.

While the British, by their manifestoes and declarations, were endeavouring to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain, from those who were the friends of independence; Congress, by a similar policy, was attempting to detach the foreigners, who had come with the royal troops, from the service of his Britannic majesty. Before hostilities had commenced, the following resolution was adopted and circulated among those on whom it was intended to operate: "Resolved, that these states will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall chose to become members of any of these states; and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these states: and moreover, that this congress will provide for every such person, fifty acres of unappropriated lands, in some of these states, to be held by him and his heirs, as absolute property."

The numbers which were prepared to oppose the British, when they should disembark, made them for some time cautious of proceeding to their projected land operations: but the superiority of their navy enabled them to go by water whithersoever they pleased.

A British forty gun ship, with some smaller vessels, sailed up the North river, without receiving any damage of consequence, though fired upon from the batteries of New York, Paulus Hook, Red-Bank, and Governor's Island. An attempt was made, with two fire ships, to destroy the British vessels in the North River: but without effecting any thing more than the burning of a tender. They were also attacked with row galleys, with little effect. After some time, the Phoenix and Rose men of war came down the river, and joined the fleet. Every effort of the Americans, from their batteries on land, as well as their exertions on the water, proved ineffectual. The British ships passed with less loss than was generally expected: but, nevertheless, the damage they received was such as deterred them from frequently repeating the experiment. In two or three instances, they ascended North river, and in one or two

East river; but those which sailed up the former speedily returned; and by their return, a free communication was opened through the upper part of the state.

The American army, in and near New York, amounted to 17225 men. These were mostly new troops, and were divided, in many small and unconnected posts, some of which were fifteen miles removed from others. The British force before New York was increasing, by frequent successive arrival from Halifax, South Carolina, Florida, the West Indies and Europe: but so many unforeseen delays had taken place, that the month of August was far advanced, before they were in a condition to open the campaign.

When all things were ready, the British commanders resolved to make their first attempt on Long Island. This was preferred to New York, as it abounded with those supplies which their forces required.

The British landed without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht, and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula, having Wallabout bay to the left, and stretching over to Red Hook on the right; the East river being in the rear. General Sullivan, with a strong force was encamped within these works at Brooklyn. From the east side of the narrows, runs a ridge of hills covered with thick wood, about five or six miles in length, which terminates near Jamaica. There were three passes through these hills; one near the narrows, a second on the Flatbush road and a third on the Bedford road: and they are all defensible. The Americans had 800 men on each of these roads; and Colonel Miles was placed with his battalion of riflemen, to guard the road from the south of the hills, to Jamaica, and to watch the motions of the British.

General de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush, in the evening, August 26, 1776. In the following night, the greater part of the British army, commanded by General Clinton, marched to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and to turn the left of the Americans. He arrived about two hours before day, with half a mile of this road. One of his parties fell in with a patrol of American officers, and took them all prisoners, which prevented the early transmission of intelligence. Upon the first appearance of day, General Clinton advanced, and took possession of the heights over which the road passed. General Grant, which the left wing, advanced along the coast by the west road, near the narrows; but this was intended chiefly as a feint.

The guard which was stationed at this road, fled without making any resistance. A few of them were afterwards rallied, and lord Stirling advanced with 1500 men, and took possession of a hill, about two miles from the American camp, and in front of General Grant.

An attack was made very early in the morning, August 27, 1776, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under General de Heister, and by General Grant on the coast, and was well supported for a considerable time on both sides. The Americans, who opposed General de Heister, were first informed of the approach of General Clinton, who had come round on their left. They immediately began to retreat to their camp, but were intercepted by the right wing under General Clinton, who got into the rear of their left, and attacked them with his light infantry and dragoons, while returning to their lines. They were driven back till they were met by the Hessians. They were thus alternately chased and intercepted, between General de Heister and General Clinton. Some of their regiments, nevertheless, found their way to the camp. The Americans under lord Stirling, consisting of Colonel Miles's two battalions, Colonel Atlee's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel Hatcher's regiments, who were engaged with General Grant, fought with great resolution for about six hours. They were uninformed of their movements made by General Clinton, till some of the troops under his command had traversed the whole extent of the country in their rear. Their retreat thus was

intercepted; but several, notwithstanding, broke through and got into the woods. Many threw themselves into the marsh, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud: a considerable number escaped to their lines.

The king's troops displayed great valour throughout the whole day. The variety of the ground occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which lasted for many hours. British discipline, in every instance, triumphed over the native valour of raw troops, who had never been in action, and whose officers were unacquainted with the stratagems of war.

The loss of the British and Hessians was about 450. The killed, wounded and prisoners of the Americans, including those who were drowned, or perished in the woods or mud, considerably exceeded a thousand. Among the prisoners of the latter were two of their general officers, Sullivan and Lord Sterling; 3 colonels, 4 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 18 captains, 43 lieutenants, and 11 ensigns. Smallwood's regiment, the officers of which were of the best families in the state of Maryland, sustained a loss of 259 men. The British after their victory were so impetuous, that it was with difficulty they could be restrained from attacking the American lines.

In the time of, and subsequent to, the engagement, General Washington drew over to Long Island, the greatest part of his army. After he had collected his principal force there, it was his wish and hope, that Sir William Howe would attempt to storm the works on the Island. These, though insufficient to stand a regular siege, were strong enough to resist a coup de main. The remembrance of Bunker's-hill, and a desire to spare his men, restrained the British General, from making an assault. On the contrary he made demonstrations of proceeding by siege, and broke ground within three hundred yards to the left, at Putnam's redoubt. Though General Washington wished for an assault, yet being certain that his works would be untenable, when the British batteries should be fully opened, he called a council of war, to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It was then determined, that the objects in view were in no degree proportioned to the dangers, to which, by a continuation on the island, they would be exposed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions were made for an immediate retreat. This commenced soon after it was dark, from two points, the upper and lower ferries on the East river. Gen. M'Dougal regulated the embarkation at one, and Colonel Knox at the other.

The intention of evacuating the island had been so prudently concealed from the Americans, that they knew not whither they were going, but supposed to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about 9000 men, were conveyed to the city of New York, over the East river, more than a mile wide, in less than 13 hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not 600 yards distant. Providence, in a remarkable manner, favoured the retreat. For some time after the Americans began it, the state of the tide, and a strong northeast wind made it impossible for them to make use of their sail boats: and their whole number of row boats were insufficient for completing the business, in the course of the night: but about eleven o'clock, the wind died away, and soon after sprang up at south-east, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the Island to the city, direct, easy and expeditious.

Towards morning, an extreme thick fog came up, which hovered over Long Island; and, by concealing the Americans, enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption, though the day had begun to dawn some time before it was finished. By a mistake in the transmission of orders, the American lines were evacuated for about three quarters of an hour before the last embarkation took place: but the British, though so near that their working parties could be distinctly heard, being enveloped in the fog, knew nothing of the matter. The lines were repossessed, and held till six o'clock in the morning.

When every thing except some heavy cannon was removed, Gen. Mifflin, who commanded the rear guard, left the lines and under the cover of the fog got off safe. In about half an hour, the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had been just relinquished. Had the wind not shifted, the half of the American army could not have crossed; and even as it was, if the fog had not concealed their rear, it must have been discovered, and could hardly have escaped. General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was immediately sent on parole, with the following verbal message from Lord Howe to congress: "that though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother, the General, had full power to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both; that he wished a compact might be settled, at a time when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement; that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted; and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete."

Three days after this message was received, General Sullivan was requested to inform Lord Howe: "that congress, being the representatives of the free and independent states of America, cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress, for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is: and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same." They elected Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, their committee for this purpose.

In a few days they met Lord Howe, on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying; it did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament; namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, on submission. For, as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, after all, might, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of; we apprehend any expectation, from the effect of such a power, would have been too uncertain and precarious, to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence." Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr. Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him that the Americans would show their gratitude, by endeavoring to lessen as much as possible, all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities, in taking good care of themselves.

The committee in every respect, maintained the dignity of congress. Their conduct and sentiments were such as became their character. The friends to independence rejoiced that nothing resulted from this interview, that might disunite the people. Congress, trusting to the good sense of their countrymen, ordered the whole to be printed for their information. All the states would have then

rejoiced at less beneficial terms than they obtained about seven years after: but Great Britain counted on the certainty of their absolute conquest, or unconditional submission. Her officers, therefore, comported so little with the feelings of America, that they neither caused demur nor disunion, among the new formed states.

The unsuccessful termination of the action on the 27th led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans, than the loss of their men. The army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies. Their example infected the regular regiments. The loose footing on which the militia came to camp, made it hazardous to exercise over them that discipline, without which, any army is a mob. To restrain one part of an army, while another claimed and exercised the right of doing as they pleased, was no less impracticable than absurd.

A council of war recommended to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New York. To retreat, subjected the commander in chief to reflections painful to bear, and yet impolitic to refute. To stand his ground, and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to hazard the fate of America on one decisive engagement, was contrary to every rational plan of defending the wide-extended states committed to his care. A middle line, between abandoning and defending, was therefore for a short time adopted. The public stores were removed to Dobbs's ferry, about twenty-six miles from New York. Twelve thousand men were ordered to the northern extremity of New York island, and 4,500 to remain for the defence of the city; while the remainder occupied the intermediate space, with orders, either to support the city, or Kingsbridge, as exigencies might require.

Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. This made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a variety of places, as well as of New York. Though every thing was abandoned, when the crisis came that either the city must be relinquished, or the army risked for its defence; yet from the delays occasioned by the redoubts and other works, which had been erected on the idea of making the defence of the states a war of posts, a whole campaign was lost to the British, and saved to the Americans. The year began with hopes that Great Britain would recede from her demands, and therefore every plan of defence was on a temporary system. The declaration of independence, which the violence of Great Britain forced the colonies to adopt in July, though neither foreseen nor intended at the commencement of the year, pointed out the necessity of organizing an army, on new terms, correspondent to the enlarged objects for which they had resolved to contend. Congress accordingly determined to raise 88 battalions, to serve during the war.

Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign, with as little misfortune as possible, and thereby to gain time for raising a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans a matter of the last importance. Though the commander in chief abandoned those works, which had engrossed much time and attention, yet the advantage resulting from the delays they occasioned, far overbalanced the expense incurred by their erection.

The same short sighted politicians, who had before censured General Washington, for his cautious conduct, in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed their clamours against him, for adopting this evacuating and retreating system. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that those measures were best calculated for securing the independence of America, he, for the good of his country, voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a temporary cloud.

General Howe, having prepared every thing for a descent on New York island, began to land his men under cover of ships of war, between Kipp's bay and Turtle bay. A breast work had been erected in the vicinity, and a party stationed in it

to oppose the British, in case of their attempting to land. But on the first appearance of danger, they ran off in confusion. The commander in chief came up and in vain attempted to rally them. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not, either by example, intreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground, and face that inconsiderable number.

On the day after this shameful flight of part of the American army, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light infantry and Highlanders, commanded by Brigadier Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Knowlton, of Connecticut, and Major Leitch, of Virginia. The colonel was killed, and the major badly wounded. Their men behaved with great bravery, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. Most of these were the same men, who had disgraced themselves the day before, by running away. Struck with a sense of shame for their late misbehaviour, they had offered themselves as volunteers, and requested the commander in chief to give them an opportunity to retrieve their honour. Their good conduct, at this second engagement, proved an antidote to the poison of their example on the preceding day. It demonstrated that the Americans only wanted resolution and good officers to be on a footing with the British; and inspired them with hopes, that a little more experience would enable them to assume not only the name and garb, but the spirit and firmness of soldiers.

The Americans, having evacuated the city of New York, a brigade of the British army marched into it. They had been only a few days in possession, when a dreadful fire broke out and consumed about a thousand houses. Dry weather, and a brisk wind, spread the flames to such an extent, that had it not been for great exertions of the troops and sailors, the whole city must have shared the same fate. After the Americans had evacuated New York, they retired to the north end of the island on which that city is erected. In about four weeks, General Howe began to execute a plan for cutting off General Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him so as to compel a general engagement on the island. With this view, the greater part of the royal army passed through Hellgate, entered the sound, and landed on Throg's neck, in Westchester county.

Two days after they made this movement, General Lee arrived from his late successful command to the southward. He found that there was a prevailing disposition among the officers in the American army for remaining on New York island. A council of war was called, in which General Lee gave such convincing reasons for quitting it, that they resolved immediately to withdraw the bulk of the army. He also pressed the expediency of evacuating fort Washington; but in this he was opposed by General Greene, who argued that the possession of that post would divert a large body of the enemy, from joining their main force, and, in conjunction with fort Lee, would be of great use in covering the transportation of provisions and stores up the North river, for the service of the American troops. He added farther, that the garrison could be brought off at any time, by boats from the Jersey side of the river. His opinion prevailed. Though the system of evacuating and retreating was in general adopted, an exception was made in favour of fort Washington, and 3000 men were assigned for its defence.

The royal army, after a halt of six days, at Throg's neck, advanced near to New Rochelle. On their march they sustained a considerable loss by a party of Americans whom General Lee posted behind a wall. After three days, General Howe moved the right and centre of his army, two miles to the northward of New Rochelle; on the road to the White Plains: there he received a large reinforcement.

General Washington, while retreating from New York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East Chester, almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of

those who were behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, and stores of his army. In this manner his troops made a line of small detached and entrenched camps, on the several heights and strong grounds from Valentine's hill, on the right, to the vicinity of the White Plains, on the left.

The royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Bronx in front; upon which the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains behind intrenchments. A general action was hourly expected, and a considerable one took place, in which several hundreds fell. The Americans were commanded by General M'Dougal, and the British by General Leslie. While they were engaged, the American baggage was moved off in full view of the British army. Soon after this, General Washington changed his front, his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but General Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobbs's ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North Castle.

General Washington, with a part of his army, crossed the North river, and took post in the neighbourhood of fort Lee. A force of about 7500 men, was left at North Castle, under General Lee.

The Americans having retired, Sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence, for the reduction of fort Washington. This, the only post the Americans then held on New-York island, was under the command of Colonel Magaw. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first on the north side, was led on by General Kniphausen. The second on the east by General Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis. The third was under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel Stirling, and the fourth was commanded by lord Percy. The troops under Kniphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by Colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire.

During the attack, a body of the British light infantry advanced against a party of the Americans, who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an advance work on his side; and Lieutenant Colonel Sterling forced his way up a steep height, and took 170 prisoners. Their outworks being carried, the Americans left their lines, and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the right column of Kniphausen's attack, pushed forward, and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column; the garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side arms. The number of prisoners amounted to 2700. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, was about 1200. Shortly after fort Washington had surrendered, lord Cornwallis, with a considerable force, passed over to attack fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore.

The garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expense of their artillery and stores. General Washington, about this time, retreated to Newark. Having abundant reason, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a farther retreat, he asked Colonel Reed; "should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The Colonel replied, if the lower counties be subdued, and give up, the back counties will do the same. The General replied: "we must retire to Augusta county in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety. We must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war; and, if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountain."

While a tide of success was flowing in upon General Howe, he and his brother, as royal commissioners, issued a proclamation, in which they

commanded all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government to disband; and all general or provincial congresses to desist from their treasonable actings, and to relinquish their usurped power. They also declared, "that every person who within sixty days should appear before the governor, lieutenant governor, or commander in chief of any of his majesty's colonies, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces, and claim the benefit of the proclamation; and testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a certain declaration, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons by him committed, and of all forfeitures and penalties for the same."

The term of time for which the American soldiers had engaged to serve, ended in November or December; with no other exception, than that of two companies of artillery, belonging to the state of New York, which were engaged for the war. The army had been organized at the close of the preceding year, on the fallacious idea, that an accommodation would take place within a twelve-month. Even the flying camp, though instituted after the prospect of that event had vanished, was enlisted only to the first of December, from a presumption that the campaign would terminate by that time.

When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of fort Washington, the evacuation of fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those whose term of service had expired, encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, and found an enemy within its bowels, without a sufficient army to oppose it. To retreat was the only expedient left. This having commenced, lord Cornwallis followed, and was close in the rear of General Washington, as he retreated successively to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army, pulling down bridges, was often within sight, and shot of the van of the other, building them up.

This retreat into, and through New Jersey, was attended with almost every circumstance that could occasion embarrassment and depression of spirits. It commenced in a few days after the Americans had lost 2700 men in fort Washington. In fourteen days after that event, the whole flying camp claimed their discharge. This was followed by the almost daily departure of others, whose engagements terminated nearly about the same time. A farther disappointment happened to General Washington. Gates had been ordered by congress to send two regiments from Ticonderoga, to reinforce his army. Two Jersey regiments were put under the command of General St. Clair, and forwarded in obedience to this order; but the period for which they were enlisted was expired, and the moment they entered their own state, they went off to a man. A few officers, without a single private, of these two regiments, were all that General St. Clair brought to the aid of the retreating American army. The few, who remained with General Washington, were in a most forlorn condition. They consisted mostly of the troops which had garrisoned fort Lee, and had been compelled to abandon that post so suddenly, that they commenced their retreat without tents or blankets, and without any utensils to dress their provisions. In this situation they performed a march of about ninety miles, and had the address to prolong it to the space of nineteen days.

As the retreating Americans, marched through the country, scarcely one of the inhabitants joined them; while numbers were daily flocking to the royal army, to make their peace, and obtain protection. They saw on the one side a numerous,

well-appointed, and full-clad army, dazzling their eyes with the elegance of uniformity; on the other, a few poor fellows, who, from their shabby clothing, were called ragnuffins, fleeing for their safety. Not only the common people changed sides in this gloomy state of public affairs; but some of the leading men in New Jersey and Pennsylvania adopted the same expedient. Among these Mr. Galloway, and the family of the Allens in Philadelphia, were most distinguished. The former, and one of the latter, had been members of Congress. In this hour of adversity, they came within the British lines, and surrendered themselves to the conquerors, alleging in justification of their conduct, that though they had joined with their countrymen, in seeking for a redress of grievances in a constitutional way, they had never approved of the measures lately adopted, and were in particular, at all times averse to independence.

On the day General Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island, without any loss, and at the same time blocked up Commodore Hopkins' squadron, and a number of privateers at Providence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing its General; the people giving up the cause; some of their leaders going over to the enemy; and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, General Lee was taken prisoner at Baskinbridge, by Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt. This caused a depression of spirits among the Americans, far exceeding any real injury done to their essential interests. He had been repeatedly ordered to come forward with his division, and join General Washington; but these orders were not obeyed. This circumstance, and the dangerous crisis of public affairs, together with his being alone, at some distance from the troops which he commanded, begat suspicions that he chose to fall into the hands of the British. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same extensive mischief, as if they had been realities. The Americans had reposed extravagant confidence in his military talents, and experience of regular European war. Merely to have lost such an idol of the states, at any time, would have been distressful; but losing him under circumstances, which favoured an opinion that, despairing of the American cause, he chose to be taken prisoner, was to many an extinguishment of every hope.

By the advance of the British into New Jersey, the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of war. This prevented that undisturbed attention to public business which the deliberations of Congress required. They therefore adjourned themselves to meet in eight days at Baltimore, resolving at the same time, "that General Washington should be possessed of full powers to order and direct all things, relative to the department, and the operations of war."

The activity of the British at the close of the campaign, seemed in some measure to compensate for their tardiness in the beginning of it.

Hitherto they had succeeded in every scheme. They marched up and down the Jersey side of the Delaware, and through the country without any molestation. All opposition to the re-establishment of royal government seemed to be on the point of expiring. The Americans had thus far acted without system, or rather feebly executed what had been injudiciously adopted. Though the war was changed from its first ground, a redress of grievances, to a struggle for sovereignty, yet some considerable time elapsed, before arrangements conformable to this new system, were adopted; and a much longer, before they were carried into execution.

With the year 1776, a retreating, half-naked army was to be dismissed, and the prospect of a new one was both distant and uncertain. The recently assumed independence of the states, was apparently on the verge of dissolution. It was supposed by many, that the record of their existence would have been no more than, that "a fickle people, impatient of the restraints of regular go-

vernment, had in a fit of passion, abolished that of Great Britain, and established in its room, free constitutions of their own; but these new establishments, from want of wisdom in their rulers, or of spirit in their people, were no sooner formed than annihilated. The leading men in their respective governments, and the principal members of Congress, for by this name the insurgents distinguished their supreme council, were hanged, and their estates confiscated. Washington, the gallant leader of their military establishments, worthy of a better fate, deserted by his army, abandoned by his country, rushing on the thickest battalions of the foe, provoked a friendly British bayonet to deliver him from an ignominious death."

To human wisdom it appeared probable, that such a paragraph would have closed some small section in the history of England, treating of the American troubles. There is in human affairs an ultimate point of elevation or depression, beyond which they neither grow better nor worse; but turn back in a contrary course.

In proportion as difficulties increased, Congress redoubled its exertions to oppose them. They addressed the states in animated language, calculated to remove their despondency, renew their hopes, and confirm their resolutions.

They, at the same time, despatched gentlemen of character and influence, to excite the militia to take the field. General Mifflin was, on this occasion, particularly useful. He exerted his great abilities, in arousing his fellow citizens, by animated and affectionate addresses, to turn out in defence of their endangered liberties.

Congress also recommended to each of the United States, "to appoint a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, to implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the countenance and assistance of his providence, in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war."

In the dangerous situation, in which every thing dear to the friends of independence was reduced, congress transferred extraordinary powers to General Washington, by a resolution expressed in the following words:

"The unjust, but determined purpose of the British court, to enslave these free states, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military power; and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies; this Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of General Washington, do hereby—

"Resolve that General Washington shall be, and he is hereby vested with full, ample, and complete powers, to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip 3000 light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of Brigadier General; and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them; that the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington, for, and during the term of six months, from the date thereof, unless sooner determined by Congress."

In this hour of extremity, the attention of Congress was employed in devising plans to save the states from sinking under the heavy calamities which were bearing them down. It is remarkable, that, neither in the present condition, though trying and severe, nor in any other since the declaration of independence, was Congress influenced either by force, distress, artifice, or persuasion, to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace, by returning to the condition of British subjects. So low were they reduced in the latter end of 1776, that some members distrustful of their ability to resist the power of Great Britain, proposed to authorise their commissioners at the court of France, (whose appointment shall be hereafter explained,) to transfer to that country the same monopoly of their trade, which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed. On examination, it was found, that concessions of this kind would destroy the force of many arguments heretofore used in favour of independence, and probably disunite their citizens.

It was next proposed to offer a monopoly of certain enumerated articles of produce. To this the variant interests of the different states were so directly opposed, as to occasion a speedy and decided negative. Some proposed offering to France, a league offensive and defensive, in case she would heartily support American independence; but this was also rejected. The more enlightened members of Congress argued: "though the friendship of small states might be purchased, that of France could not." They alleged, that if she would risk a war with Great Britain, by openly espousing their cause, it would not be so much from the prospect of direct advantages, as from a natural desire to lessen the overgrown power of a dangerous rival. It was therefore supposed, that the only inducement, likely to influence France to an interference, was an assurance that the United States were determined to persevere in refusing a return to their former allegiance. Instead of listening to the terms of the royal commissioners, or to any founded on the idea of their resuming the character of British subjects, it was therefore again resolved, to abide by their declared independence, and proffered freedom of trade to every foreign nation; trusting the event to providence, and risking all consequences. Copies of these resolutions were sent to the principal courts of Europe, and proper persons were appointed to solicit their friendship to the new-formed states. These despatches fell into the hands of the British, and were by them published. This was the very thing wished for by Congress. They well knew that an apprehension of their making up all differences with Great Britain was the principal objection to the interference of foreign courts, in what was represented to be no more than a domestic quarrel. A resolution adopted in the deepest distress and the worst of times, that Congress would listen to no terms of re-union with their parent state, convinced those who wished for the dismemberment of the British empire, that it was sound policy to interfere, so far as would prevent the conquest of the United States.

These judicious determinations in the cabinet were accompanied with vigorous exertions in the field. In this crisis of danger 1500 of the Pennsylvania militia embodied, to reinforce the continental army. The merchant, the farmer, the tradesman, and the labourer, cheerfully relinquished the conveniences of home, to perform the duties of private soldiers, in the severity of a winter campaign. Though most of them were accustomed to the habits of a city life, they slept in tents, barns, and sometimes in the open air, during the cold months of December and January. There were, nevertheless, only two instances of sickness, and only one of death, in that large body of men, in the course of six weeks. The delay, so judiciously contrived on the retreat through Jersey, afforded time for these volunteer reinforcements to join General Washington. The number of troops under his command at that time, fluctuated between two and three thousand. To

turn round and face a victorious and numerous foe, with this inconsiderable force, was risking much: but the urgency of the case required that something should be attempted. The recruiting business, for the proposed new continental army, was at a stand, while the British were driving the Americans before them. The present regular soldiers could, as a matter of right, in less than a week, claim their discharge, and scarce a single recruit offered to supply their place. Under these circumstances, the bold resolution was formed, of recrossing into the state of Jersey, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted at Trenton.

When the Americans retreated over the Delaware, the boats in the vicinity were moved out of the way of their pursuers; this arrested their progress: but the British commanders, in the security of conquest, cantoned their army in Burlington, Bordenton, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross into Pennsylvania, by means of ice, which is generally formed about that time.

Of all events, none seemed to them more improbable, than that their late retreating, half-naked enemies, should, in this extreme cold season, face about and commence offensive operations. They indulged themselves in a degree of careless inattention to the possibility of a surprise, which, in the vicinity of an enemy, however contemptible, can never be justified. It has been said that Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer in Trenton, being under some apprehension for that frontier post, applied to General Grant for a reinforcement, and that General returned for answer: "Tell the colonel, he is very safe. I will undertake to keep the peace in New Jersey, with a corporal's guard."

In the evening of Christmas day General Washington made arrangements for re-crossing the Delaware in three divisions; at M'Konkey's ferry; at Trenton ferry; and at or near Bordenton. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places, were commanded by Generals Ewing and Cadwalader, who made every exertion to get over: but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The main body which was commanded by General Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's ferry: but the ice in the river retarded its passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning, before the artillery could be gotten over. On landing in Jersey, it was formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Green, who had under their command Brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer and St. Clair. One of the divisions were ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper, or Pennington road. Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered, immediately on forcing the out guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post, within three minutes of each other. The out guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back; but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body, being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton: but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding themselves surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted was 23 officers and 886 men. Between 30 and 40 of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans, were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Kuiphausen, amounting in the whole to about 1500 men, and a troop of British light horse. All these were killed or

captured, except about 600, who escaped by the road leading to Bordenton.

The British had a strong battalion of light infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to recross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners.

The effects of this successful enterprise were speedily felt in recruiting the American army. About 1400 regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were sent to different parts of the country to rouse the militia. The rapine and impolitic conduct of the British operated more forcibly on the inhabitants, to expel them from the state, than either patriotism, or persuasion to prevent their overrunning it.

The Hessian prisoners taken on the 26th being secured, General Washington re-crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments, which had been distributed over New Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event, assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick, under Lord Cornwallis. From this position, Jan. 2d. 1776, they proceeded towards Trenton in great force, hoping by a vigorous onset to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which had begun to dawn from their late success. To risk an action, with a superior force in front, and a river in rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party of the British, and, by pushing forwards, to attack in their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British, on their advance from Princeton, about 4 P. M. attacked a body of Americans posted with four field pieces, a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British, being checked, at the bridge over Saupink creek, which runs through that town, by some field pieces, posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires.

The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy and receiving their fire. In this critical hour, two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek, in many places fordable. The British, believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all farther operations, and kept themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning. Sir William Erskine is reported to have advised an immediate attack, or at least to place a strong guard at a bridge over Saupink creek, which lay in the route the Americans took to Princeton; giving for a reason that, otherwise, Washington, if a good general, would make a move to the left of the royal army, and attack the post at Princeton in the rear.

The next morning presented a scene as brilliant on the one side, as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, General Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force, by a circuitous route, to Princeton. This manœuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position; and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia, from falling into the hands of the British. General Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions, made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and

that of course the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave appearance of going to rest, but, as flame cannot be seen through, concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position they were a pillar of fire to the one army, and a pillar of a cloud to the other.

Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded, than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

General Washington reached Princeton early in the morning, January 3, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Treoton, deserted his troops when they were two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow soldiers in their rear. These consisted of the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiment of British infantry, some of the royal artillery with two field pieces, and three troops of light dragoons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British; with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially uninjured by either.

A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field pieces which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party, which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

In the course of the engagement sixty of the British were killed, a greater number wounded and about 300 of them taken prisoners. The rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few; but Colonels Haslet and Potter, and Captain Neal of the artillery, were among the slain. General Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth: but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem.

While they were fighting at Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton been conducted, that though from the critical situation of the two armies every ear may be supposed to have been open, and every watchfulness to have been employed, yet General Washington moved completely off the ground, with his whole force, stores, baggage and artillery, unknown to, and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British in Trenton, were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.

That part of the royal army, which, having escaped from Princeton, retreated towards New Brunswick, was pursued for three or four miles. Another party which had advanced as far as Maidenhead, on their way to Trenton, hearing the frequent discharge of fire arms in their rear, wheeled round and marched to the aid of their

companions. The Americans, by destroying bridges, retarded these, though close in their rear, so long as to gain time for themselves to move off, in good order, to Pluckemin.

So great was the consternation of the British at these unexpected movements, that they instantly evacuated both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated with their whole force to New Brunswick. The American militia collected, and, forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whenever an opportunity presented. In a few days they overran the Jerseys. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near 100 prisoners. Newark was abandoned; and the late conquerors were forced to leave Woodbridge. The royal troops were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New Brunswick and Delaware, was both overrun by the British, and recovered by the Americans. The retreat of the continental army, the timid policy of the Jersey farmers, who chose rather to secure their property by submission, than defend it by resistance, made the British believe their work was done, and that little else remained, but to reap a harvest of plunder as the reward of their labours. Unrestrained by the terrors of civil law, uncontrolled by the severity of discipline, and elated with their success, the soldiers of the royal army, and particularly the Hessians, gave full scope to the selfish and ferocious passions of human nature. A conquered country and submitting inhabitants presented easy plunder, equal to their unbounded rapacity. Infants, children, old men and women, were stripped of their blankets and clothing. Furniture was burnt or otherwise destroyed. Domestic animals were carried off, and the people robbed of their necessary household provisions. The rapes and brutalities committed on women, and even on very young girls, would shock the ears of modesty if particularly recited. These violences were perpetrated on inhabitants who had remained in their houses, and received printed protections, signed by order of the commander in chief. It was in vain that they produced these protections as a safeguard. The Hessians could not read them; and the British soldiers thought they were entitled to a share of the booty, equally with their foreign associates.

Such, in all ages, has been the complexion of the bulk of armies, that immediate and severe punishments are indispensably necessary, to keep them from flagrant enormities. That discipline, without which an army is a band of armed plunderers, was, as far as respected the inhabitants, either neglected, or but feebly administered in the royal army. The soldiers finding they might take with impunity what they pleased, were more strongly urged by avarice, than checked by policy or fear. Had every citizen been secured in his rights, protected in his property, and paid for his supplies, the consequences might have been fatal to the hopes of those who were attached to independence. What the warm recommendations of Congress, and the ardent applications of General Washington could not effect, took place of its own accord, in consequence of the plunderings and devastations of the royal army.

The whole country became instantly hostile to the invaders. Sufferers of all parties rose, as one man, to revenge their personal injuries. Those, who, from age or infirmities were incapable of bearing arms, kept a strict watch on the movements of the royal army, and, from time to time, communicated information to their countrymen in arms. Those who lately declined all military opposition, though called upon by the sacred tie of honour pledged to each other on the declaration of independence, cheerfully embodied, when they found submission to be unavailing for the security of their estates. This was not done originally in consequence of the victories of Trenton and Princeton. In the very moment of these actions, or before the news of them had circulated, sundry individuals, unknowing of General Washington's

movements, were concerting private insurrections, to revenge themselves on the plunderers. The dispute originated about property, or in other words, about the right of taxation. From the same source, at this time, it received a new and forcible impulse. The farmer, who could not trace the consequences of British taxation, nor of American independence, felt the injuries he sustained from the depredation of licentious troops. The militia of New Jersey, who had hitherto behaved most shamefully, from this time forward redeemed their character, and, throughout a tedious war, performed services with a spirit and discipline, in many respects, equal to that of regular soldiers.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead, to the desponding friends of independence. A melancholy gloom had, in the first twenty-five days of December, overspread the United States; but, from the memorable era of the 26th of the same month, their prospects began to brighten. The recruiting service, which for some time had been at a stand, was successfully renewed: and hopes were soon indulged, that the commander in chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular force. General Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. The American militia had sundry successful skirmishes with detachments of their adversaries. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded, or taken, at Springfield, by an equal number of the same New Jersey militia, which, but a month before, suffered the British to overrun their country without opposition. This enterprise was conducted by Colonel Spencer, whose gallantry, on the occasion, was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

During the winter movements, which have been just related, the soldiers of both armies underwent great hardships; but the Americans suffered by far the greatest. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that each step was marked with blood. There was scarcely a tent in the whole army. The city of Philadelphia had been twice laid under contribution, to provide them with blankets. Officers had been appointed to examine every house, and, after leaving a scanty covering for the family, to bring off the rest, for the use of the troops in the field; but, notwithstanding these exertions, the quantity procured was far short of decency, much less of comfort.

The officers and soldiers of the American army were about this time inoculated in their cantonment at Morristown. As very few of them had ever had the small pox, the inoculation was nearly universal. The disorder had previously spread among them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many; but after inoculation was introduced, though whole regiments were inoculated in a day, there was little or no mortality from the small pox; and the disorder was so slight, that, from the beginning to the end of it, there was not a single day in which they could not, and, if called upon, would not have turned out and fought the British. To induce the inhabitants to accommodate officers and soldiers in their houses, while under the small pox, they and their families were inoculated gratis by the military surgeons. Thus, in a short time, the whole army, and the inhabitants in and near Morristown, were subjected to the small pox, and with very little inconvenience to either.

Three months, which followed the actions of Trenton and Princeton, passed away without any important military enterprise on either side. Maj. Gen. Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer men for duty, than he had miles of frontier to guard. The situation of General Washington at Morristown was not more eligible. His force was trifling, when compared with that of the British; but the enemy, and his own countrymen,

believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the specious parade of a considerable army. The American officers took their station in positions of difficult access, and kept up a constant communication with each other. This secured them from insult and surprise. While they covered the country, they harassed the foraging parties of the British, and often attacked them with success. Of a variety of these, the two following are selected as most worthy of notice. General Dickinson, with four hundred Jersey militia, and fifty of the Pennsylvania riflemen, crossed Millstone river, near Somerset court-house, and attacked a large foraging party of the British, with so much spirit, that they abandoned their convoy and fled. Nine of them were taken prisoners. Forty wagons, and upwards of one hundred horses, with a considerable booty, fell into the hands of the general. While the British were loading their wagons, a single man began to fire on them from the woods. He was soon joined by more of his neighbours, who could not patiently see their property carried away. After the foragers had been annoyed for some time by these unseen marksmen, they fancied, on the appearance of General Dickinson, that they were attacked by a superior force, and began a precipitate flight.

In about a month after the affair at Somerset court-house, Colonel Nelson, of Brunswick, with a detachment of 150 militia men, surprised and captured at Lawrence's Neck, a major and fifty-nine privates of the refugees, who were in British pay.

Throughout the campaign of 1776, an uncommon degree of sickness raged in the American army. Husbandmen, transferred at once from the conveniences of domestic life, to the hardships of a field encampment, could not accommodate themselves to the sudden change. The southern troops sickened from the want of salt provisions. Linen shirts were generally worn, in contact with the skin. The salutary influence of flannel, in preventing the diseases of camps, was either unknown or disregarded. The discipline of the army was too feeble to enforce those regulations which experience has proved to be indispensably necessary, for preserving the health of large bodies of men collected together. Cleanliness was also too much neglected. On the 8th of August, the whole American army before New York, consisting of 17,225 men; but of that number only 10,514 were fit for duty. The numerous sick suffered much from the want of necessaries. Hurry and confusion added much to their distresses. There was besides a real want of the requisites for their relief.

A proper hospital establishment was beyond the abilities of Congress, especially as the previous arrangements were not entered upon till the campaign had begun. Many, perhaps some thousands, of the American army, were swept off in a few months by sickness. The country every where presented the melancholy sight of soldiers suffering poverty and disease, without the aid of medicine or attendance. Those who survived gave such accounts of the sufferings of the sick, as greatly discouraged the recruiting service. A rage for plundering, under the pretence of taking tory property, infected many of the common soldiery, and even some of the officers. The army had been formed on such principles, in some of the states, that commissions were, in several instances, bestowed on persons who had no pretensions to the character of gentlemen. Several of the officers were chosen by their own men; and they often preferred those from whom they expected the greatest indulgences. In other cases, the choice of the men was in favour of those who had consented to throw their pay into a joint stock with the privates, from which officers and men drew equal shares.

The army, consisting mostly of new recruits and inexperienced officers, and being only engaged for a twelvemonth, was very deficient in that mechanism and discipline, which time and expe-

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Independence, State Constitutions, and the Confederation.

IN former ages, it was common for a part of a community to migrate, and to erect themselves into an independent society. Since the earth has been more fully peopled, and especially since the principles of union have been better understood, a different policy has prevailed. A fondness for planting colonies has, for three preceding centuries, given full scope to a disposition for emigration; and, at the same time, the emigrants have been retained in a connexion with their parent state. By these means Europeans have made the riches, both of the east and west, subservient to their avarice and ambition. Though they occupy the smallest portion of the four quarters of the globe, they have contrived to subject the other three to their influence or command.

The circumstances, under which New England was planted, would, a few centuries ago, have entitled them, from their first settlement, to the privileges of independence. They were virtually exiled from their native country, by being denied the rights of men; they set out on their own expense, and, after purchasing the consent of the native proprietors, improved an uncultivated country, to which, in the eye of reason and philosophy, the king of England had no title.

If it be lawful for individuals to relinquish their native soil, and pursue their own happiness in other regions, and under other political associations, the settlers of New England were always so far independent, as to owe no obedience to their parent state, but such as resulted from their voluntary assent. The slavish doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the corruptions of christianity, by undervaluing heathen titles, favoured an opposite system. What, for several centuries after the christian era, would have been called the institution of a new government, was by modern refinement denominated only an extension of the old, in the form of a dependent colony. Though the prevailing ecclesiastical and political creeds tended to degrade the condition of the settlers of New England, yet there was always a party there which believed in their natural right to independence. They recurred to first principles, and argued, that, as they received from government nothing more than a charter, founded on idle claims of sovereignty, they owed it no other obedience than what was derived from express, or implied contract. It was not till the 18th century had more than half elapsed, that it occurred to any number of the colonists, that they had an interest in being detached from Great Britain. Their attention was first turned to this subject, by the British claim of taxation. This opened a melancholy prospect, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. The Boston port act, and the other acts, passed in 1774 and 1775, which have been already the subject of comment, progressively weakened the attachment of the colonists, to the birth place of their forefathers. The commencement of hostilities on the 19th of April, 1775, exhibited the parent state in an odious point of view, and abated the original dread of separating from it. But nevertheless, at that time, and for a twelvemonth after, a majority of the colonists wished for no more than to be re-established as subjects, in their ancient rights. Had independence been their object, even at the commencement of hostilities, they would have rescinded the associations, which have been already mentioned, and imported more largely than ever. Common sense revolts at the idea, that colonists, unfurnished with military stores, and wanting manufactures of every kind, should, at the time of their intending a serious struggle for independence, by a voluntary agreement, deprive themselves of the obvious means of procuring such foreign supplies as their circumstances might make necessary. Instead of pursuing a line of conduct, which might have been dictated by a wish for independence, they continued their exports for nearly a year af-

rience bestowed on veteran troops. General Washington was unremitting in his representations to Congress, favouring such alterations as promised permanency, order, and discipline in the army; but his judicious opinions on these subjects were slowly adopted. The sentiments of liberty which then generally prevailed, made some distinguished members of Congress so distrustful of the future power and probable designs of a permanent domestic army, that they had well nigh sacrificed their country to their jealousies.

The unbowed freedom of the savage, who roams the woods, must be restrained, when he becomes a citizen of orderly government; and, from the necessity of the case, must be much more so, when he submits to be a soldier. The individuals, composing the army of America, could not at once pass over from the full enjoyment of civil liberty to the discipline of a camp, nor could the leading men in Congress for some time be persuaded to adopt energetic establishments. "God forbid," would such say, "that the citizens should be so far lost in the soldiers of our army, that they should give over longing for the enjoyments of domestic happiness. Let frequent furloughs be granted, rather than the endearments of wives and children should cease to allure the individuals of our army from camps to farms." The amiableness of this principle veiled the error of the sentiment. The minds of the civil leaders in the councils of America were daily occupied, in contemplating the rights of human nature, and investigating arguments on the principles of general liberty, to justify their own opposition to Great Britain. Warned with these ideas, they trusted too much to the virtue of their countrymen, and were backward to enforce that subordination and order in their army, which, though it intrenches on civil liberty, produces effects in the military line unequalled by the effusions of patriotism, or the exertions of undisciplined valour.

The experience of two campaigns evinced the folly of trusting the defence of the country to militia, or to levies raised only for a few months, and had induced a resolution for recruiting an army for the war. The good effects of this measure will appear in the sequel.

The campaign of 1776 did not end till it had been protracted into the first month of the year 1777. The British had counted on the complete and speedy reduction of their late colonies; but they found the work more difficult of execution, than was supposed. They wholly failed in their designs on the southern states. In Canada, they recovered what, in the preceding year, they had lost; drove the Americans out of their borders, and destroyed their fleet on the lakes; but they failed in making their intended impression on the northwestern frontier of the states. They obtained possession of Rhode Island; but the acquisition was of little service; perhaps was of detriment. For nearly three years, several thousand men stationed thereon, for its security, were lost to every purpose of active co-operation with the royal forces in the field, and the possession of it secured no equivalent advantages. The British completely succeeded against the city of New York, and the adjacent country; but when they pursued their victories into New Jersey, and subdivided their army, the recoiling Americans soon recovered the greatest part of what they had lost.

Sir William Howe, after having nearly reached Philadelphia, was confined to limits so narrow, that the feeblest of all he commanded would not reimburse the expense incurred by its conquest.

The war, on the part of the Americans, was but barely begun. Hitherto they had engaged with temporary forces, for a redress of grievances; but towards the close of this year they made arrangements for raising a permanent army, to contend with Great Britain for the sovereignty of the country. To have thus far stood their ground, with their new levies, was a matter of great importance. To them delay was victory; and not to be conquered was to conquer.

ter they ceased to import. This not only lessened the debts they owed to Great Britain, but furnished additional means for carrying on the war against themselves. To aim at independence, and at the same time to transfer their resources to their enemies, could not have been the policy of an enlightened people. It was not till some time in 1776, that the colonists began to take other ground, and contend that it was for their interest to be forever separated from Great Britain. In favour of this opinion, it was said, that, in case of their continuing subjects, the mother country, though she redressed their grievances, might at pleasure repeat similar oppressions; that she ought not to be trusted, having twice resumed the exercise of taxation, after it had been apparently relinquished. The favourers of separation also urged, that Great Britain was jealous of their increasing numbers, and rising greatness; that she would not exercise government for their benefit, but for her own; and that the only permanent security for American happiness was, to deny her the power of interfering with their government or commerce. To effect this purpose, they were of opinion, that it was necessary to cut the knot, which connected the two countries, by a public renunciation of all political connexions between them.

The Americans about this time began to be influenced by new views. The military arrangements of the preceding year; their unexpected union, and prevailing enthusiasm, expanded the minds of their leaders, and elevated the sentiments of the people. Decisive measures, which would have been lately reprobated, now met with approbation.

The favourers of subordination under the former constitution urged the advantages of a supreme head, to control the disputes of interfering colonies, and also the benefits which flowed from union; that independence was untried ground, and should not be entered upon, but in the last extremity.

They flattered themselves that Great Britain was so fully convinced of the determined spirit of America, that if the present controversy were compromised, she would not, at any future period, resume an injurious exercise of her supremacy. They were therefore for proceeding no further than to defend themselves in the character of subjects, trusting that ere long the present hostile measures would be relinquished, and the harmony of the two countries re-established. The favourers of this system were embarrassed, and all their arguments weakened, by the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of coercion. A probable hope of a speedy repeal of a few acts of parliament would have greatly increased the number of those who were advocates for reconciliation; but the certainty of intelligence to the contrary, gave additional force to the arguments of the opposite party. Though new weight was daily thrown into the scale, in which the advantages of independence weighed, yet it did not preponderate till about that time in 1776, when intelligence reached the colonists of the act of parliament passed in December, 1775, for throwing them out of British protection, and of hiring foreign troops to assist in affecting their conquest. Respecting the first it was said, "that protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and that the refusal of the first was a legal ground of justification for withholding the last." They considered themselves to be thereby discharged from their allegiance, and that to declare themselves independent, was no more than to announce to the world the real political state in which Great Britain had placed them.

This act proved that the colonists might constitutionally declare themselves independent; but the hiring of foreign troops to make war upon them, demonstrated the necessity of their doing it immediately. They reasoned that if Great Britain called in the aid of strangers to crush them, they must seek similar relief for their own preservation. They well knew that this could not be expected, while they were in arms against their acknowledged sovereign. They had therefore only a choice of difficulties, and must either seek foreign aid as

independent states, or continue in the awkward and hazardous situation of subjects, carrying on war from their own resources, both against their king, and such mercenaries as he chose to employ for their subjugation. Necessity, not choice, forced them on the decision. Submission without obtaining a redress of their grievances was advocated by none who possessed the public confidence. Some of the popular leaders may have secretly wished for independence from the beginning of the controversy; but their number was small, and their sentiments were not generally known.

While the public mind was balancing on this eventful subject, several writers placed the advantages of independence in various points of view. Among these, Thomas Paine, in a pamphlet under the signature of Common Sense, held the most distinguished rank. The style, manner, and language of this performance were calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the active powers of human nature. With the view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, scripture was pressed into his service; and the powers, and even the name of a king, were rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous colonists, who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government, instituted by heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their bisting after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for prepossessing the colonists in favour of republican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. Hereditary succession was turned into ridicule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island, on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honour and pride of the colonists, in renouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the advantages, and practicability of independence were forcibly demonstrated.

Nothing could be better timed than this performance. It was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlimited power. It found the colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many thousands were convinced, and were led to approve and long for a separation from the mother country. Though that measure, a few months before, was not only foreign from their wishes, but the object of their abhorrence, the current suddenly became so strong in its favour, that it bore down all opposition. The multitude was hurried down the stream; but some worthy men could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an eternal separation from a country, to which they had long been bound by the most endearing ties. They saw the sword drawn; but could not tell when it would be sheathed. They feared that the dispersed individuals of the several colonies would not be brought to coalesce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy some future Caesar would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself in a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their countrymen in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive that, in case of success, their future condition would be less happy than their past.

Some respectable individuals, whose principles were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any; but to persevere in petitioning and resisting was the system of some misguided, honest men. The favourers of this opinion were generally wanting in

that decision which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy, which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of Britain. A few, on the score of interest or an expectancy of favours from the royal government, refused to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the parent state, who, having lately settled in the colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conscientiously opposed the measures of Congress: but the great bulk of the people, and especially of the spirited and independent part of the community, came with surprising unanimity into the project of independence.

The eagerness for independence resulted more from feeling than reasoning. The advantages of an unfettered trade, the prospect of honours and emoluments in administering a new government, were of themselves insufficient motives for adopting this bold measure. But what was wanting from considerations of this kind, was made up by the perseverance of Great Britain, in her schemes of coercion and conquest. The determined resolution of the mother country to subdue the colonists, together with the plans she adopted for accomplishing that purpose, and their equally determined resolution to appeal to heaven rather than submit, made a declaration of independence as necessary in 1776, as was the non-importation agreement of 1774, or the assumption of arms in 1775. The last naturally resulted from the first. The revolution was not forced on the people by ambitious leaders grasping at supreme power; but every measure of it was forced on Congress, by the necessity of the case, and the voice of the people. The change of the public mind of America, respecting connexion with Great Britain, is without a parallel. In the short space of two years, nearly three millions of people passed over from the love and duty of loyal subjects, to the hatred and resentment of enemies.

The motion for declaring the colonies free and independent, was first made in Congress, June 7, 1776, by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. He was warranted in making this motion by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the states. When the time for taking the subject under consideration arrived, much knowledge, ingenuity and eloquence were displayed on both sides of the question. The debates were continued for some time, and with great animation. In these John Adams and John Dickinson took leading and opposite parts. The former began one of his speeches, by an invocation of the god of eloquence, to assist him in defending the claims, and enforcing the duty of his countrymen. He strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connexion of the colonies with Great Britain, from the voice of the people, from the necessity of the measure in order to obtain foreign assistance, from a regard to consistency, and from the prospects of glory and happiness, which opened beyond the war, to a free and independent people. Mr. Dickinson replied to this speech. He began by observing, that the member from Massachusetts, Mr. Adams, had introduced his defence of the declaration of independence by invoking a heathen god; but that he should begin his objections to it, by solemnly invoking the Governor of the universe, so to influence the minds of the members of Congress, that if the proposed measure were for the benefit of America, nothing which he should say against it might make the least impression. He then urged that the present time was improper for the declaration of independence: that the war might be conducted with equal vigour without it; that it would divide the Americans, and unite the people of Great Britain against them. He then proposed that some assurance should be obtained of assistance from a foreign power, before they renounced their connexion with Great Britain; and that the declaration of independence should be the condition to be offered for this assistance. He likewise stated the disputes that existed between several of the colonies, and proposed that some

measures for the settlement of them should be determined upon, before they lost sight of that tribunal, which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences.

After a full discussion, the measure of declaring the colonies free and independent was approved, July 4th, by nearly an unanimous vote. The anniversary of the day, on which this great event took place, has ever since been consecrated by the Americans to religious gratitude, and social pleasures. It is considered by them as the birth-day of their freedom.

The act of the united colonies, for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words:

"When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind, requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations: all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together Legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected: whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither; and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

"For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country; to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions

and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority, of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

"NEW HAMPSHIRE, Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

"MASSACHUSETTS BAY, Samuel Adams, John Adams.

"MASSACHUSETTS, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

"RHODE ISLAND, &c. Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

"CONNECTICUT, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

"NEW YORK, William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

"NEW JERSEY, Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

"PENNSYLVANIA, Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

"DELAWARE, Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read.

"MARYLAND, Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

"VIRGINIA, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, junr. Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

"NORTH CAROLINA, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

"SOUTH CAROLINA, Edward Rutledge, Thomas Heyward, junr. Thomas Lynch, junr. Arthur Middleton.

"GEORGIA, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton."

From the promulgation of this declaration, every thing assumed a new form. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of sub-

jects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

The declaration of independence was read publicly in all the states, and was welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. The people were encouraged by it to bear up under the calamities of war, and viewed the evils they suffered, only as the thorn that ever accompanies the rose. The army received it with particular satisfaction. As far as it had validity, so far it secured them from suffering as rebels, and held out to their view an object, the attainment of which would be an adequate recompense for the toils and dangers of war. They were animated by the consideration that they were no longer to risk their lives for the trifling purpose of procuring the repeal of a few oppressive acts of parliament; but for a new organization of government, that would for ever put it out of the power of Great Britain to oppress them. The flattering prospects of an extensive commerce, freed from British restrictions, and the honours and emoluments of offices in independent states, now began to glitter before the eyes of the colonists, and reconciled them to the difficulties of their situation. What was supposed in Great Britain to be their primary object, had only a secondary influence. While they were charged with aiming at independence from the impulse of avarice and ambition, they were ardently wishing for a reconciliation. But, after they had been compelled to adopt that measure, those powerful principles of human actions opposed its retraction, and stimulated to its support. That separation which the colonist at first dreaded as an evil, they soon gloried in as a national blessing. While the rulers of Great Britain urged their people to a vigorous prosecution of the American war, on the idea that the colonists were aiming at independence, they imposed on them a necessity of adopting that very measure, and actually effected its accomplishment. By repeatedly charging the Americans with aiming at the erection of a new government, and by proceeding on that idea to subdue them, predictions, which were originally false, eventually became true. When the declaration of independence reached Great Britain, the partisans of ministry triumphed in their sagacity. "The measure," said they, "we have long foreseen, is now come to pass." They inverted the natural order of things. Without reflecting that their own policy had forced a revolution contrary to the original design of the colonists, the declaration of independence, was held out to the people of Great Britain as a justification of those previous violences, which were its efficient cause.

The act of Congress, for disavowing the colonies from their parent state, was the subject of many animadversions.

The colonists were said to have been precipitate in adopting a measure, from which there was no honourable ground of retreating. They replied that, for eleven years, they had been incessantly petitioning the throne for a redress of their grievances: since the year 1765, a continental Congress had, at three sundry times, stated their claims, and prayed for their constitutional rights; that each assembly of the thirteen colonies had also, in its separate capacity, concurred in the same measure; that from the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes for their coercion, they had no alternative, but a mean submission, or a vigorous resistance; and that, as she was about to invade their coasts with a large body of mercenaries, they were compelled to declare themselves independent, that they might be put into an immediate capacity of soliciting foreign aid.

The virulence, of those who had been in opposition to the claims of the colonists, was increased by their bold act, in breaking off all subordination to the parent state. "Great Britain," said they, "has founded colonies at great expense; has in-

curring a load of debts by wars on their account; has protected their commerce, and raised them to all the consequence they possess; and now, in the insolence of adult years, rather than pay their proportion of the common expenses of government, they ungratefully renounce all connexion with the nurse of their youth, and the protectress of their riper years." The Americans acknowledged that much was due to Great Britain, for the protection which her navy procured to the coasts and the commerce of the colonies; but contended that much was paid by the latter, in consequence of the restrictions imposed on their commerce by the former. "The charge of ingratitude would have been just," said they, "had allegiance been renounced while protection was given; but when the navy, which formerly secured the commerce and seaport towns of America, began to distress the former, and burn the latter, the previous obligations to obey, or be grateful, were no longer in force."

That the colonists paid nothing, and would not pay to the support of government, was confidently asserted: and no credit was given for the sums indirectly levied upon them, in consequence of their being confined to the consumption of British manufactures. By such ill-founded observations, were the people of Great Britain inflamed against their fellow subjects in America. The latter were represented as an ungrateful people, refusing to bear any part of the expenses of a protecting government, or to pay their proportion of a heavy debt, said to be incurred on their account.

Many of the inhabitants of Great Britain, deceived in matters of fact, considered their American brethren as deserving the severity of military coercion. So strongly were the two countries riveted together, that if the whole truth had been known to the people of both, their separation would have been scarcely possible. Any feasible plan, by which subjection to Great Britain could have been reconciled with American safety, would, at any time previous to 1776, have met the approbation of the colonists. But while the lust of power and of gain, blinded the rulers of Great Britain, misstated facts, and uncandid representations brought over the people to second the infatuation. A few honest men, properly authorised, might have devised measures of compromise, which under the influence of truth, humility, and moderation, would have prevented a dismemberment of the empire; but these virtues ceased to influence, and falsehood, haughtiness and blind zeal usurped their places.

Had Great Britain, even after the declaration of independence, adopted the magnanimous resolution of declaring her colonies free and independent states, interest would have prompted them to form such a connexion as would have secured to the mother country the advantages of their commerce, without the expense or trouble of their governments. But misguided politics continued the fatal system of coercion and conquest. Several, on both sides of the Atlantic, have called the declaration of independence, "a bold, and accidentally, a lucky speculation;" but subsequent events proved that it was a wise measure. It is acknowledged, that it detached some timid friends from supporting the Americans in their opposition to Great Britain; but it increased the vigour and union of those, who possessed more fortitude and perseverance. Without it, the colonists would have had no object adequate to the dangers, to which they exposed themselves. In continuing to contend with Great Britain. If the interference of France were necessary to give success to the resistance of the Americans, the declaration of independence was also necessary: for the French expressly founded the propriety of their treaty with Congress on the circumstance, "that they found the United States in possession of independence."

All political connexion between Great Britain and her colonies being dissolved, the institution of new forms of government became unavoidable. The necessity of this was so urgent that Congress,

before the declaration of independence, had recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United States, to adopt such governments as should, in their opinion, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents.

During more than twelve months, the colonists had been held together by the force of ancient habits, and by laws under the simple style of recommendations. The impropriety of proceeding in courts of justice by the authority of a sovereign, against whom the colonies were in arms, was self-evident. The impossibility of governing, for any length of time, three millions of people, by the ties of honour, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. The rejection of British sovereignty therefore drew after it the necessity of fixing on some other principle of government. The genius of the Americans, their republican habits and sentiments, naturally led them to substitute the majesty of the people, in lieu of discarded royalty. The kingly office was dropped; but in most of the subordinate departments of government, ancient forms and names are retained. Such a portion of power had at all times been exercised by the people and their representatives, that the change of sovereignty was hardly perceptible, and the revolution took place without violence or convulsion. Popular elections elevated private citizens to the same offices, which formerly had been conferred by royal appointment. The people felt an uninterrupted continuation of the blessings of law and government under old names, though derived from a new sovereignty, and were scarcely sensible of any change in their political constitution. The checks and balances, which restrained the popular assemblies under the royal government were partly dropped, and partly retained, by substituting something of the same kind. The temper of the people would not permit that any one man however exalted by office, or distinguished by abilities, should have a negative on the declared sense of a majority of their representatives; but the experience of all ages had taught them the danger of lodging all power in one body of men.

A second branch of legislature, consisting of a few select persons, under the name of senate, or council, was therefore constituted in eleven of the thirteen states, and their concurrence made necessary to give the validity of law to the acts of a more numerous branch of popular representatives.

New York and Massachusetts went one step farther. The former constituted a council of revision, consisting of the Governor and the heads of the judicial departments, on whose objections to any proposed law a reconsideration became necessary; unless it was confirmed by two thirds of both houses, it could have no operation. A similar power was given to the Governor of Massachusetts.

Georgia and Pennsylvania were the only states whose legislatures consisted of only one branch.* Though many in these states, and a majority in all the others, saw and acknowledged the propriety of a compounded legislature, yet the mode of creating two branches, out of a homogeneous mass of people, was a matter of difficulty. No distinction of ranks existed in the colonies, and none were entitled to any rights, but such as were common to all. Some possessed more wealth than others; but riches and ability were not always associated. Ten of the eleven states, whose legislatures consisted of two branches, ordained that the members of both should be elected by the people. This rather made two co-ordinate houses of representatives, than a check on a single one, by the moderation of a select few.

Maryland adopted a singular plan for constituting an independent senate. By her constitution the members of that body were elected for five years, while the members of the house of delegates held their seats only for one. The number of senators was only fifteen, and they were all elected indiscriminately from the inhabitants of any part of the state, excepting that nine of them were

* Altered by subsequent conventions; both states have now a senate.

to be residents on the west, and six on the east side of the Chesapeake bay. They were elected not immediately by the people, but by electors, two from each county, appointed by the inhabitants for that sole purpose. By these regulations the senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity and abilities, and such as were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of that state were well digested, and its interest steadily pursued with peculiar unity of system, while elsewhere it too often happened, in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principles and public good.

Pennsylvania instead of a legislative council or senate, adopted the expedient of publishing bills after the second reading, for the information of the inhabitants. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It prevented the precipitate adoption of new regulations, and gave an opportunity of ascertaining the sense of the people on those laws by which they were to be bound: but it carried the spirit of discussion into every corner, and disturbed the peace and harmony of neighbourhoods. By making the business of government the duty of every man, it drew off the attention of many from the steady pursuit of their respective businesses.

The state of Pennsylvania also adopted another institution peculiar to itself, under the denomination of a council of censors.* These were to be chosen once every seven years, and were authorised to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved; whether the legislative and executive branch of government, had performed their duty, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers, than those to which they were constitutionally entitled; to inquire whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected, and in what manner the public monies had been disposed of; and whether, the laws had been duly executed. However excellent this institution may appear in theory, it is doubtful whether in practice it answered any valuable end. It most certainly opened a door for discord, and furnished abundant matter for periodical altercation. Either from the disposition of its inhabitants, its form of government, or some other cause, the people of Pennsylvania have constantly been in a state of fermentation. The end of one public controversy has been the beginning of another. From the collision of parties, the minds of the citizens were sharpened, and their active powers improved: but internal harmony has been unknown. They who were out of place, so narrowly watched those who were in, that nothing injurious to the public could be easily effected: but from the fluctuation of power, and the total want of permanent system, nothing great or lasting could with safety be undertaken, or prosecuted to effect. Under all these disadvantages, the state flourished, and, from the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, acquired an unrivalled ascendancy in arts and manufactures. This must in a great measure be ascribed to the influence of the habits of order and industry that had long prevailed.

The Americans agreed in appointing a supreme executive head to each state, with the title either of governor or president. They also agreed in deriving the whole powers of government, either mediately or immediately, from the people. In the eastern states, and in New York, their governors, were elected by the inhabitants, in their respective towns or counties, and in the other states by the legislatures;† but in no case was the smallest title of power exercised from hereditary right. New York was the only state which invested its governor with executive authority without a council.‡ Such was the extreme jealousy of power

* Abolished by a subsequent convention.

† Pennsylvania has since adopted the popular mode of electing a governor.

‡ Several states have since abolished councils as part of the executive.

which pervaded the American states, that they did not think proper to trust the man of their choice with the power of executing their own determinations, without obliging him in many cases to take the advice of such counsellors as they thought proper to nominate. The disadvantages of this institution far outweighed its advantages. Had the governors succeeded by hereditary right, a counsel would have been often necessary to supply the real want of abilities, but when an individual had been selected by the people, as the fittest person for discharging the duties of this high department, to fetter him with a council was either to lessen his capacity of doing good, or to furnish him with a screen for doing evil. It destroyed the secrecy, vigour and despatch, which the executive power ought to possess; and, by making governmental acts the acts of a body, diminished individual responsibility. In some states it greatly enhanced the expenses of government, and in all retarded its operations, without any equivalent advantages.

New York in another particular, displayed political sagacity, superior to her neighbours. This was in her council of appointment, consisting of one senator from each of her four great election districts, authorised to designate proper persons for filling vacancies in the executive departments of government. Large bodies are far from being the most proper depositories of the power of appointing to offices. The assiduous attention of candidates is too apt to bias the voice of individuals in popular assemblies. Besides, in such appointments, the responsibility for the conduct of the officer is in a great measure annihilated. The concurrence of a select few in the nomination of one seems a more eligible mode, for securing a proper choice, than appointments made either by one, or by a numerous body. In the former case, there would be danger of favouritism; in the latter, that modest unassuming merit would be overlooked, in favour of the forward and obsequious.

A rotation of public officers made a part of most of the American constitutions. Frequent elections were required by all: but several refined still farther, and deprived the electors of the power of continuing the same office in the same hands, after a specified length of time. Young politicians suddenly called from the ordinary walks of life, to make laws and institute forms of government, turned their attention to the histories of ancient republics, and the writings of speculative men on the subject of government. This led them into many errors, and occasioned them to adopt sundry opinions, unsuitable to the state of society in America, and contrary to the genius of real republicanism.

The principle of rotation was carried so far, that in some of the states, public officers in the several departments scarcely knew their official duty, till they were obliged to retire and give place to others as ignorant as they had been on their first appointment. If offices had been instituted for the benefit of the holders, the policy of diffusing those benefits would have been proper: but instituted as they were for the convenience of the public, the end was marred by such frequent changes. By confining the objects of choice, it diminished the privileges of electors, and frequently deprived them of the liberty of choosing the man who, from previous experience, was of all men the most suitable. The favourers of this system of rotation contended for it, as likely to prevent a perpetuity of office and power in the same individual or family, and as a security against hereditary honours. To this it was replied, that free, fair and frequent elections were the most natural and proper securities, for the liberties of the people. It produced a more general diffusion of political knowledge but made more smatterers than adepts in the science of government.

As a farther security for the continuance of republican principles in the American constitutions, they agreed in prohibiting all hereditary honours and distinction of ranks.

It was one of the peculiarities of these new forms

of government, that all religious establishments were abolished. Some retained a constitutional distinction between Christians and others, with respect to eligibility to office: but the idea of supporting one denomination at the expense of others, or of raising any one sect of Christians to a legal pre-eminence, was universally reprobated. The alliance between church and state was completely broken, and each was left to support itself independent of the other.

The far-famed social compact between the people and their rulers, did not apply to the United States. The sovereignty was in the people. In their sovereign capacity, by their representatives, they agreed on forms of government for their own security, and deputed certain individuals as their agents to serve them in public stations, agreeably to constitutions which they prescribed for their conduct.

The world has not hitherto exhibited so fair an opportunity for promoting social happiness. It is hoped for the honour of human nature, that the result will prove the fallacy of those theories, which suppose that mankind are incapable of self-government. The ancients, not knowing the doctrine of representation, were apt in their public meetings to run into confusion; but in America this mode of taking the sense of the people, is so well understood, and so completely reduced to system, that its most populous states are often peaceably convened in an assembly of deputies, not too large for orderly deliberations, and yet representing the whole in equal proportions. These popular branches of legislature are miniature pictures of the community, and, from the mode of their election, are likely to be influenced by the same interest and feelings with the people whom they represent. As a farther security for their fidelity, they are bound by every law they make for their constituents. The assemblage of these circumstances gives as great a security that laws will be made, and government administered, for the good of the people, as can be expected from the imperfection of human institutions.

In this short view of the formation and establishment of the American constitutions we behold our species in a new situation. In no age before, and in no other country, did man ever possess an election of the kind of government, under which he would choose to live. The constituent parts of the ancient free governments were thrown together by accident. The freedom of modern European governments was, for the most part, obtained by the concessions, or liberality of monarchs or military leaders. In America alone, reason and liberty concurred in the formation of constitutions. It is true, from the infancy of political knowledge in the United States, there were many defects in their forms of government: but in one thing they were all perfect. They left to the people the power of altering and amending them, whenever they pleased. In this happy peculiarity they placed the science of politics on a footing with the other sciences, by opening it to improvements from experience, and the discoveries of future ages. By means of this power of amending American constitutions, the friends of mankind have fondly hoped that oppression will one day be no more; and that political evil will at least be prevented or restrained with as much certainty, by a proper combination or separation of power, as natural evil is lessened or prevented, by the application of the knowledge or ingenuity of man to domestic purposes. No part of the history of ancient or modern Europe can furnish a single fact that militates against this opinion; since, in none of its governments, have the principles of equal representation and checks been applied, for the preservation of freedom. On these two pivots are suspended the liberties of most of the states. Where they are wanting, there can be no security for liberty: where they exist, they render any farther security unnecessary.

From history the citizens of the United States had been taught, that the maxims, adopted by the rulers of the earth, that society was instituted for

the sake of the governors; and that the interests of the many were to be postponed to the convenience of the privileged few, had filled the world with bloodshed and wickedness; while experience had proved, that it is the invariable and natural character of power, whether intrusted or assumed, to exceed its proper limits, and, if unrestrained, to divide the world into masters and slaves. They therefore began upon the opposite maxims, that society was instituted, not for the governors, but the governed; that the interest of the few, should in all cases, give way to that of the many; that exclusive and hereditary privileges were useless and dangerous institutions in society; and that entrusted authorities should be liable to frequent and periodical recalls. With them the sovereignty of the people was more than a mere theory. The characteristic of that sovereignty was displayed by their authority in written constitutions.

The rejection of British sovereignty not only involved a necessity of erecting independent constitutions, but of cementing the whole United States by some common bond of union. The act of independence did not hold out to the world thirteen sovereign states, but a common sovereignty of the whole in their united capacity. It therefore became necessary to run the line of distinction, between the local legislatures, and the assembly of states in Congress. A committee was appointed for digesting articles of confederation, between the states or united colonies, as they were then called, at the time the propriety of declaring independence was under debate, and some weeks previously to the adoption of that measure: but the plan was not for sixteen months after so far digested, as to be ready for communication to the states. Nor was it finally ratified by the accession of all the states, till nearly three years more had elapsed. In discussing its articles, many difficult questions occurred. One was, to ascertain the ratio of contributions from each state. Two principles presented themselves; numbers of people, and the value of lands. The last was preferred, as being the truest barometer of the wealth of nations; but from an apprehended impracticability of carrying it into effect, it was soon relinquished, and recurrence had to the former. That the states should be represented in proportion to their importance, was contended by those who had extensive territory: but those, who were confined to small dimensions, replied, that the states confederated as individuals in a state of nature, and should therefore have equal votes. The large states yielded the point, and consented that each state should have an equal suffrage.

It was not easy to define the power of the state legislatures, so as to prevent a clashing between their jurisdiction, and that of the general government. It was thought proper, that the former should be abridged of the power of forming any other confederation or alliance; of laying on any impost or duties that might interfere with treaties made by Congress, of keeping up any vessels of war, or granting letters of marque or reprisal. The powers of Congress were also defined. Of these the principal were as follow: To have the sole and exclusive right of determining on peace or war; of sending or receiving ambassadors; of entering into treaties and alliances; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; to be the last resort on appeal, in disputes between two or more states; to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the alloy and value of coin; of fixing the standard of weights and measures; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians; establishing and regulating post offices; to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States; to build and equip a Navy; to agree upon the number of land forces; and to make requisitions from each state for its quota of men, in proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

No coercive power was given to the general government, nor was it invested with any legislative power over individuals, but only over states in their corporate capacity. A power to regulate

trade, or to raise a revenue from it, though both were essential to the welfare of the union, made no part of this first federal system. To remedy this and all other defects, a door was left open for introducing further provisions, suited to future circumstances.

The articles of confederation were proposed at a time when the citizens of America were young in the science of politics, and when a commanding sense of duty, enforced by the pressure of a common danger, precluded the necessity of a power of compulsion. The enthusiasm of the day gave such credit and currency to paper emissions, as made the raising of supplies an easy matter. The system of federal government was, therefore, more calculated for what men then were, under those circumstances, than for the languid years of peace, when selfishness usurped the place of public spirit and when credit no longer assisted, in providing for the exigencies of government.

The experience of a few years, after the termination of the war, proved, as will appear in its proper place, that a radical change of the whole system was necessary to the good government of the United States.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Campaign of 1777, in the Middle States.

Soon after the declaration of independence, the authority of Congress was obtained for raising an army, that would be more permanent than the temporary levies, which they had previously brought into the field. It was at first proposed to recruit for the indefinite term of the war; but it being found on experiment, that the habits of the people were averse to engagements for such an uncertain period of service, the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternatives of enlisting either for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first condition, were promised a hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raised by Congress, for the service of the United States, were called continentals. Though in September, 1776, it had been resolved to raise 88 battalions, and in December following, authority was given to General Washington to raise 16 more, yet very little progress had been made in the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. So much time was necessarily consumed, before these new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force, at Morristown and the several outposts, for some time did not exceed 1500 men.— Yet these 1500 kept many thousands of the British closely pent up in Brunswick. Almost every party, that was sent out by the latter, was successfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved in a great degree of tranquility.

It was matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval, between the disbanding of one army and the raising of another, to pass away without doing something of consequence, against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Hitherto, there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men; but in the spring a vessel of 24 guns arrived from France, at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, with upwards of 11,000 stand of arms, and 1000 barrels of powder. Ten thousand stand of arms arrived about the same time, in another part of the United States.

Before the royal army took the field, in prosecution of the main business of the campaign, two enterprises for the destruction of American stores were undertaken. The first was conducted by Colonel Bird; the second by Major General Tryon. The former landed 23d March with about 500 men at Peekskill, near 50 miles from New York. General Washington had repeatedly cautioned the commissaries, not to suffer large quantities of provisions to be near the water: but his prudent advice had not been regarded. The few

Americans, who were stationed as a guard at Peekskill, on the approach of Colonel Bird, fired the principal store-houses, and retired to a good position, two or three miles distant. The loss of provisions, forage, and other valuable articles, was considerable.

Major General Tryon, with a detachment of 2000 men, embarked at New York, 26th April and passing through the Sound, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and arrived in about twenty hours at Danbury. On their approach, the few continentals who were in the town withdrew from it. The British began to burn and destroy: but abstained from injuring the property of such as were reputed Tories. Eighteen houses, 800 barrels of pork and beef, 800 barrels of flour, 2000 bushels of grain, 1700 tents, and some other articles, were lost to the Americans. Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily collected a few hundred of the inhabitants, made arrangements for interrupting the march of the royal detachment: but the arms of those who came forward on this emergency were injured by excessive rains, and the men were worn down with a march of thirty miles in the course of a day. Such dispositions were nevertheless made, and such posts were taken, as enabled them to annoy the invaders when returning to their ships. General Arnold, with about 500 men, by a rapid movement, reached Ridge-field in their front, barricaded the road, kept up a brisk fire upon them, and sustained their attack, till they had made a lodgment on a ledge of rocks on his left. After the British had gained this eminence, a whole platoon levelled at General Arnold, not more than thirty yards distant. His horse was killed; but he escaped. While he was extricating himself from his horse, a soldier advanced to run him through with a bayonet; but he shot him dead with his pistol, and afterwards got off safe. The Americans, in several detached parties, harassed the rear of the British, and from various stands kept up a scattering fire upon them, till they reached their shipping.

The British accomplished the object of the expedition: but it cost them dearly. They had, by computation, two or three hundred men killed, wounded, and taken. The loss of the Americans was about twenty killed, and forty wounded.— Among the former was Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of character and influence. Colonel Lamb was among the latter. General Wooster, though seventy years old, behaved with the vigour and spirit of youth. While gloriously defending the liberties of his country he received a mortal wound. Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services. They also resolved, that a horse, properly caparisoned, should be presented to Gen. Arnold, in their name, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct.

Not long after the excursion to Danbury, Colonel Meigs, an enterprising American officer on the 24th of May transported a detachment of about 170 Americans, in whale boats, over the Sound, which separates Long Island from Connecticut; burned twelve brigs and sloops, belonging to the British; destroyed a large quantity of forage and other articles, collected for their use in Sag-harbour, on that Island; killed six of their soldiers, and brought off ninety prisoners, without having a single man either killed or wounded. The Colonel and his party returned to Guilford in twenty-five hours from the time of their departure, having in that short space not only completed the object of their expedition, but traversed by land and water, a space not less than ninety miles. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be presented to Colonel Meigs, for his good conduct in this expedition.

As the season advanced, the American army, in New Jersey, was reinforced by the successive arrivals of recruits; but nevertheless, at the opening of the campaign, it amounted only to 7,272 men,

Great pains had been taken to recruit the British

army with American levies. A commission of Brigadier General had been conferred on Oliver Delancy, a loyalist of great influence in New York, and he was authorised to raise three battalions.— Every effort had been made, to raise the men, both within and without the British lines, and also from among the American prisoners: but with all these exertions, only 597 were procured. Courtland Skinner, a loyalist well known in Jersey, was also appointed a brigadier, and authorised to raise five battalions. Great efforts were made to procure recruits for his command: but their whole number amounted only to 517.

Towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset court-house; but in a few days returned to their former station. This sudden change was owing to the unexpected opposition which seemed to be collecting from all quarters; for the Jersey militia turned out in a very spirited manner, to oppose them. The same army had lately marched through New Jersey, without being fired upon; and even small parties of them had safely patrolled the country, at a distance from their camp; but experience having proved that British protections were no security for property, the inhabitants generally resolved to try the effects of resistance, in preference to a second submission. A fortunate mistake gave them an opportunity of assembling in great force on this emergency. Signals had been agreed on, and beacons erected on high places, with the view of communicating, over the country, instantaneous intelligence of the approach of the British. A few hours before the royal army began their march, the signal of alarm, on the foundation of a false report, had been hoisted.— The farmers, with arms in their hands, ran to the place of rendezvous, from considerable distances. They had set out at least twelve hours before the British, and on their appearance were collected in formidable numbers. Whether Sir William Howe intended to force his way through the country to the Delaware, and afterwards to Philadelphia, or to attack the American army, is uncertain; but whatever was his design, he suddenly relinquished it, and fell back to Brunswick. The British army, on their retreat, burned and destroyed the farm houses on the road; nor did they spare the buildings dedicated to the worship of the Deity.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke General Washington to an engagement; and left no manoeuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time, he appeared as if he intended to push on, without regarding the army opposed to him. At another, he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded part might be found, on which an attack might be made, that would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Gen. Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manoeuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprised that it was not the interest of his country, to commit its fortune to a single action.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and General Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general, on the 24th June, marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground: but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engage-

ment on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route.

During the period of these movements, the real designs of General Howe were involved in obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained.—Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place, but alternately advancing and retreating. Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased, by intelligence that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New York from Canada. Apprehending that Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North River, and that his movements which looked southwardly were feints, the American general detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea, that a junction of the two royal armies near Albany was intended. Some movements were therefore made by Washington towards Peekskill, and on the other side towards Trenton; while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or south, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length, the main body of the royal army, consisting of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light horse, a loyal provincial corps, called the queen's rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about 16,000 men, departed from Sandy-hook, and were reported to steer southwardly.

About the time of this embarkation, a letter from Sir William Howe to General Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence, that the British troops were destined to New Hampshire. The intended deception was so superficially veiled, that, in conjunction with the intelligence of the British embarkation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of the intercepted letter, Washington gave orders to his army to move to the southward; but he was nevertheless so much impressed with a conviction, that it was the true interest of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for some time, at the river Delaware, suspecting that the movement of the royal army to the southward was a feint, calculated to draw him farther from the North River. The British fleet, having sailed from Sandy-hook, was a week at sea before it reached Cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reasons that do not obviously occur, General Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia, by ascending the Delaware, and resolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Chesapeake. Perhaps he counted on being joined by large reinforcements, from the numerous Tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obstructions which the Pennsylvanians had planted in the Delaware. If these were his reasons, he was mistaken in both. From the Tories he received no advantage: and from the obstructions in the river, his ships could have received no detriment, if he had landed his troops at Newcastle, which was 14 miles nearer Philadelphia, than the head of Chesapeake bay.

The British, after they had left the Capes of the Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable passage, being twenty days before they entered the Capes of Virginia. They ascended the bay, with a favourable wind, and on the 25th of August landed at Turkey-point. The circumstance of the British putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehension before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North River, so as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore fell back to such a middle station, as would enable him, either speedily to return to the North River, or advance to the

relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the Capes of the Delaware, was not heard of for nearly three weeks; except that it had once or twice been seen near the coast steering southwardly. A council of officers convened, 21st of August, at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Charleston, in South Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march thither in season for its relief. It was therefore concluded, to try to repair the loss of Charleston, which was considered as unavoidable, either by attempting something on New York island, or, by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A small change of position, conformably to this new system, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted the British fleet entered the Chesapeake. Intelligence thereof in a few days reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which General Howe's movements had heretofore been enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000; but their real effective force, on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British.—About the same time numbers of the principal inhabitants of that city, being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, were taken into custody and sent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had issued the strictest orders to the troops, "for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and that the most exemplary punishment would be inflicted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of his majesty's well disposed subjects." He seemed to be fully apprised of the consequences, which had resulted from the indiscriminate plunderings of his army in New Jersey, and determined to adopt a more polite line of conduct. Whatever his lordship's intentions might have been, they were by no means seconded by his troops.

The royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeake, September 3d, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays, that had hitherto wasted the campaign.—Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they trusted their future accommodation to such quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near Newport. Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's ford, on the Brandywine creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest of the Americans to try their strength in an engagement.—Their regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on the American General, to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country.—By this policy the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders; but the majority of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manœuvres, to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion necessity dictated, that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded on the

11th of September. This took place at Chadd's ford, on the Brandywine; a small stream which empties itself into Christiana creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at day break in two columns, commanded by lieutenant general Knipphausen, and lord Cornwallis. The first took the direct road to Chadd's ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans. At the same time, the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, crossed both its branches, and then marched down on its east side, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries. This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss.

General Knipphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it until lord Cornwallis, having crossed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Knipphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester.

The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control. One of these occurred here, and prevented General Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was, to cross the Brandywine, and attack Knipphausen, while General Sullivan and lord Stirling should keep Earl Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Knipphausen.—This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day.

The killed and wounded, in the royal army, were near six hundred. The loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the list of their wounded were two general officers, the Marquis de la Fayette* and General Woodford.

*As we intend to scatter through this work some biographical notices of those distinguished men who took an active part in the revolutionary war, and who assisted in the councils of our nation, we shall here introduce the great and good La Fayette, from the pen of that eminent statesman and scholar, John Quincy Adams.—The oration was delivered before the congress of the United States, on the 31st of December, 1834, at their request, and exhibits the finest view, that either country has produced, of the patriot and warrior of both hemispheres, whose name is given to immortality on every hour that flies:—Ed.

ORATION.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and

House of Representatives of the United States:

If the authority by which I am now called to address you is one of the highest honours that could be conferred upon a citizen of this Union by his countrymen, I cannot dissemble to myself that it embraces at the same time one of the most arduous duties that could be imposed. Grateful to you for the honour conferred upon me by your invitation, a sentiment of irrepressible and fearful diffidence absorbs every faculty of my soul in contemplating the magnitude, the difficulties, and the delicacy of the task which it has been your pleasure to assign to me.

I am to speak to the North American states and people, assembled here in the persons of their honoured and confidential lawgivers and representatives. I am to speak to them, by their own appointment, upon the life and character of a man whose life was, for nearly threescore years, the his-



tory of the civilized world; of a man, of whose character, to say that it is indissolubly identified with the revolution of our independence, is little more than to mark the features of his childhood; of a man, the personified image of self-circumscribed liberty. Nor can it escape the most superficial observation, that, in speaking to the fathers of the land upon the life and character of LAFAYETTE, I cannot forbear to touch upon topics which are yet deeply convulsing the world, both of opinion and of action. I am to walk between burning ploughshares; to tread upon fires which have not yet even collected cinders to cover them.

If, in addressing their countrymen upon their most important interests, the Orators of Antiquity were accustomed to begin by supplication to their gods that nothing unsuitable to be said or unworthy to be heard might escape from their lips, how much more forcible is my obligation to invoke the favour of Him "who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire," not only to extinguish in the mind every conception unadapted to the grandeur and sublimity of the theme, but to draw from the bosom of the deepest conviction thoughts congenial to the merits which it is the duty of the discourse to unfold, and words not unworthy of the dignity of the auditory before whom I appear.

In order to form a just estimate of the life and character of Lafayette, it may be necessary to advert, not only to the circumstances connected with his birth, education, and lineage, but to the political condition of his country and Great Britain, her national rival and adversary, at the time of his birth, and during his years of childhood.

On the sixth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the hereditary Monarch of the British Islands was a native of Germany. A rude, illiterate old soldier of the wars for the Spanish succession; little versed even in the language of the nation over which he ruled; educated to the maxims and principles of the feudal law; of openly licentious life, and of moral character far from creditable; he styled himself, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King; but there was another and real king of France, no better, perhaps worse, than himself, and with whom he was then at war. This was Louis, the fifteenth of the name, great grandson of his immediate predecessor, Louis the Fourteenth, sometimes denominated the Great. These two kings held their thrones, by the law of hereditary succession, variously modified, in France by the Roman Catholics, and in Britain by Protestant reformed christianity.

They were at war, chiefly for conflicting claims to the possession of the western wilderness of North America; a prize, the capabilities of which are now unfolding themselves with a grandeur and magnificence unexampled in the history of the world; but of which, if the nominal possession had remained in either of the two princes, who were staking their kingdoms upon the issue of the strife, the buffalo and the beaver, with their hunter, the Indian savage, would, at this day, have been as they then were, the only inhabitants.

In this war, GEORGE WASHINGTON, then at the age of twenty-four, was on the side of the British German King, a youthful, but heroic combatant; and, in the same war, the father of Lafayette was on the opposite side, exposing his life in the heart of Germany, for the cause of the King of France.

On that day, the sixth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven was born GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE, at the Castle of Chavanac, in Auvergne, and a few months after his birth his father fell in battle at Minden.

Let us here observe the influence of political institutions over the destinies and the characters of men. George the Second was a German Prince; he had been made king of the British Islands by the accident of his birth: that is to say, because his great grandmother had been the daughter of James the First: that great grandmother had been married to the King of Bohemia, and her youngest daughter had been married to the Elector of Hanover. George the Second's father was her son,

and, when James the Second had been expelled from his throne and his country by the indignation of his people, revolted against his tyranny, and when his two daughters, who succeeded him, had died without issue, George the First, the son of the Electress of Hanover, became King of Great Britain, by the settlement of an act of parliament, blending together the principle of hereditary succession with that of Reformed Protestant christianity, and the rites of the Church of England.

The throne of France was occupied by virtue of the same principle of hereditary succession, differently modified, and blended with the christianity of the church of Rome. From this line of succession all females were inflexibly excluded.—Louis the Fifteenth, at the age of six years, had become the absolute sovereign of France, because he was the great grandson of his immediate predecessor. He was of the third generation in descent from the preceding king, and, by the law of primogeniture engrafted upon that of lineal succession, did, by the death of his ancestor, forthwith succeed, though in childhood, to an absolute throne, in preference to numerous descendants from that same ancestor, then in the full vigor of manhood.

The first reflection that must occur to a rational being, in contemplating these two results of the principle of hereditary succession, as resorted to for designating the rulers of nations, is, that two persons more unfit to occupy the thrones of Britain and of France, at the time of their respective accessions, could scarcely have been found upon the face of the Globe; George the Second, a foreigner, the son and grandson of foreigners, born beyond the seas, educated in uncongenial manners, ignorant of the constitution, of the laws, even of the language of the people over whom he was to rule; and Louis the Fifteenth, an infant, incapable of discerning his right hand from his left. Yet, strange as it may sound to the ear of unsophisticated reason, the British nation were wedded to the belief that this act of settlement, fixing their crown upon the heads of this succession of total strangers, was the brightest and most glorious exemplification of their national freedom; and not less strange, if aught in the imperfection of human reason could seem strange, was that deep conviction of the French people, at the same period, that their chief glory and happiness consisted in the vehemence of their affection for their king, because he was descended in an unbroken male line of genealogy from St. Louis.

One of the fruits of this line of hereditary succession, modified by sectarian principles of religion, was to make the peace and war, the happiness or misery of the people of the British empire, dependent upon the fortunes of the Electorate of Hanover; the personal domain of their imported king. This was a result calamitous alike to the people of Hanover, of Britain, and of France; but it was one of the two causes of that dreadful war then waging between them; and as the cause, so was this a principle theatre of that disastrous war. It was at Minden, in the heart of the Electorate of Hanover, that the father of Lafayette fell, and left him an orphan, a victim to that war, and to the principle of hereditary succession from which it emanated.

Thus, then, it was on the 6th of September, 1757, the day when Lafayette was born. The kings of France and Britain were seated upon their thrones by virtue of the principle of hereditary succession, variously modified and blended with different forms of religious faith, and they were waging war against each other, and exhausting the blood and treasure of their people for causes in which neither of the nations had any beneficial or lawful interest.

In this war the father of Lafayette fell in the cause of his king, but not of his country. He was an officer of an invading army, the instrument of his sovereign's wanton ambition and lust of conquest. The people of the Electorate of Hanover had done no wrong to him or to his country. When his son came to an age capable of understanding the irreparable loss that he had suf-

fered, and to reflect upon the cause of his father's fate, there was no drop of consolation mingled in the cup from the consideration that he had died for his country. And when the youthful mind was awakened to meditation upon the rights of mankind, the principles of freedom, and theories of government, it cannot be difficult to perceive, in the illustrations of his own family records, the source of that aversion to hereditary rule, perhaps the most distinguishing feature of his political opinions, and to which he adhered through all the vicissitudes of his life.

In the same war, and at the same time, George Washington was armed, a loyal subject, in support of his king; but to him that was also the cause of his country. His commission was not in the army of George the Second, but issued under the authority of the colony of Virginia, the province in which he received his birth. On the borders of that province, the war in its most horrid forms was waged; not a war of mercy, and of courtesy, like that of the civilized embattled legions of Europe; but war to the knife; the war of Indian savages, terrible to man, but more terrible to the tender sex, and most terrible to helpless infancy. In defence of his country against the ravages of such a war, Washington, in the dawn of manhood, had drawn his sword, as if Providence, with deliberate purpose, had sanctified for him the practice of war, all-detestable and unhallowed as it is, that he might, in a cause, virtuous and exalted by its motive and its end, be trained and fitted in a congenial school to march in aftertimes the leader of heroes in the war of his country's independence.

At the time of the birth of Lafayette, this war, which was to make him a fatherless child, and in which Washington was laying broad and deep, in the defence and protection of his native land, the foundations of his unrivalled renown, was but in its early stage. It was to continue five years longer, and was to close with the total extinguishment of the colonial dominion of France on the continent of North America. The deep humiliation of France, and the triumphant ascendancy on this continent of her rival, were the first results of this great national conflict. The complete expulsion of France from North America seemed to the superficial vision of men to fix the British power over these extensive regions, on foundations immovable as the everlasting hills.

Let us pass in imagination a period of only twenty years, and alight upon the borders of the river Brandywine. Washington is commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States of America; war is again raging in the heart of his native land; hostile armies of one and the same name, blood, and language, are arrayed for battle on the banks of the stream; and Philadelphia, where the United States are in Congress assembled, and whence their decree of independence has gone forth, is the destined prize to the conflict of the day. Who is that tall, slender youth, of foreign air and aspect, scarcely emerged from the years of boyhood, and fresh from the walls of a college; fighting, a volunteer, at the side of Washington, bleeding, unconsciously to himself, and rallying his men to secure the retreat of the scattered American ranks? It is GILBERT MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE; the son of the victim of Minden; and he is bleeding in the cause of North American independence and of freedom.

We pause one moment to enquire what was this cause of North American independence, and what were the motives and inducements to the youthful stranger to devote himself, his life, and fortune to it.

The people of the British colonies in North America, after a controversy of ten years' duration with their sovereign beyond the seas, upon an attempt by him and his parliament to tax them without their consent, had been constrained by necessity to declare themselves independent; to dissolve the tie of their allegiance to him; to renounce their right to its protection, and to assume their station among the independent civilized nations of the earth. This had been done with a deliberation and solemnity unexampled in the his-

tory of the world; done in the midst of a civil war, differing in character from any of those which for centuries before had desolated Europe. The war had risen upon a question between the rights of the people and the powers of their government. The discussions, in the progress of the controversy, had opened to the contemplations of men the first foundations of civil society and of government. The war of Independence began by litigation upon a petty stamp on paper, and a tax of three pence a pound on tea; but these broke up the fountains of the great deep, and the deluge ensued. Had the British parliament the right to tax the people of the colonies in another hemisphere, not represented in the imperial legislature? They affirmed they had: the people of the colonies insisted they had not. There were ten years of pleading before they came to an issue; and all the legitimate sources of power, and all the primitive elements of freedom were scrutinized, debated, analyzed, and elucidated, before the lighting of the torch of Ate, and her cry of havoc upon letting slip the dogs of war.

When the day of conflict came, the issue of the contest was necessarily changed. The people of the colonies had maintained the contest on the principle of resisting the invasion of chartered rights; first by argument and remonstrance, and, finally, by appeal to the sword. But with the war came the necessary exercise of sovereign powers. The Declaration of Independence justified itself as the only possible remedy for insufferable wrongs. It seated itself upon the first foundations of the law of nature, and the incontestable doctrine of human rights. There was no longer any question of the constitutional powers of the British parliament, or of violated colonial charters. Thenceforward the American nation supported its existence by war; and the British nation by war, was contending for conquest. As, between the two parties, the single question at issue was Independence; but in the confederate existence of the North American Union, liberty; not only their own liberty, but the vital principle of liberty to the whole race of civilized man, was involved.

It was at this stage of the conflict, and immediately after the Declaration of Independence, that it drew the attention, and called into action the moral sensibilities and the intellectual faculties of Lafayette, then in the nineteenth year of his age.

The war was revolutionary. It began by the dissolution of the British government in the colonies; the people of which were by that operation, left without any government whatever. They were then at one and the same time maintaining their independent national existence by war, and forming new social compacts for their own government thenceforward. The construction of civil society; the extent and the limitations of organized power; the establishment of a system of government combining the greatest enlargement of individual liberty with the most perfect preservation of public order, were the continual occupations of every mind. The consequences of this state of things to the history of mankind, and especially of Europe, were foreseen by none. Europe saw nothing but the war; a people struggling for liberty, and against oppression; and the people in every part of Europe sympathized with the people of the American colonies.

With their governments it was not so. The people of the American colonies were insurgents; all governments abhor insurrection; they were revolted colonists. The great maritime powers of Europe had colonies of their own, to which the example of resistance against oppression might be contagious. The American colonies were stigmatized in all the official acts of British government as rebels; and rebellion to the governing part of mankind is as the sin of witchcraft. The governments of Europe, therefore, were, at heart, on the side of the British government in this war, and the people of Europe were on the side of the American people.

Lafayette, by his position, and condition in life, was one of those who, governed by the ordinary

impulses which influence and control the conduct of men, would have sided in sentiment with the British or royal cause.

Lafayette was born a subject of the most absolute and most splendid monarchy of Europe, and in the highest rank of her proud and chivalrous nobility. He had been educated at a college of the University of Paris, founded by the royal munificence of Louis the Fourteenth, or of his minister, Cardinal Richelieu. Left an orphan in early childhood, with the inheritance of a princely fortune, he had been married, at sixteen years of age, to a daughter of the house of Noailles, the most distinguished family of the kingdom, scarcely deemed in public consideration inferior to that which wore the crown. He came into active life, at the change from boy to man, a husband and a father, in the full enjoyment of every thing that avarice could covet, with a certain prospect before him of all that ambition could crave. Happy in his domestic affections, incapable from the benignity of his nature, of envy, hatred, or revenge, a life of "ignoble ease and indolent repose" seemed to be that which nature and fortune had combined to prepare before him. To men of ordinary mould this condition would have led to a life of luxurious apathy and sensual indulgence. Such was the life into which, from the operation of the same causes, Louis the Fifteenth had sunk, with his household and court, while Lafayette was rising to manhood, surrounded by the contamination of their example. Had his natural endowments been even of the higher and nobler order of such as adhere to virtue, even in the lap of prosperity, and in the bosom of temptation, he might have lived and died a pattern of the nobility of France, to be classed, in aftertimes, with the Turennes and the Montausiers of the age of Louis the Fourteenth, or with the Villars or the Lamoignons of the age immediately preceding his own.

But as, in the firmament of heaven that rolls over our heads, there is, among the stars of the first magnitude, one so pre-eminent in splendour, as, in the opinion of astronomers, to constitute a class by itself; so, in the fourteen hundred years of the French monarchy, among the multitudes of great and mighty men which it has evolved, the name of Lafayette stands unrivalled in the solitude of glory.

In entering upon the threshold of life, a career was to open before him. He had the option of the court and the camp. An office was tendered to him in the household of the king's brother, the count de Provence, since successively a royal exile and a reinstated king. The servitude and inaction of a court had no charms for him; he preferred a commission in the army, and, at the time of the declaration of independence, was a captain of dragoons in garrison at Metz.

There, at an entertainment given by his relative, the Marechal de Broglie, the commandant of the place, to the duke of Gloucester, brother to the British king, and then a transient traveller through that part of France, he learned, as an incident of intelligence received that morning by the English prince from London, that the congress of rebels, at Philadelphia, had issued a declaration of independence. A conversation ensues upon the causes which have contributed to produce this event, and upon the consequences which may be expected to flow from it. The imagination of Lafayette has caught across the Atlantic tide the spark emitted from the declaration of independence: his heart has kindled at the shock, and before he slumbers upon his pillow, he has resolved to devote his life and fortune to the cause.

You have before you the cause and the man.—The self-devotion of Lafayette was twofold. First, to the people, maintaining a bold and seemingly desperate struggle against oppression, and for national existence. Secondly, and chiefly, to the principles of their declaration, which then first unfurled before his eyes the consecrated standard of human rights. So that standard, without an instant of hesitation, he repaired. Where it would lead him, it is scarcely probable that he himself

then foresaw. It was then identical with the stars and stripes of the American Union, floating to the breeze from the hall of independence, at Philadelphia. Nor sordid avarice, nor vulgar ambition, could point his footsteps to the pathway leading to that banner. To the love of ease or pleasure nothing could be more repulsive. Something may be allowed to the beatings of the youthful breast, which make ambition virtue, and something to the spirit of military adventure, imbibed from his profession, and of which he felt in common with many others. France, Germany, Poland, furnished to the armies of this union, in our revolutionary struggle no inconsiderable number of officers of high rank and distinguished merit. The name of Pulaski and de Kalb are numbered among the martyrs of our freedom, and their ashes repose in our soil side by side with the canonized bones of Warren and of Montgomery. To the virtues of Lafayette, a more protracted career and happier earthly destinies were reserved. To the moral principle of political action, the sacrifices of no other man were comparable to his. Youth, health, fortune; the favour of his king; the enjoyment of ease and pleasure; even the choicest blessings of domestic felicity; he gave them all for toil and danger in a distant land, and an almost hopeless cause; but it was the cause of justice, and of the rights of human kind.

The resolve is firmly fixed, and it now remains to be carried into execution. On the 7th of December, 1776, Silas Deane, then a secret agent of the American Congress at Paris, stipulates with the Marquis de Lafayette that he shall receive a commission, to date from that day, of major general in the army of the United States; and the Marquis stipulates, in return, to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal, without pay or emolument, reserving to himself only the liberty of returning to Europe if his family or his king should recall him.

Neither his family nor his king were willing that he should depart; nor had Mr. Deane the power, either to conclude this contract, or to furnish the means of his conveyance to America. Difficulties rise up before him only to be dispersed, and obstacles thicken only to be surmounted. The day after the signature of the contract, Mr. Deane's agency is superseded by the arrival of Doctor Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee as his colleagues in commission; nor did they think themselves authorized to confirm his engagements, Lafayette is not to be discouraged. The commissioners extenuate nothing of the unpromising condition of their cause. Mr. Deane avows his inability to furnish him with a passage to the United States. "The more desperate the cause," says Lafayette, "the greater need has it of my services; and if Mr. Deane has no vessel for my passage, I shall purchase one myself, and will traverse the ocean with a selected company of my own."

Other impediments arise. His design becomes known to the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, who remonstrates to the French government against it. At his instance, orders are issued for the detention of the vessel purchased by the Marquis, and fitted out at Bordeaux, and for the arrest of his person. To elude the first of these orders the vessel is removed from Bordeaux to the neighbouring port of passage, within the dominion of Spain. The order for his arrest is executed; but, by stratagem and disguise, he escapes from the custody of those who have him in charge, and before a second order can reach him he is safe on the ocean wave, bound to the land of independence and of freedom.

It has been necessary to clear out the vessel for an island for the West Indies; but, once at sea he avails himself of his right as owner of the ship, and compels his captain to steer for the shores of emancipated North America. He lands with his companions, on the 25th of April, 1777, in South Carolina, not far from Charleston, and finds a most cordial reception and hospitable welcome in the house of Major Huger.

Every detail of this adventurous expedition, full of incidents, combining with the simplicity of historical truth all the interest of romance, is so well known, and so familiar to the memory of all who hear me, that I pass them over without farther notice.

From Charleston he proceeded to Philadelphia, where the Congress of the revolution were in session, and where he offered his services in the cause. Here, again, he was met with difficulties, which, to men of ordinary minds, would have been insurmountable. Mr. Deane's contracts were so numerous, and for offices of rank so high, that it was impossible they should be ratified by the Congress. He had stipulated for the appointment of other Major Generals; and, in the same contract with that of Lafayette, for eleven other officers, from the rank of a Colonel to that of Lieutenant. To introduce these officers, strangers, scarcely one of whom could speak the language of the country, into the American army, to take rank and precedence over the native citizens whose ardent patriotism had pointed them to the standard of their country, could not, without great injustice, nor without exciting the most fatal dissensions, have been done; and this answer was necessarily given as well to Lafayette as to the other officers who had accompanied him from Europe. His reply was an offer to serve as a volunteer, and without pay. Magnanimity, thus disinterested, could not be resisted, nor could the sense of it be worthily manifested by a mere acceptance of the offer. On the 31st of July, 1777, therefore, the following resolution and preamble are recorded upon the journals of Congress:

“Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connexions, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his service to the United States, without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

“Resolved, That his services be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connexions, he have the rank and commission of Major General in the army of the United States.”

He had the rank and commission, but no command as a Major General. With this, all personal ambition was gratified; and whatever services he might perform, he could attain no higher rank in the American army. The discontents of officers already in the service, at being superseded in command by a stripling foreigner, were dissipated; nor was the prudence of Congress, perhaps, without its influence in withholding a command, which, but for a judgment premature “beyond the slow advance of years,” might have hazarded something of the sacred cause itself, by confidence too hastily bestowed.

The day after the date of his commission, he was introduced to Washington commander-in-chief of the armies of the confederation. It was the critical period of the campaign of 1777. The British army commanded by Lord Howe, was advancing from the head of Elk, to which they had been transported by sea from New York, upon Philadelphia. Washington by a counteracting movement had been approaching from his line of defence, in the Jerseys, toward the city, and arrived there on the 1st of August. It was a meeting of congenial souls. At the close of it, Washington gave the youthful stranger an invitation to make the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief his home: that he should establish himself there at his own time, and consider himself at all times one of his family. It was natural that, in giving this invitation, he should remark the contrast of the situation in which it would place him, with that of ease, and comfort, and luxurious enjoyment, which he had left, at the splendid court of Louis the Sixteenth, and of his beautiful and accomplished, but ill-fated queen, then at the very summit of all which constitutes the common estimate of felicity. How deep and solemn was this contrast! No native American had under-

gone the trial of the same alternative. None of them, save Lafayette, had brought the same tribute, of his life, his fortune, and his honour, to a cause of a country foreign to his own. To Lafayette the soil of freedom was his country. His post of honour was the post of danger. His fire-side was the field of battle. He accepted with joy the invitation of Washington, and repaired forthwith to the camp. The bond of indissoluble friendship; the friendship of heroes, was sealed from the first hour of their meeting, to last throughout their lives, and to live in the memory of mankind for ever.

It was, perhaps, at the suggestion of the American commissioners in France, that this invitation was given by Washington. In a letter from them, of the 25th of May, 1777, to the committee of foreign affairs, they announce that the Marquis had departed for the United States in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. They observe that he is exceedingly beloved, and that every body's good wishes attend him. They cannot but hope that he will meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. They further say that those who censure it as imprudent in him, do nevertheless applaud his spirit; and they are satisfied that civilities and respect shown to him will be serviceable to our cause in France, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the court, but to the whole French nation. They finally add, that he had left a beautiful young wife, and for her sake, particularly, they hoped that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself would be a little restrained by the general's [Washington's] prudence so as not to permit his being hazarded much, but upon some important occasion.

The head-quarters of Washington, serving as a volunteer, with the rank and commission of a Major General without command, was precisely the station adapted to the development of his character, to his own honour, and that of the army, and to the prudent management of the country's cause. To him it was at once a severe school of experience, and a rigorous test of merit. But it was not the place to restrain him from exposure to danger. The time at which he joined the camp was one of pre-eminent peril. The British government, and the commander in chief of the British forces, had imagined that the possession of Philadelphia, combined with that of the line along the Hudson river, from the Canadian frontier to the city of New York, would be fatal to the American cause. By the capture of Burgoyne and his army, that portion of the project sustained a total defeat. The final issue of the war was indeed sealed with the capitulation of the 17th of October, 1777, at Saratoga; sealed, not with the subjugation, but with the independence of the North American union.

In the southern campaign the British commander was more successful. The fall of Philadelphia was the result of the battle of Brandywine, on the 11th of September. This was the first action in which Lafayette was engaged, and the first lesson of his practical military school was a lesson of misfortune. In the attempt to rally the American troops in their retreat, he received a musket ball in the leg. He was scarcely conscious of the wound till made sensible of it by the loss of blood, and even then ceased not his exertions in the field till he had secured and covered the retreat.

This casualty confined him for some time to his bed at Philadelphia, and afterwards detained him some days at Bethlehem; but within six weeks he rejoined the head-quarters of Washington, near Whitemarsh. He soon became anxious to obtain a command equal to his rank, and, in the short space of time that he had been with the commander-in-chief, had so thoroughly obtained his confidence as to secure an earnest solicitation from him to Congress in his favour. In a letter to Congress, of the 1st of November, 1777, he says: “The Marquis de Lafayette is extremely solicitous of

having a command equal to his rank. I do not know in what light Congress will view the matter, but it appears to me, from a consideration of his illustrious and important connexions, the attachment which he has manifested for our cause, and the consequences which his return in disgust might produce, that it will be advisable to gratify him in his wishes; and the more so, as several gentlemen from France, who came over under some assurances, have gone back disappointed in their expectations. His conduct with respect to them stands in a favourable point of view; having interested himself to remove their uneasiness, and urged the impropriety of their making any unfavourable representations upon their arrival home; and in all his letters he has placed our affairs in the best situation he could. Besides, he is sensible, discreet in his manners; has made great proficiency in our language; and, from the disposition he discovered at the battle of Brandywine, possesses a large share of bravery and military ardour.”

Perhaps one of the highest encomiums ever pronounced of a man in public life, is that of a historian eminent for his profound acquaintance with mankind, who, in painting a great character by a single line, says that he was just equal to all the duties of the highest offices which he attained, and never above them. There are in some men qualities which dazzle and consume to little or no valuable purpose. They seldom belong to the great benefactors of mankind. They were not the qualities of Washington, or of Lafayette. The testimonial offered by the American commander to his young friend, after a probation of several months, and after the severe test of the disastrous day of Brandywine, was precisely adapted to the man to whose favour it was given, and to the object which it was to accomplish. What earnestness of purpose! what sincerity of conviction! what energetic simplicity of expression! what thorough delineation of character! The merits of Lafayette, to the eye of Washington, are the candour and generosity of his disposition; the indefatigable industry of application, which in the course of a few months, has already given him the mastery of a foreign language; good sense; discretion of manners, an attribute not only unusual in early years, but doubly rare in alliance with that enthusiasm so signally marked by his self-devotion to the American cause; and, to crown all the rest, the bravery and military ardour so brilliantly manifested at the Brandywine. Here is no random praise; no unmeaning panegyric. This cluster of qualities, all plain and simple, but so seldom found in union together, so generally incompatible with one another, these are the properties eminently trustworthy, in the judgment of Washington; and these are the properties which his discernment has found in Lafayette, and which urge him thus earnestly to advise the gratification of his wish by the assignment of a command equal to the rank which had been granted to his zeal and his illustrious name.

The recommendation of Washington had its immediate effect; and on the first of December, 1777, it was resolved by Congress, that he should be informed it was highly agreeable to Congress, that the Marquis de Lafayette should be appointed to the command of a division in the continental army.

He received accordingly such an appointment; and a plan was organized in Congress for a second invasion of Canada, at the head of which he was placed. This expedition, originally projected without consultation with the commander-in-chief, might be connected with the temporary dissatisfaction in the community and in Congress, at the ill success of his endeavours to defend Philadelphia, which rival and unfriendly partisans were too ready to compare with the splendid termination, by the capture of Burgoyne and his army, of the northern campaign, under the command of General Gates. To foreclose all suspicion of a participation in these views, Lafayette proceeded to the seat of Congress, and, accepting the important

charge which it was proposed to assign to him, obtained at his particular request that he should be considered as an officer detached from the army of Washington, and to remain under his orders. He then repaired in person to Albany, to take command of the troops who were to assemble at that place, in order to cross the lakes on the ice, and attack Montreal; but on arriving at Albany, he found none of the promised preparations in readiness; they were never effected. Congress some time after relinquished the design, and the Marquis was ordered to rejoin the army of Washington.

In the succeeding month of May, his military talent was displayed by the masterly retreat effected in the presence of an overwhelming superiority of the enemy's force from the position at Barren Hill.

He was soon after distinguished at the battle of Monmouth; and in September, 1778, a resolution of Congress declared their high sense of his services, not only in the field, but in his exertions to conciliate and heal dissensions between the officers of the French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing and some of the native officers of our army. These dissensions had arisen in the first moments of co-operation in the service, and had threatened pernicious consequences.

In the month of April, 1776, the combined wisdom of the Count de Vergennes and of Mr. Turgot, the Prime Minister, and the financier of Louis the Sixteenth, had brought him to the conclusion that the event the most desirable to France, with regard to the controversy between Great Britain and her American colonies, was that the insurrection should be suppressed. This judgment, evincing only the total absence of all moral considerations, in the estimate, by these eminent statesmen, of what was desirable to France, had undergone a great change by the close of the year 1777. The Declaration of Independence had changed the question between the parties. The popular feeling of France was all on the side of the Americans. The daring and romantic movement of Lafayette, in defiance of the government itself, then highly favoured by public opinion, was followed by universal admiration. The spontaneous spirit of the people gradually spread itself even over the rank corruption of the court; a suspicious and deceptive neutrality succeeded to an ostensible exclusion of the insurgents from the ports of France, till the capitulation of Burgoyne satisfied the casuists of international law at Versailles that the suppression of the insurrection was no longer the most desirable of events; but that the United States were, de facto, sovereign and independent; and that France might conclude a treaty of commerce with them, without giving just cause of offence to the step-mother country. On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce between France and the United States was concluded, and with it, on the same day, a treaty of eventual defensive alliance, to take effect only in the event of Great Britain's resenting, by war against France, the consummation of the commercial treaty. The war immediately ensued, and in the summer of 1778, a French fleet under the command of Count d'Estaing was sent to co-operate with the forces of the United States for the maintenance of their independence.

By these events the position of the Marquis de Lafayette was essentially changed. It became necessary for him to reinstate himself in the good graces of his sovereign, offended at his absentsing himself from his country without permission, but gratified with the distinction which he had acquired by gallant deeds in a service now become that of France herself. At the close of the campaign of 1778, with the approbation of his friend and patron, the commander-in-chief, he addressed a letter to the president of Congress, representing his then present circumstances with the confidence of affection and gratitude, observing that the sentiments which bound him to his country could never be more properly spoken of than in the presence of men who had done so much for their own.

"As long," continued he, "as I thought I could dispose of myself, I made it my pride and pleasure to fight under American colours, in defence of a cause which I dare more particularly call ours, because I had the good fortune of bleeding for her. Now, sir, that France is involved in a war, I am urged, by a sense of my duty, as well as by the love of my country, to present myself before the king, and know in what manner he judges proper to employ my services. The most agreeable of all will always be such as may enable me to serve the common cause among those whose friendship I had the happiness to obtain, and whose fortune I had the honour to follow in less smiling times. That reason, and others, which I leave to the feelings of Congress, engage me to beg from them the liberty of going home for the next winter.

"As long as there were any hopes of an active campaign, I did not think of leaving the field; now that I see a very peaceable and undisturbed moment, I take this opportunity of waiting on congress."

In the remainder of the letter he solicited that, in the event of his request being granted, he might be considered as a soldier on furlough, heartily wishing to regain his colours and his esteemed and beloved fellow-soldiers. And he closes with a tender of any services which he might be enabled to render to the American cause in his own country.

On the receipt of this letter, accompanied by one from General Washington, recommending to congress, in terms most honourable to the Marquis, a compliance with his request, that body immediately passed resolutions granting him an unlimited leave of absence, with permission to return to the United States at his own most convenient time; that the president of Congress should write him a letter returning him the thanks of Congress for that disinterested zeal which had led him to America, and for the services he had rendered to the United States by the exertion of his courage and abilities on many signal occasions; and that the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of Versailles should be directed to cause an elegant sword, with proper devices, to be made, and presented to him in the name of the United States. These resolutions were communicated to him in a letter expressive of the sensibility congenial to them, from the president of Congress, Henry Laurens.

He embarked in January, 1779, in the frigate Alliance, at Boston, and, on the succeeding 12th day of February, presented himself at Versailles. Twelve months had already elapsed since the conclusion of the treaties of commerce and of eventual alliance between France and the United States. They had, during the greater part of that time, been deeply engaged in a war with a common cause against great Britain, and it was the cause in which Lafayette had been shedding his blood: yet, instead of receiving him with open arms, as the pride and ornament of his country, a cold and hollow-hearted order was issued to him not to present himself at court, but to consider himself under arrest, with permission to receive visits only from his relations. This ostensible mark of the royal displeasure was to last eight days, and Lafayette manifested his sense of it only by a letter to the Count de Vergennes, inquiring whether the interdiction upon him to receive visits was to be considered as extending to that of Doctor Franklin.—The sentiment of universal admiration which had followed him at his first departure, greatly increased by his splendid career of service during the two years of his absence, indemnified him for the indignity of the courtly rebuke.

He remained in France through the year 1779, and returned to the scene of action early in the ensuing year. He continued in the French service, and was appointed to command the king's own regiment of dragoons, stationed during the year in various parts of the kingdom, and holding an incessant correspondence with the minister of foreign affairs and of war, urging the employment

of a land and naval force in the aid of the American cause. "the Marquis de Lafayette," says Doctor Franklin, in a letter of the 4th of March, 1780, to the president of Congress, "who, during his residence in France, has been extremely zealous in supporting our cause on all occasions, returns again to fight for it. He is infinitely esteemed and beloved here, and I am persuaded will do every thing in his power to merit a continuance of the same affection from America."

Immediately after his arrival in the United States, it was, on the 17th of May, 1780, resolved in Congress, that they consider his return to America to resume his command as a fresh proof of the disinterested zeal and persevering attachment which have justly recommended him to the public confidence and applause, and that they received with pleasure a tender of the farther services of so gallant and meritorious an officer.

From this time until the termination of the campaign of 1781, by the surrender of lord Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown, his service was of incessant activity, always signalized by military talents unsurpassed, and by a spirit never to be subdued. At the time of the treason of Arnold, Lafayette was accompanying his commander-in-chief to an important conference and consultation with the French General, Rochambeau; and then, as in every stage of the war, it seemed as if the position which he occupied, his personal character, his individual relations with Washington, with the officers of both the allied armies, and with the armies themselves, had been specially ordered to promote and secure that harmony and mutual good understanding indispensable to the ultimate success of the common cause. His position, too, as a foreigner by birth, a European, a volunteer in the American service, and a person of high rank in his native country, pointed him out as peculiarly suited to the painful duty of deciding upon the character of the crime, and upon the fate of the British officer, the accomplice and victim of the detested traitor, Arnold.

In the early part of the campaign of 1781 when Cornwallis, with an overwhelming force, was spreading ruin and devastation over the southern portion of the union, we find Lafayette, with means altogether inadequate, charged with the defence of the territory of Virginia. Always equal to the emergencies in which circumstances placed him, his expedients for encountering and surmounting the obstacles which they cast in his way are invariably stamped with the peculiarities of his character. The troops placed under his command for the defence of Virginia, were chiefly taken from the eastern regiments, unseasoned to the climate to the south, and prejudiced against it as unfavourable to the health of the natives of the more rigorous regions of the north. Desertions became frequent, till they threatened the very dissolution of the corps. Instead of resorting to military execution to retain his men, he appeals to the sympathies of honour. He states, in general orders, the great danger and difficulty of the enterprise upon which he is about to embark; represents the only possibility by which it can promise success, the faithful adherence of the soldiers to their chief, and his confidence that they will not abandon him. He then adds, that if, however, any individual of the detachment was unwilling to follow him, a passport to return to his home should be forthwith granted him upon his application. It is to a cause like that of American independence that resources like these are congenial. After these general orders, nothing more was heard of desertion. The very cripples of the army preferred paying for their own transportation, to follow the corps, rather than to ask for the dismissal which had been made so easily accessible to all.

But how shall the deficiencies of the military chest be supplied? The want of money was heavily pressing upon the service in every direction. Where are the sinews of war? How are the troops to march without shoes, linen, clothing of all descriptions, and other necessities of life? Lafayette

has found them all. From the patriotic merchants of Baltimore he obtains, on the pledge of his own personal credit, a loan of money adequate to the purchase of the materials; and from the fair hands of the daughters of the monumental city, even then worthy to be so called, he obtains the toil of making up the needed garments.

The details of the campaign, from its unpromising outset, when Cornwallis, the British commander, exulted in anticipation that the boy could not escape him, till the storming of the twin redoubts, in emulation of gallantry by the valiant Frenchmen of Viomesnil, and the American fellow-soldiers of Lafayette, led him to victory at Yorktown, must be left to the recording pen of history. Both redoubts were carried at the point of the sword, and Cornwallis with averted face surrendered his sword to Washington.

This was the last vital struggle of the war, which, however, lingered through another year rather of negotiation than of action. Immediately after the capitulation at Yorktown, Lafayette asked and obtained again a leave of absence to visit his family and his country, and with this closed his military service in the field during the revolutionary war. But it was not for the individual enjoyment of his renown that he returned to France.

The resolutions of Congress accompanying that which gave him a discretionary leave of absence, while honorary in the highest degree to him, were equally marked by a grant of virtual credentials for negotiation, and by the trust of confidential powers, together with a letter of the warmest commendation of the gallant soldier to the favour of his king. The ensuing year was consumed in preparations for a formidable combined French and Spanish expedition against the British Islands in the West Indies, and particularly the Island of Jamaica; thence to recoil upon New York, and to pursue the offensive war into Canada. The fleet destined for this gigantic undertaking was already assembled at Cadiz; and Lafayette, appointed the chief of the staff, was there ready to embark upon this perilous adventure, when, on the 30th of November, 1782, the preliminary treaties of peace were concluded between his Britannic majesty on one part, and the allied powers of France, Spain, and the United States of America, on the other. The first intelligence of this event received by the American Congress was in the communication of a letter from Lafayette.

The war of American Independence is closed. The people of the North American confederation are in union, sovereign and independent. Lafayette, at twenty-five years of age, has lived the life of a patriarch, and illustrated the career of a hero. Had his days upon earth been then numbered, and had he then slept with his fathers, illustrious as for centuries their names had been, his name, to the end of time, would have transcended them all. Fortunate youth! fortunate beyond even the measure of his companions in arms with whom he had achieved the glorious consummation of American independence. His fame was all his own; not cheaply earned; not ignobly won. His fellow-soldiers had been the champions and defenders of their country. They reaped for themselves, for their wives, their children, their posterity to the latest time, the rewards of their dangers and their toils. Lafayette had watched, and laboured, and fought, and bled, not for himself, not for his family, not, in the first instance, even for his country. In the legendary tales of chivalry we read of tournaments at which a foreign and unknown knight, suddenly presents himself, armed in complete steel, and with the vizor down, enters the ring to contend with the assembled flower of knighthood for the prize of honour, to be awarded by the hand of beauty; bears it in triumph away, and disappears from the astonished multitude of competitors and spectators of the feats of arms. But where in the rolls of history, where, in the fictions of romance, where, but in the life of Lafayette, has been seen the noble stranger, flying with the tribute of his name, his rank, his affluence, his

ease, his domestic bliss, his treasure, his blood, to the relief of a suffering and distant land, in the hour of her deepest calamity; baring his bosom to her foes; and not at the transient pageantry of a tournament, but for a succession of five years sharing all the vicissitudes of her fortunes; always eager to appear at the post of danger; tempering the glow of youthful ardour with the cold caution of a veteran commander; bold and daring in action; prompt in execution; rapid in pursuit; fertile in expedients; unattainable in retreat; often exposed, but never surprised, never disconcerted; eluding his enemy when within his fancied grasp; bearing upon him with irresistible sway when of force to cope with him in the conflict of arms? And what is this but the diary of Lafayette, from the day of his rallying the scattered fugitives of the Brandywine, insensible of the blood flowing from his wound, to the storming of the redoubt at Yorktown?

Henceforth, as a public man, Lafayette is to be considered as a Frenchman, always active and ardent to serve the United States, but no longer in their service as an officer. So transcendent had been his merits in the common cause, that, to reward them, the rule of progressive advancement in the armies of France was set aside for him. He received from the minister of war, a notification that from the day of his retirement from the service of the United States as a Major General, at the close of the war, he should hold the same rank in the armies of France, to date from the day of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis.

Henceforth he is a Frenchman, destined to perform in the history of his country a part, as peculiarly his own, and not less glorious than that which he had performed in the war of independence. A short period of profound peace followed the great triumph of freedom. The desire of Lafayette once more to see the land of his adoption and the associates of his glory, the fellow-soldiers who had become to him as brothers, and the friend and patron of his youth, who had become to him as a father; sympathizing with their desire once more to see him; to see in their prosperity him who had first come to them in their affliction, induced him, in the year 1784, to pay a visit to the United States.

On the 4th of August, of that year, he landed at New-York, and, in the space of five months from that time, visited his venerable friend at Mount Vernon, where he was then living in retirement, and traversed ten states of the union, receiving every where, from their legislative assemblies, from the municipal bodies of the cities and towns through which he passed, from the officers of the army his late associates, now restored to the virtues and occupations of private life, and even from the recent emigrants from Ireland who had come to adopt for their country the self-emanipated land, addresses of gratulation and of joy, the effusions of hearts grateful in the enjoyment of the blessings for the possession of which they had been so largely indebted to his exertions; and, finally, from the United States of America in Congress assembled at Trenton.

On the 9th of December it was resolved by that body that a committee, to consist of one member from each state, should be appointed to receive, and in the name of Congress take leave of the Marquis. That they should be instructed to assure him that Congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they had frequently expressed and manifested on former occasions, and which the recent marks of his attention to their commercial and other interests had perfectly confirmed. "That, as his uniform and unceasing attachment to this country has resembled that of a patriotic citizen, the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honour and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him."

And it was farther resolved, that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, to be signed

by his excellency the pre-ident of Congress, expressive of the high sense which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favour and patronage of his majesty.

The first of these resolutions was, on the next day carried into execution. At a solemn interview with the committee of Congress, received in their hall, and addressed by the chairman of their committee, John Jay, the purport of these resolutions were communicated to him. He replied in terms of fervent sensibility for the kindness manifested personally to himself; and, with allusions to the situation, the prospects, and the duties of the people of this country, he pointed out the great interests which he believed it indispensable to their welfare that they should cultivate and cherish. In the following memorable sentences the ultimate objects of his solicitude are disclosed in a tone deeply solemn and impressive:

"May this immense temple of freedom," said he, "ever stand, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind! and may these happy United States attain that complete splendour and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders."

Fellow-citizens! Ages have passed away since these words were spoken; but ages are the years of the existence of nations. The founders of this immense temple of freedom have all departed, save here and there a solitary exception, even while I speak, at the point of taking wing. The prayer of Lafayette is not yet consummated.—Ages upon ages are still to pass away before it can have its full accomplishment; and, for its full accomplishment, his spirit, hovering over our heads, in more than echoes talks around these walls. It repeats the prayer, which from his lips fifty years ago was at once a parting blessing and a prophecy; for, were it possible for the whole human race, now breathing the breath of life, to be assembled within this hall, your orator would, in your name, and in that of your constituents, appeal to them to testify for your fathers of the last generation, that, so far as has depended upon them, the blessing of Lafayette has been prophecy. Yes! this immense temple of freedom still stands, a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, and a sanctuary for the rights of mankind.—Yes! with the smiles of a benignant providence, the splendour and prosperity of these happy United States have illustrated the blessings of their government, and, we may humbly hope, have rejoiced the departed souls of its founders. For the past your fathers and you have been responsible. The charge of the future devolves upon you and upon your children. The vestal fire of freedom is in your custody. May the souls of its departed founders never be called to witness its extinction by neglect, nor a soil upon the purity of its keepers!

With this valedictory, Lafayette took, as he and those who heard him then believed, a final leave of the people of the United States. He returned to France, and arrived at Paris on the 25th of January, 1785.

He continued to take a deep interest in the concerns of the United States, and exerted his influence with the French government to obtain reductions of duties favourable to their commerce and fisheries. In the summer of 1786, he visited several of the German courts, and attended the last great review by Frederic the Second of his veteran army; a review unusually splendid, and specially remarkable by the attendance of many of the most distinguished military commanders of Europe. In the same year the legislature of Virginia manifested the continued recollection of his services rendered to the people of that commonwealth, by a complimentary token of gratitude not less honourable than it was unusual. They resolved that two busts of Lafayette, to be executed by the celebrated sculptor, Houdon, should be

procured at their expense; that one of them should be placed in their own legislative hall, and the other presented, in their name, to the municipal authorities of the city of Paris. It was accordingly presented by Mr. Jefferson, then minister plenipotentiary of the United States in France, and, by the permission of Louis the Sixteenth, was accepted, and, with appropriate solemnity placed in one of the halls of the Hotel de Ville of the metropolis of France.

We have gone through one stage of the life of Lafayette; we are now to see him acting upon another theatre; in a cause still essentially the same, but in the application of its principles to his own country.

The immediately originating question which occasioned the French revolution, was the same with that from which the American revolution had sprung: taxation of the people without their consent. For nearly two centuries the kings of France had been accustomed to levy taxes upon the people by royal ordinances. But it was necessary that these ordinances should be registered in the parliaments or judicial tribunals; and these parliaments claimed the right of remonstrating against them, and sometimes refused the registry of them itself. The members of the parliaments held their offices by purchase, but were appointed by the King, and were subject to banishment or imprisonment, at his pleasure. Louis the Fifteenth, towards the close of his reign, had abolished the parliaments, but they had been restored at the accession of his successor.

The finances of the kingdom were in extreme disorder. The minister, or comptroller general de Calonne, after attempting various projects for obtaining the supplies, the amount and need of which he was with lavish hand daily increasing, bethought himself, at last, of calling for the counsel of others. He prevailed upon the king to convoke, not the states general, but an assembly of notables. There was something ridiculous in the very name by which this meeting was called; but it consisted of a selection from all the *grandeues* and dignitaries of the kingdom. The two brothers of the king; all the princes of the blood; archbishops and bishops, dukes and peers; the chancellor and presiding members of the parliaments; distinguished members of the noblesse, and the mayors and chief magistrates of a few of the principal cities of the kingdom, constituted this assembly. It was a representation of every interest but that of the people. They were appointed by the king; were members of the highest aristocracy, and were assembled with the design that their deliberations should be confined exclusively to the subjects submitted to their consideration by the minister. These were certain plans devised by him for replenishing the insolvent treasury, by assessments upon the privileged classes, the very princes, nobles, ecclesiastics, and magistrates exclusively represented in the assembly itself.

Of this meeting, the Marquis de Lafayette was a member. It was held in February, 1787, and terminated in the overthrow and banishment of the minister by whom it had been convened. In the fiscal concerns which absorbed the care and attention of others, Lafayette took comparatively little interest. His views were more comprehensive.

The assembly consisted of one hundred and thirty-seven persons, and divided itself into several sections or bureaux, each presided by a prince of the blood. Lafayette was allotted to the division under the presidency of the Count d'Artois, the younger brother of the king, and since known as Charles the Tenth. The propositions made by Lafayette were:

1. The suppression of *lettres de cachet*, and the abolition of all arbitrary imprisonment.

2. The establishment of religious toleration, and the restoration of the protestants to their civil rights.

3. The convocation of a national assembly, representing the people of France; personal liberty;

religious liberty; and a representative assembly of the people. These were his demands.

The first and second of them produced, perhaps, at the time, no deep impression upon the assembly, nor upon the public. Arbitrary imprisonment, and the religious persecution of the protestants had become universally odious. They were worn-out instruments, even in the hands of those who wielded them. There was none to defend them.

But the demand for a national assembly startled the prince at the head of the Bureau. What! said the Count d'Artois, do you ask the states general? Yes, sir, was the answer of Lafayette, and for something yet better. You desire, then, replied the prince, that I should take in writing, and report to the king, that the motion to convoke the states general has been made by the Marquis de Lafayette! "Yes, sir;" and the name of Lafayette was accordingly reported to the king.

The assembly of notables was dissolved.—De Colonne was displaced and banished, and his successor undertook to raise the needed funds, by the authority of royal edicts. The war of litigation with the parliaments recommenced, which terminated only with a positive promise that the states general should be convoked.

From that time a total revolution of government in France was in progress. It has been a solemn, a sublime often a most painful, and yet in the contemplation of great results, a refreshing and cheering contemplation. I cannot follow it in its overwhelming multitude of details, even as connected with the life and character of Lafayette. A second assembly of notables succeeded the first; and then an assembly of the states general, first to deliberate in separate orders of clergy, nobility, and third estate; but, finally constituting itself a national assembly, and forming a constitution of limited monarchy, with an hereditary royal executive, and a legislature in a single assembly representing the people.

Lafayette was a member of the states general first assembled. Their meeting was signalized by a struggle between the several orders of which they were composed, which resulted in breaking them all down into one national assembly.

The convocation of the states general had, in one respect, operated, in the progress of the French revolution, like the declaration of independence in that of North America. It had changed the question in controversy. It was, on the part of the king of France, a concession that he had no lawful power to tax the people without their consent. The states general, therefore, met with this admission already conceded by the king. In the American conflict the British government never yielded the concession. They undertook to maintain their supposed right of arbitrary taxation by force; and then the people of the colonies renounced all community of government, not only with the king and parliament, but with the British nation. They reconstructed the fabric of government for themselves, and held the people of Britain as foreigners; friends in peace; enemies in war.

The concession by Louis the Sixteenth, implied in the convocation of the states general, was a virtual surrender of absolute power; an acknowledgment that, as exercised by himself and his predecessors, it had been usurped. It was, in substance, an abdication of his crown. There was no power which he exercised as king of France, the lawfulness of which was not contestable on the same principle which denied him the right of taxation. When the assembly of the states general met at Versailles, in May, 1789, there was but a shadow of the royal authority left. They felt the power of the nation was in their hands, and they were not sparing in the use of it. The representatives of the third estate, double in numbers to those of the clergy and the nobility, constituted themselves a national assembly, and, as signal for the demolition of all privileged orders refused to deliberate in separate chambers, and thus compelled the representatives of the clergy

and nobility to merge their separate existence in the general mass of the popular representation.

Thus the edifice of society was to be reconstructed in France as it had been in America.—The king made a feeble attempt to overawe the assembly, by calling regiments of troops to Versailles, and surrounding with them the hall of their meeting. But there was defection in the army itself, and even the person of the king soon ceased to be at his own disposal. On the 11th of July, 1789, in the midst of the fermentation which had succeeded the fall of the monarchy, and while the assembly was surrounded by armed soldiers, Lafayette presented to them his declaration of rights; the first declaration of human rights ever proclaimed in Europe. It was adopted, and became the basis of that which the assembly promulgated with their constitution.

It was in this hemisphere, and in our own country, that all its principles had been imbibed. At the very moment when the declaration was presented, the convulsive struggle between the expiring monarchy and the new born but portentous anarchy of the Parisian populace was taking place. The royal palace and the hall of assembly were surrounded with troops, and insurrection was kindling at Paris. In the midst of the popular commotion, a deputation of sixty members, with Lafayette at their head, was sent from the assembly to tranquillize the people of Paris, and that incident was the occasion of the institution of the national guard throughout the realm, and of the appointment, with the approbation of the king, of Lafayette as their general commander-in-chief.

This event, without vacating his seat in the assembly, connected him at once with the military and the popular movement of the revolution. The national guard was the armed militia of the whole kingdom, embodied for the preservation of order, and the protection of persons and property, as well as for the establishment of the liberties of the people. In his double capacity of commander general of this force, and of a representative in the constituent assembly, his career, for a period of more than three years, was beset with the most imminent dangers, and with difficulties beyond all human power to surmount.

The ancient monarchy of France had crumbled into ruins. A national assembly, formed by an irregular representation of clergy, nobles, and third estate, after melting at the fire of a revolution into one body, had transformed itself into a constituent assembly representing the people, had assumed the exercise of all the powers of government, extorted from the hands of the king, and undertaken to form a constitution for the French nation, founded at once upon the theory of human rights, and upon the preservation of a royal hereditary crown upon the head of Louis the Sixteenth. Lafayette sincerely believed that such a system would not be absolutely incompatible with the nature of things. An hereditary monarchy, surrounded by popular institutions, presented itself to his imagination as a practicable form of government; nor is it certain that even to his last days he ever abandoned this persuasion. The element of hereditary monarchy in this constitution was indeed not congenial with it. The prototype from which the whole fabric had been drawn, had no such element in its composition. A feeling of generosity, of compassion, of commiseration with the unfortunate prince then upon the throne, who had been his sovereign, and for his ill-fated family, mingled itself, perhaps unconsciously to himself, with his well-reasoned faith in the abstract principles of a republican creed. The total abolition of the monarchical feature undoubtedly belonged to his theory, but the family of Bourbon had still a strong hold on the affections of the French people; history had not made up a record favourable to the establishment of elective kings; a strong executive head was absolutely necessary to curb the impetuosities of the people of France; and the same doctrine which played upon the fancy, and crept upon the kind-hearted benevolence of Lafayette, was adopted by a large majority of

the national assembly, sanctioned by the suffrages of its most intelligent, virtuous, and patriotic members, and was finally embodied in that royal democracy, the result of their labours, sent forth to the world, under the guaranty of numberless oaths, as the constitution of France for all after-time.

But, during the same period, after the first meeting of the states general, and while they were in actual conflict with the expiring energies of the crown, and with the exclusive privileges of the clergy and nobility, another portentous power had arisen, and entered with terrific activity into the controversies of the time. This was the power of popular insurrection, organized by voluntary associations of clubs, and impelled to action by the municipal authorities of the city of Paris.

The first movements of the people in the state of insurrection took place on the 12th of July, 1789, and issued in the destruction of the Bastille, and in the murder of its governor, and of several other persons, hung up at lamp-posts, or torn to pieces by the frenzied multitude, without form of trial, and without shadow of guilt.

The Bastille had long been odious as the place of confinement of persons arrested by arbitrary orders for offences against the government, and its destruction was hailed by most of the friends of liberty throughout the world as an act of patriotism and magnanimity on the part of the people.—The brutal ferocity of the murders was overlooked or palliated in the glory of the achievement of razing to its foundations the execrated citadel of despotism. But, as the summary justice of insurrection can manifest itself only by destruction, the example once set, became a precedent for a series of years, for scenes so atrocious, and for butcheries so merciless and horrible, that memory revolts at the task of recalling them to the mind.

It would be impossible, within the compass of this discourse, to follow the details of the French revolution to the final dethronement of Louis the Sixteenth, and the extinction of the constitutional monarchy of France, on the 10th of August 1792. During that period, the two distinct powers were in continual operation; sometimes in concert with each other, sometimes at irreconcilable opposition. Of these powers, one was the people of France, represented by the Parisian populace in insurrection; the other was the people of France, represented successively by the constituent assembly, which formed the constitution of 1791, and by the legislative assembly, elected to carry it into execution.

The movements of the insurgent power were occasionally convulsive and cruel, without mitigation or mercy. Guided by secret springs; prompted by vindictive and sanguinary ambition, directed by hands unseen to objects of individual aggrandizement, its agency felt like the thunderbolt, and swept like the whirlwind.

The proceedings of the assemblies were deliberative and intellectual. They began by grasping at the whole power of the monarchy, and they finished by sinking under the dictation of the Parisian populace. The constituent assembly numbered among its members many individuals of great ability, and of pure principles, but they were overawed and domineered by that other representation of the people of France, which, through the instrumentality of the Jacobin club, and the municipality of Paris, disconcerted the wisdom of the wise, and scattered to the winds the counsels of the prudent. It was impossible that, under the perturbations of such a controlling power, a constitution suited to the character and circumstances of the nation should be formed.

Through the whole of this period, the part performed by Lafayette was without parallel in history. The annals of the human race exhibit no other instance of a position comparable for its unintermitted perils, its deep responsibilities, and its providential issues, with that which he occupied as commander general of the national guard, and as a leading member of the constituent as-

sembly. In the numerous insurrections of the people, he saved the lives of multitudes devoted as victims, and always at the most imminent hazard of his own. On the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, he saved the lives of Louis the Sixteenth, and of his queen. He escaped, time after time, the daggers sharpened by princely conspiracy on one hand, and by popular frenzy on the other. He witnessed, too, without being able to prevent it, the butchery of Foulon before his eyes, and the reeking heart of Berthier, torn from his lifeless trunk, was held up in exulting triumph before him. On this occasion, and on another, he threw up his commission as commander of the national guards; but who could have succeeded him, even with equal power to restrain these volcanic excesses? At the earnest solicitation of those who well knew that his place could never be supplied, he resumed and continued in the command until the solemn proclamation of the constitution, upon which he definitively laid it down, and retired to private life upon his estate in Auvergne.

As a member of the constituent assembly, it is not in the detailed organization of the government which they prepared, that his spirit and co-operation is to be traced. It is in the principles which he proposed and infused into the system. As, at the first assembly of notables, his voice had been raised for the abolition of arbitrary imprisonment, for the extinction of religious intolerance, and for the representation of the people, so, in the national assembly, besides the declaration of rights, which formed the basis of the constitution itself, he made or supported the motions for the establishment of trial by jury, for the gradual emancipation of slaves, for the freedom of the press, for the abolition of all titles of nobility, and for the declaration of equality of all the citizens, and the suppression of all the privileged orders, without exception of the princes of the royal family. Thus, while as a legislator he was spreading the principles of universal liberty over the whole surface of the state, as commander-in-chief of the armed force of the nation, he was controlling, repressing, and mitigating, as far as it could be effected by human power, the excesses of the people.

The constitution was at length proclaimed, and the constituent national assembly was dissolved. In advance of this event, the sublime spectacle of the federation was exhibited on the 14th of July, 1790, the first anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille. There was an ingenious and fanciful association of ideas in the selection of that day. The Bastille was a state prison, a massive structure, which had stood four hundred years, every stone of which was saturated with sighs and tears, and echoed the groans of four centuries of oppression. It was the very type and emblem of the despotism which had so long weighed upon France. Demolished from its summit to its foundation at the first shout of freedom from the people, what day could be more appropriate than its anniversary for the day of solemn consecration of the new fabric of government, founded upon the rights of man?

I shall not describe the magnificent and melancholy pageant of that day. It has been done by abler hands, and in a style which could only be weakened and diluted by repetition.* The religious solemnity of the mass was performed by a prelate, then eminent among the members of the assembly and the dignitaries of the land; still eminent, after surviving the whole circle of subsequent revolutions. No longer a father of the church, but among the most distinguished laymen and most celebrated statesmen of France, his was the voice to invoke the blessing of heaven upon this new constitution for his liberated country; and he, and Louis the Sixteenth, and Lafayette, and thirty thousand delegates from all the confederated national guards of the kingdom, in the presence of Almighty God, and of five hundred thousand of their countrymen, took the oath of

fidelity of the nation, to the constitution, and all save the monarch himself, to the king. His corresponding oath was, of fidelity to discharge the duties of his high office, and to the people.

Alas! and was it all false and hollow? had these oaths no more substance than the breath that ushered them to the winds? It was impossible to look back upon the short and turbulent existence of this royal democracy, to mark the frequent paroxysms of popular frenzy by which it was assailed, and the catastrophe by which it perished, and to believe that the vows of all who swore to support it were sincere. But, as well might the sculptor of a block of marble, after exhausting his genius and his art in giving it a beautiful human form, call God to witness that it shall perform all the functions of animal life, as the constituent assembly of France could pledge the faith of its members that their royal democracy should work as a permanent organized form of government.—The declaration of rights contained all the principles essential to freedom. The frame of government was radically and irreparably defective. The hereditary royal executive was itself an inconsistency with the declaration of rights. The legislative power, all concentrated in a single assembly, was an incongruity still more glaring. These were both departures from the system of organization which Lafayette had witnessed in the American constitutions: neither of them was approved by Lafayette. In deference to the prevailing opinions and prejudices of the times, he acquiesced in them, and he was destined to incur the most imminent hazards of his life, and to make the sacrifice of all that gives value to life itself, in faithful adherence to that constitution which he had sworn to support.

Shortly after his resignation, as commander general of the national guards, the friends of liberty and order presented him as a candidate for election as mayor of Paris; but he had a competitor in the person of Pethion, more suited to the party, pursuing with inexorable rancour the abolition of the monarchy and the destruction of the king; and, what may seem scarcely credible, the remnant of the party which still adhered to the king, the king himself, and, above all, the queen, favoured the election of the Jacobin Pethion, in preference to that of Lafayette. They were, too fatally for themselves, successful.

From the first meeting of the legislative assembly, under the constitution of 1791, the destruction of the king and of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic, by means of the popular passions and of popular violence, were the deliberate purposes of its leading members. The spirit with which the revolution had been pursued, from the time of the destruction of the Bastille, had caused the emigration of great numbers of the nobility and clergy; and, among them, of the two brothers of Louis the Sixteenth, and of several other princes of his blood. They had applied to all the other great monarchies of Europe for assistance to uphold or restore the crumbling monarchy of France. The French reformers themselves, in the heat of their political fanaticism, avowed, without disguise, the design to revolutionize all Europe, and had emissaries in every country, openly or secretly preaching the doctrine of insurrection against all established governments. Louis the Sixteenth, and his queen, an Austrian princess, sister to the Emperor Leopold, were in secret negotiation with the Austrian government for the rescue of the king and royal family of France from the dangers with which they were so incessantly beset. In the Electorate of Treves, a part of the Germanic empire, the emigrants from France were assembling, with indications of a design to enter France in hostile array, to effect a counter-revolution; and the brothers of the king, assuming a position at Coblenz, on the borders of their country, were holding councils, the object of which was to march in arms to Paris, to release the king from captivity, and to restore the ancient monarchy to the dominion of absolute power.

* In the Address to the young men of Boston, by Edward Everett.

The king, who, even before his forced acceptance of the constitution of 1791, had made an unsuccessful attempt to escape from his palace prison, was, in April, 1792, reduced to the humiliating necessity of declaring war against the very sovereigns who were arming their nations to rescue him from his revolted subjects. Three armies, each of fifty thousand men, were levied to meet the emergencies of this war, and were placed under the command of Luckner, Rochambeau, and Lafayette. As he passed through Paris to go and take the command of his army, he appeared before the legislative assembly, the president of which, in addressing him, said that the nation would oppose to their enemies the constitution and Lafayette.

But the enemies to the constitution were within the walls. At this distance of time, when most of the men, and many of the passions of those days, have passed away, when the French revolution, and its results, should be regarded with the searching eye of philosophical speculation, as lessons of experience to after ages, may it even now be permitted to remark how much the virtues and the crimes of men, in times of political convulsion, are modified and characterized by the circumstances in which they are placed? The great actors of the tremendous scenes of revolution in those times were men educated in schools of high civilization, and in the humane and benevolent precepts of the christian religion. A small portion of them were vicious and depraved; but the great majority were wound up to madness by that war of conflicting interests and absorbing passions, enkindled by a great convulsion of the social system. It has been said by a great master of human nature—

"In peace, there's nothing so becomes a man
As modest stillness and humility;
"But when the blast of war blows in your ears,
"Then imitate the action of the tiger."

Too faithfully did the people of France, and the leaders of their factions, in that war of all the political elements, obey that injunction. Who, that lived in that day, can remember? who, since born, can read, or bear to be told, the horrors of the 20th of June, the 10th of August, the 2d and 3d of September, 1792, of the 31st of May, 1793, and of a multitude of others, during which, in dreadful succession, the murderers of one day were the victims of the next, until that, when the insurgent populace themselves were shot down by thousands, in the very streets of Paris, by the military legions of the convention, and the rising fortune and genius of Napoleon Bonaparte? Who can remember, or read, or hear, of all this, without shuddering at the sight of man, his fellow-creature, in the drunkenness of political frenzy, degrading himself beneath the condition of the cannibal savage? beneath even the condition of the wild beast of the desert? and who, but with a feeling of deep mortification, can reflect, that the rational and immortal being, to the race of which he himself belongs, should, even in his most palmy state of intellectual cultivation, be capable of this self-transformation to brutality?

In this dissolution of all the moral elements which regulate the conduct of men in their social condition; in this monstrous, and scarcely conceivable spectacle of a king, at the head of a mighty nation, in secret league with the enemies against whom he has proclaimed himself at war, and of a legislature conspiring to destroy the king and constitution to which they have sworn allegiance and support, Lafayette alone is seen to preserve his fidelity to the king, to the constitution, and to his country,

"Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
"His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal."

On the 16th of June, 1792, four days before the first violation of the palace of the Tuilleries by the populace of Paris, at the instigation of the jacobins, Lafayette, in a letter to the legislative assembly, had denounced the jacobin club, and called upon the assembly to suppress them. He afterwards repaired to Paris in person, presented himself at the bar of the assembly, repeated his denunciation of the club, and took measures for suppressing their

meetings by force. He proposed also to the king himself to furnish him with means of withdrawing with his family to Compeigne, where he would have been out of the reach of that ferocious and blood-thirsty multitude. The Assembly, by a great majority of votes, sustained the principles of his letter, but the king declined his proffered assistance to enable him to withdraw from Paris; and of those upon whom he called to march with him, and shut up the hall where the jacobins held their meetings, not more than thirteen persons presented themselves at the appointed time.

He returned to his army, and became thenceforth the special object of jacobin resentment and revenge. On the 8th of August, on a preliminary measure to the intended insurrection of the 10th, the question was taken, after several days of debate, upon a formal motion that he should be put in accusation and tried. The last remnant of freedom in that assembly was then seen by the vote upon nominal appeal, or yeas and nays, in which four hundred and forty-six votes were for rejecting the charge, and only two hundred and twenty-four for sustaining it. Two days after, the Tuilleries were stormed by popular insurrection. The unfortunate king was compelled to seek refuge, with his family, in the hall of the legislative assembly, and escaped from being torn to pieces by an infuriated multitude, only to pass from his palace to the prison, in his way to the scaffold.

This revolution thus accomplished, annihilated the constitution, the government, and the cause for which Lafayette had contended. The people of France, by their acquiescence, a great portion of them by direct approval, confirmed and sanctioned the abolition of the monarchy. The armies and their commanders took the same victorious side: not a show of resistance was made to the revolutionary torrent, not an arm was lifted to restore the fallen monarch to his throne, nor even to rescue or protect his person from the fury of his inexorable foes. Lafayette himself would have marched to Paris with his army, for the defence of the constitution, but in this disposition he was not seconded by his troops. After ascertaining that the effort would be vain, and after arresting at Sedan the members of the deputation from the legislative assembly, sent, after their own subjugation, to arrest him, he determined, as the only expedient left him to save his honour and his principles, to withdraw both from the army and the country; to pass into a neutral territory, and thence into these United States, the country of his early adoption and his fond partiality, where he was sure of finding a safe asylum, and of meeting a cordial welcome.

But his destiny had reserved him for other and severer trials. We have seen him struggling for the support of principles, against the violence of raging factions, and the fickleness of the multitude; we are now to behold him in the hands of the hereditary rulers of mankind, and to witness the nature of their tender mercies to him.

It was in the neutral territory of Liege that he, together with his companions, Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and Alexander Lameth, was taken by the Austrians, and transferred to Prussian guards. Under the circumstances of the case, he could not, by the principles of the laws of nations, be treated even as a prisoner of war. He was treated as a prisoner of state. Prisoners of state in the monarchies of Europe are always presumed guilty, and are treated as if entitled as little to mercy as to justice. Lafayette was immured in dungeons, first at Wesel, then at Magdeburg, and, finally, at Olmutz, in Moravia. By what right? By none known among men. By what authority? That has never been avowed. For what cause? None has ever been assigned. Taken by Austrian soldiers upon a neutral territory, handed over to Prussian jailors; and, when Frederic William of Prussia abandoned his Austrian ally, and made his separate peace with republican France, he retransferred his illustrious prisoner to the Austrians, from whom he had received him, that he might be deprived of the blessing of regaining his liberty, even from the hands of peace. Five years

was the duration of this imprisonment, aggravated by every indignity that could make oppression bitter. That it was intended as imprisonment for life, was not only freely avowed, but significantly made known to him by his jailors; and while, with affected precaution, the means of terminating his sufferings by his own act were removed from him, the barbarity of ill usage, of unwholesome food, and of pestiferous atmosphere, was applied with inexorable rigour, as if to abridge the days which, at the same time, were rendered as far as possible insupportable to himself.

Neither the generous sympathies of the gallant soldier, General Fitzpatrick, in the British house of commons, nor the personal solicitation of Washington, president of the United States, speaking with the voice of a grateful nation, nor the persuasive accents of domestic and conjugal affection, imploring the monarch of Austria for the release of Lafayette could avail. The unsophisticated feeling of generous nature in the hearts of men, at this outrage upon justice and humanity, was manifested in another form. Two individuals, private citizens, one, of the United States of America, Francis Huger, the other, a native of the Electorate of Hanover, Doctor Erick Bollmann, undertook, at imminent hazard of their lives, to supply means for his escape from prison, and their personal aid to its accomplishment. Their design was formed with great address, pursued with untiring perseverance, and executed with undaunted intrepidity. It was frustrated by accidents beyond the control of human sagacity.

To his persecutions, however, the hand of a wise and just Providence had, in its own time, and in its own way, prepared a termination. The hands of the Emperor Francis, tied by mysterious and invisible bands against the indulgence of mercy to the tears of a more than heroic wife, were loosened by the more prevailing eloquence, or, rather, were severed by the conquering sword of Napoleon Bonaparte, acting under instructions from the executive directory, then swaying the destinies of France.

Lafayette and his fellow-sufferers were still under the sentence of proscription issued by the faction which had destroyed the constitution of 1791, and murdered the ill-fated Louis and his queen.—But revolution had followed upon revolution since the downfall of the monarchy, on the 10th of August, 1792. The federative republicans of the Gironde had been butchered by the jacobin republicans of the mountain. The mountain had been subjected by the municipality of Paris, and the sections of Paris, by the reorganization of parties in the national convention, and with aid from the armies. Brissot and his federal associates, Danton and his party, Robespierre and his subaltern demons, had successively perished, each by the measure applied to themselves which they had meted out to others; and as no experiment of political empiricism was to be omitted in the medley of the French revolutions, the hereditary executive, with a single legislative assembly, was succeeded by a constitution with a legislature in two branches, and a five-headed executive, eligible, annually one-fifth, by their concurrent votes, and bearing the name of a directory. This was the government at whose instance Lafayette was finally liberated from the dungeon of Olmutz.

But, while this directory were shaking to their deepest foundations all the monarchies of Europe; while they were stripping Austria, the most potent of them all, piecemeal of her territories; while they were imposing upon her the most humiliating conditions of peace, and bursting open her dungeons to restore their illustrious countryman to the light of day and the blessing of a personal freedom, they were themselves exploding by internal combustion, divided into two factions, each conspiring the destruction of the other. Lafayette received his freedom, only to see the two members of the directory, who had taken the warmest interest in effecting his liberation, outlawed and proscribed by their colleagues: one of them, Carnot, a fugitive from his country, lurking in banish-

ment to escape pursuit; and the other Barthelemy, deported, with fifty members of the legislative assembly, without form of trial, or even of legal process, to the pestilential climate of Guiana. All this was done with the approbation, expressed in the most unqualified terms, of Napoleon, and with co-operation of his army. Upon being informed of the success of this Pride's purge, he wrote to the directory that he had with him one hundred thousand men, upon whom they might rely to cause to be respected all the measures that they should take to establish liberty upon solid foundations.

Two years afterwards, another revolution, directly accomplished by Napoleon himself, demolished the directory, the constitution of the two councils, and the solid liberty, to the support of which the hundred thousand men had been pledged, and introduced another constitution, with Bonaparte himself for its executive head, as the first of three consuls, for five years.

In the interval between these two revolutions, Lafayette resided for about two years, first in the Danish territory of Holstein, and, afterwards, at Utrecht, in the Batavian republic. Neither of them had been effected by means or in a manner which could possibly meet his approbation. But the consular government commenced with broad professions of republican principles, on the faith of which he returned to France, and for a series of years resided in privacy and retirement upon his estate of La Grange. Here, in the cultivation of his farm, and the enjoyment of domestic felicity, embittered only by the loss, in 1807, of that angel upon earth, the partner of all the vicissitudes of his life, he employed his time, and witnessed the upward flight and downward fall of the soldier and sport of fortune, Napoleon Bonaparte. He had soon perceived the hollowness of the consular professions of pure republican principles, and withheld himself from all participation in the government. In 1802, he was elected a member of the general council of the department of Upper Loire, and, in declining the appointment, took occasion to present a review of his preceding life, and a pledge of his perseverance in the principles which he had previously sustained. "Far," said he, "from the scene of public affairs, and devoting myself at last to the repose of private life, my ardent wishes are, that external peace should soon prove the fruit of those miracles of glory which are even now surpassing the prodigies of the preceding campaigns, and that internal peace should be consolidated upon the essential and invariable foundations of true liberty. Happy that twenty-three years of vicissitudes in my fortune, and of constancy to my principles, authorize me to repeat, that, if a nation, to recover its rights, needs only the will, they can only be preserved by inflexible fidelity to its obligation."

When the first consulate for five years was invented as one of the steps of the ladder of Napoleon's ambition, he suffered Sieyes, the member of the directory whom he had used as an instrument for easting off that worse than worthless institution, to prepare another constitution, of which he took as much as suited his purpose, and consigned the rest to oblivion. One of the wheels of this new political engine was a conservative senate, forming the peerage to sustain the executive head. This body it was the interest and the policy of Napoleon to conciliate, and he filled it with men, who, through all the previous stages of the revolution, had acquired and maintained the highest respectability of character. Lafayette was urged with great earnestness, by Napoleon himself, to take a seat in this senate; but, after several conferences with the first consul, in which he ascertained the extent of his designs, he peremptorily declined. His answer to the minister of war tempered his refusal with a generous and delicate compliment, alluding at the same time to the position which the consistency of his character made it his duty to occupy. To the first consul himself, in terms equally candid and explicit, he said, "that, from the direction which public affairs were

taking, what he already saw, and what it was easy to foresee, it did not seem suitable to his character to enter into an order of things contrary to his principles, and in which he would have to contend without success, as without public utility, against a man to whom he was indebted for great obligations."

Not long afterwards, when all republican principle was so utterly prostrated, that he was summoned to vote on the question whether the citizen Napoleon Bonaparte should be consul for life, Lafayette added to his vote the following comment: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy until the public liberty shall have been sufficiently guaranteed; and in that event I vote for Napoleon Bonaparte."

He wrote at the same time to the first consul a letter explanatory of his vote, which no republican will now read without recognizing the image of inordinate and triumphant ambition cowering under the rebuke of disinterested virtue.

"The 18th of Brumaire, (said this letter) saved France; and I felt myself recalled by the liberal professions to which you had attached your honour. Since then we have seen in the consular power that reparatory dictatorship which, under the auspices of your genius, has achieved so much; yet not so much as will be the restoration of liberty. It is impossible that you, General, the first of that order of men who, to compare and seat themselves, take in the compass of all ages, that you should wish such a revolution; so many victories, so much blood, so many calamities and prodigies, should have for the world and for you no other result than arbitrary government. The French people have too well known their rights ultimately to forget them; but perhaps they are now better prepared, than in the time of their effervescence, to recover them usefully; and you, by the force of your character, and of the public confidence, by the superiority of your talents, of your position, of your fortune, may, by the re-establishment of liberty, surmount every danger, and relieve every anxiety. I have, then, no other than patriotic and personal motives for wishing you this last addition to your glory; a permanent magistracy; but it is due to the principles, the engagements, and the actions of my whole life, to wait, before giving my vote, until liberty shall have been settled upon foundations worthy of the nation and of you. I hope, general, that you will here find, as heretofore, that with the perseverance of my political opinions are united sincere good wishes personally to you, and a profound sentiment of my obligations to you."

The writer of this letter, and he to whom it was addressed, have, each in his appropriate sphere, been instruments of transcendent power, in the hands of Providence, to shape the ends of its wisdom in the wonderful story of the French revolution. In contemplating the part which each of them had acted upon that great theatre of human destiny, before the date of the letter, how strange was at that moment the relative position of the two individuals to each other, and to the world! Lafayette was the founder of the great movement then in progress for the establishment of freedom in France, and in the European world; but his agency had been all intellectual and moral. He had asserted and proclaimed the principles. He had never violated, never betrayed them. Napoleon, a military adventurer, had vapoured in proclamations, and had the froth of jacobinism upon his lips; but his soul was at the point of his sword. The revolution was to Lafayette the cause of human kind; to Napoleon it was a mere ladder of ambition.

Yet, at the time when this letter was written, Lafayette after a series of immense sacrifices and unparalleled sufferings, was a private citizen, called to account to the world for declining to vote for placing Napoleon at the head of the French nation, with arbitrary and indefinite power for life; and Napoleon, amid professions of unbounded devotion to liberty, was, in the face of mankind, ascending the steps of an hereditary imperial and

royal throne. Such was their relative position then; what is it now? Has history a lesson for mankind more instructive than the contrast and the parallel of their fortunes and their fate? Time and chance, and the finger of Providence, which, in every deviation from the path of justice, reserves or opens to itself an avenue of return, has brought each of these mighty men to a close of life, congenial to the character with which he travelled over its scenes. The consul for life, the hereditary emperor and king, expires a captive on a barren rock in the wilderness of a distant ocean; separated from his imperial wife; separated from his son, who survives him only to pine away his existence, and die at the moment of manhood, in the condition of an Austrian prince. The apostle of liberty, survives, again to come forward, the ever-consistent champion of her cause, and, finally, to close his career in peace, a republican, without reproach in death, as he had been without fear throughout life.

But Napoleon was to be the artificer of his own fortunes, prosperous and adverse. He was rising by the sword; by the sword he was destined to fall. The counsels of wisdom and of virtue fell forceless upon his ear, or sunk into his heart only to kindle resentment and hatred. He sought no farther personal intercourse with Lafayette; and denied common justice to his son, who had entered and distinguished himself in the army of Italy, and from whom he withheld the promotion justly due to his services.

The career of glory, of fame, and of power, of which the consulate for life was but the first step, was of ten years' continuance, till it had reached its zenith; till the astonished eyes of mankind beheld the charity scholar of Brienne, emperor, king, and protector of the confederation of the Rhine, banqueting at Dresden, surrounded by a circle of tributary crowned heads, among whom was seen that very Francis of Austria, the keeper, in his castle of Olmutz, of the republican Lafayette. And upon that day of the banqueting at Dresden, the star of Napoleon culminated from the equator. Thenceforward it was to descend with motion far more rapid than when rising, till it sank in endless night. Through that long period, Lafayette remained in retirement at La Grange. Silent amidst the deafening shouts of victory from Marengo, and Jena, and Austerlitz, and Friedland, and Wagram, and Borodino; silent at the conflagration of Moscow; at the passage of the Berezina; at the irretrievable discomfiture of Leipzig; at the capitulation at the gates of Paris, and at the first restoration of the Bourbons, under the auspices of the inveterate enemies of France; as little could Lafayette participate in the measures of that restoration, as in the usurpations of Napoleon. Louis the Eighteenth was quartered upon the French nation as the soldiers of the victorious armies were quartered upon the inhabitants of Paris. Yet Louis the Eighteenth, who held his crown as the gift of the conquerors of France, the most humiliating of the conditions imposed upon the vanquished nation, affected to hold it by divine right, and to grant, as a special favour, a charter, or constitution, founded on the avowed principle that all the liberties of the nation were no more than gratuitous donations of the king.

These pretensions, with a corresponding course of policy pursued by the reinstated government of the Bourbons, and the disregard of the national feelings and interests of France, with which Europe was re-modelled at the Congress of Vienna, opened the way for the return of Napoleon from Elba, within a year from the time when he had been relegated there. He landed as a solitary adventurer, and the nation rallied round him with rapture. He came with promises to the nation of freedom as well as of independence. The allies of Vienna proclaimed against him a war of extermination, and re-invaded France with armies exceeding in numbers a million of men. Lafayette had been courted by Napoleon upon his return. He was again urged to take a seat in the house of peers, but peremptorily declined, from aversion to

its hereditary character. He had refused to resume his title of nobility, and protested against the constitution of the empire, and the additional act entailing the imperial hereditary crown upon the family of Napoleon. But he offered himself as a candidate for election as a member of the popular representative chamber of the legislature, and was unanimously chosen by the electoral college of his department to that station.

The battle of Waterloo was the last desperate struggle of Napoleon to recover his fallen fortunes, and its issue fixed his destiny forever. He escaped almost alone from the field, and returned a fugitive to Paris, projecting to dissolve by armed force the legislative assembly, and, assuming a dictatorial power, to levy a new army, and try the desperate chances of another battle. This purpose was defeated by the energy and promptitude of Lafayette. At his instance the assembly adopted three resolutions, one of which declared them in permanent session, and denounced any attempt to dissolve them as a crime of high treason.

After a feeble and fruitless attempt of Napoleon, through his brother Lucien, to obtain from the assembly itself a temporary dictatorial power, he abdicated the imperial crown in favour of his infant son; but his abdication could not relieve France from the deplorable condition to which he had reduced her. France, from the day of the battle of Waterloo, was at the mercy of the allied monarchs; and, as the last act of their revenge, they gave her again to the Bourbons. France was constrained to receive them. It was at the point of the bayonet, and resistance was of no avail. The legislative assembly appointed a provisional council of government, and commissioners, of whom Lafayette was one, to negotiate with the allied armies then rapidly advancing upon Paris.

The allies manifested no disposition to negotiate. They closed the doors of their hall upon the representatives of the people of France. They re-seated Louis the Eighteenth upon his throne. Against these measures Lafayette and the members of the assembly had no means of resistance left, save a fearless protest, to be remembered when the day of freedom should return.

From the time of this second restoration until his death, Lafayette who had declined accepting a seat in the hereditary chamber of peers, and inflexibly refused to resume his title of nobility, though the charter of Louis the Eighteenth had restored them all, was almost constantly a member of the chamber of deputies, the popular branch of the legislature. More than once, however, the influence of the court was successful in defeating his election. At one of these intervals, he employed the leisure afforded him in revisiting the United States.

Forty years had elapsed since he had visited and taken leave of them, at the close of the revolutionary war. The greater part of the generation for and with whom he had fought his first fields, had passed away. Of the two millions of souls to whose rescue from oppression he had crossed the ocean in 1777, not one in ten survived. But their places were supplied by more than five times their numbers, their descendants and successors. The sentiment of gratitude and affection for Lafayette, far from declining with the lapse of time, quickened in spirit as it advanced in years, and seemed to multiply with the increasing numbers of the people. The nation had never ceased to sympathize with his fortunes, and, in every vicissitude of his life, had manifested the deepest interest in his welfare. He had occasionally expressed his intention to visit once more the scene of his early achievements, and the country which had required his services by a just estimate of their value. In February, 1824, a solemn legislative act, unanimously passed by both houses of Congress, and approved by the president of the United States, charged the chief magistrate of the nation with the duty of communicating to him the assurances of grateful and affectionate attachment still cherished for him by the government and people of the United States, and of tendering to him a national ship with suitable ac-

commodation, for his conveyance to this country.

Ten years have passed away since the occurrence of that event. Since then, the increase of population within the borders of our union exceeds, in numbers, the whole mass of that infant community to whose liberties he had devoted, in early youth, his life and fortune. His companions and fellow soldiers of the war of independence, of whom a scanty remnant still existed to join in the universal shout of welcome with which he landed upon our shores, have been since, in the ordinary course of nature, dropping away: pass but a few short years more, and not an individual of that generation with which he toiled and bled in the cause of human kind, upon his first appearance on the field of human action, will be left. The gallant officer, and distinguished representative of the people, at whose motion, upon this floor, the invitation of the nation was given—the chief magistrate by whom, in compliance with the will of the legislature, it was tendered—the surviving presidents of the United States, and their venerable compeer signers of the declaration of independence, who received him to the arms of private friendship, while mingling their voices in the chorus of public exultation and joy, are no longer here to shed the tear of sorrow upon his departure from this earthly scene. They all preceded him in the translation to another, and, we trust, a happier world. The active, energetic manhood of the nation, of whose infancy he had been the protector and benefactor, and who, by the protracted festivities of more than a year of jubilee, manifested to him their sense of the obligations for which they were indebted to him, are already descending into the vale of years. The children of the public schools, who thronged in double files to pass in review before him to catch a glimpse of his countenance, and a smile from his eye, are now among the men and women of the land, rearing another generation to envy their parents the joy which they can never share, of having seen and contributed to the glorious and triumphant reception of Lafayette.

Upon his return to France, Lafayette was received with a welcome by his countrymen scarcely less enthusiastic than that with which he had been greeted in this country. From his landing at Havre till he arrived at his residence at La Grange, it was again one triumphal march, rendered but the more striking by the interruptions and obstacles of an envious and jealous government. Threats were not even spared of arresting him as a criminal, and holding him responsible for the spontaneous and irrepressible feelings manifested by the people in his favour. He was, very soon after his return, again elected a member of the chamber of deputies, and thenceforward, in that honourable and independent station, was the soul of that steadfast and inflexible party which never ceased to defend, and was ultimately destined to vindicate the liberties of France.

The government of the Bourbons, from the time of their restoration, was a perpetual struggle to return to the Saturnian times of absolute power. For them the sun and moon had stood still, not, as in the miracle of ancient story, for about a whole day, but for more than a whole century. Re-seated upon their thrones, not, as the Stuarts had been in the seventeenth century, by the voluntary act of the same people which had expelled them, but by the arms of foreign kings and hostile armies, instead of aiming, by the liberality of their government, and by improving the condition of their people, to make them forget the humiliation of the yoke imposed upon them, they laboured with unyielding tenacity to make it more galling. They disarmed the national guards; they cramped and crippled the right of suffrage in elections; they perverted and travestied the institution of juries; they fettered the freedom of the press, and in their external policy lent themselves, willing instruments to crush the liberties of Spain and Italy. The spirit of the nation was curbed but not subdued. The principles of freedom proclaimed in the declaration of rights of 1789 had taken too deep root to be ex-

tirpated. Charles the Tenth, by a gradual introduction into his councils of the most inveterate adherents to the anti-revolutionary government, was preparing the way for the annihilation of the charter and of the legislative representation of the people. In proportion as this plan approached to its maturity, the resistance of the nation to its accomplishment acquired consistency and organization. The time had been, when, by the restrictions upon the right of suffrage, and the control of the press, and even of the freedom of debate in the legislature, the opposition in the chamber of deputies had dwindled down to not more than thirty members. But, under a rapid succession of incompetent and unpopular administrations, the majority of the house of deputies had passed from the side of the court to that of the people. In August, 1829, the king, confiding in his imaginary strength, reorganized his ministry by the appointment of men whose reputation was itself a pledge of the violent and desperate designs in contemplation. At the first meeting of the legislative assembly, an address to the king, signed by two hundred and twenty-one out of four hundred members, declared to him, in respectful terms, that a concurrence of sentiments between his ministers and the nation was indispensable to the happiness of the people under his government, and that this concurrence did not exist. He replied, that his determination was immovable, and dissolved the assembly. A new election was held; and so odious throughout the nation were the measures of the court, that, of the two hundred and twenty-one members who had signed the address against the ministers, more than two hundred were re-elected. The opposition had also gained an accession of numbers in the remaining part of the deputations, and it was apparent that, upon the meeting of the assembly, the court party could not be sustained.

At this crisis, Charles the Tenth, as if resolved to leave himself not the shadow of a pretext to complain of his expulsion from the throne, in defiance of the charter, to the observance of which he had solemnly sworn, issued, at one and the same time, four ordinances; the first of which suspended the liberty of the press, and prohibited the publication of all the daily newspapers and other periodical journals, but by license, revokable at pleasure, and renewable every three months; the second annulled the elections of deputies, which had just taken place; the third changed the mode of election prescribed by law, and reduced nearly by one-half the numbers of the house of deputies to be elected; and the fourth commanded the new elections to be held, and fixed a day for the meeting of the assembly to be so constituted.

These ordinances were the immediate occasion of the last revolution of the three days, terminating in the final expulsion of Charles the Tenth from the throne, and of himself and his family from the territory of France. This was effected by an insurrection of the people of Paris, which burst forth, by spontaneous and unpremeditated movement, on the very day of the promulgation of the four ordinances. The first of these, the suppression of all the daily newspapers, seemed as if studiously devised to provoke instantaneous resistance, and the conflict of physical force. Had Charles the Tenth issued a decree to shut up all the bakerhouses of Paris, it could not have been more fatal to his authority. The conductors of the proscribed journals, by mutual engagement among themselves, determined to consider the ordinance as unlawful, null, and void; and this was to all classes of the people the signal of resistance. The publishers of two of the journals, summoned immediately before the judicial tribunal, were justified in their resistance by the sentence of the court, pronouncing the ordinance null and void. A marshal of France receives the commands of the king to disperse, by force of arms, the population of Paris; but the spontaneous resurrection of the national guard organizes at once an army to defend the liberties of the nation. Lafayette is again called from his retreat at La Grange, and, by the unanimous voice of the people, confirmed by such

deputies of the legislative assembly as were able to meet for common consultation at that trying emergency, is again placed at the head of the national guard as their commander-in-chief. He assumed the command on the second day of the conflict, and on the third Charles the Tenth had ceased to reign. He formally abdicated the crown, and his son, the duke d'Angouleme, renounced his pretensions to the succession. But, humble imitators of Napoleon, even in submitting to their own degradation, they clung to the last gasp of hereditary sway, by transmitting all their claim of dominion to the orphan child of the duke de Berri.

At an early stage of the revolution of 1789, Lafayette had declared it as a principle that insurrection against tyrants was the most sacred of duties. He had borrowed this sentiment, perhaps, from the motto of Jefferson—"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." The principle itself is as sound as its enunciation is daring. Like all general maxims, it is susceptible of very dangerous abuses: the test of its truth is exclusively in the correctness of its application. As forming a part of the political creed of Lafayette, it has not been severely criticised; nor can it be denied that, in the experience of the French revolutions, the cases in which popular insurrection has been resorted to, for the extinction of existing authority, have been so frequent, so unjustifiable in their causes, so atrocious in their execution, so destructive to liberty in their consequences, that the friends of freedom, who know that she can exist only under the supremacy of the law, have sometimes felt themselves constrained to shrink from the development of abstract truth, in the dread of the danger with which she is surrounded.

In the revolution of the three days of 1830, it was the steady, calm, but inflexible adherence of Lafayette to this maxim which decided the fate of the Bourbons. After the struggles of the people had commenced, and even while liberty and power were grappling with each other for life or death, the deputies elect to the legislative assembly, then at Paris, held several meetings at the house of their colleague, Lafitte, and elsewhere, at which the question of resistance against the ordinances was warmly debated, and aversion to that resistance by force was the sentiment predominant in the minds of a majority of the members. The hearts of some of the most ardent patriots quailed within them at the thought of another overthrow of the monarchy. All the horrible recollections of the reign of terror, the massacre of the prisons in September, the butcheries of the guillotine from year to year, the headless trunks of Brissot, and Danton, and Robespierre and last, not least, the iron crown and sceptre of Napoleon himself, rose in hideous succession before them, and haunted their imaginations. They detested the ordinances, but hoped that, by negotiation and remonstrance with the recreant king, it might yet be possible to obtain the revocation of them, and the substitution of a more liberal ministry. This deliberation was not concluded till Lafayette appeared among them. From that moment the die was cast. They had till then no military leader. Louis Philippe of Orleans, had not then been seen among them.

In all the changes of government in France, from the first assembly of notables, to that day, there never had been an act of authority presenting a case for the fair and just application of the duty of resistance against oppression, so clear, so unquestionable, so flagrant as this. The violations of the charter were so gross and palpable, that the most determined royalist could not deny them. The mask had been laid aside. The sword of despotism had been drawn, and the scabbard cast away. A king, openly forsworn, had forfeited every claim to allegiance; and the only resource of the nation against him was resistance by force. This was the opinion of Lafayette, and he declared himself ready to take the command of the National Guard, should the wish of the people, already declared thus to place him at the head of this spontaneous movement, be confirmed by his colleagues of the legislative assembly. The appoint-

ment was accordingly conferred upon him, and the second day afterwards Charles the Tenth and his family were fugitives to a foreign land.

France was without a government. She might then have constituted herself a republic, and such was, undoubtedly, the aspiration of a very large portion of her population. But with another, and yet larger portion of her people, the name of republic was identified with the memory of Robespierre. It was held in execration; there was imminent danger, if not absolute certainty, that the attempt to organize a republic would have been the signal for a new civil war. The name of a republic, too, was hateful to all the neighbours of France; to the confederacy of emperors and kings, which had twice replaced the Bourbons upon the throne, and who might be propitiated under the disappointment and mortification of the result, by the retention of the name of king, and the substitution of the semblance of a Bourbon for the reality.

The people of France, like the Cardinal de Retz, more than two centuries before, wanted a descendant from Henry the Fourth, who could speak the language of the Parisian populace, and who had known what it was to be a plebeian. They found him in the person of Louis Philippe, of Orleans. Lafayette himself was compelled to compromise with his principles, purely and simply republican, and to accept him, first as lieutenant general of the kingdom, and then as hereditary king. There was, perhaps, in this determination, besides the motives which operated upon others, a consideration of disinterested delicacy, which could be applicable only to himself. If the republic should be claimed, he knew that the chief magistracy could be delegated only to himself. It must have been a chief magistracy for life, which at his age, could only have been for a short term of years. Independent of the extreme dangers and difficulties to himself, to his family, and to his country, in which the position which he would have occupied might have involved them, the inquiry could not escape his forecast, who upon his demise, could be his successor? and what must be the position occupied by him? If, at that moment, he had but spoken the word, he might have closed his career with a crown upon his head, and with a withering blast upon his name to the end of time.

With the duke of Orleans himself, he used no concealment or disguise. When the crown was offered to that prince, and he looked to Lafayette for consultation, "you know (said he) that I am of the American school, and partial to the constitution of the United States." So, it seems, was Louis Philippe. "I think with you," said he. "It is impossible to pass two years in the United States, without being convinced that their government is the best in the world. But do you think it suited to our present circumstances and condition?" No, replied Lafayette. "They require a monarchy surrounded by popular institutions." So thought also, Louis Philippe; and he accepted the crown under the conditions upon which it was tendered to him.

Lafayette retained the command of the national guard so long as it was essential to the settlement of the new and old things, on the basis of order and of freedom; so long as it was essential to control the stormy and excited passions of the Parisian people; so long as was necessary to save the ministers of the guilty but fallen monarch from the rash and revengeful resentments of their conquerors. When this was accomplished, and the people had been preserved from the calamity of shedding in peace the blood of war, he once more resigned his command, retired in privacy to La Grange and resumed his post as a deputy in the legislative assembly, which he continued to hold till the close of life.

His station there was still at the head of the phalanx, supporters of liberal principles and of constitutional freedom. In Spain, in Portugal, in Italy, and, above all, in Poland, the cause of liberty has been struggling against the hand of power, and to the last hour of his life, they found in Lafayette a never-failing friend and patron.

In his last illness, the standing which he held

in the hearts of mankind was attested by the formal resolution of the house of deputies, sent to make inquiries concerning his condition; and, dying, as he did, full of years and of glory, never, in the history of mankind, has a private individual departed more universally lamented by the whole generation of men whom he has left behind.

Such, legislators of the North American Confederate Union, was the life of Gilbert Motier de Lafayette, and the record of his life is the delineation of his character. Consider him as one human being of one thousand millions, his contemporaries on the surface of the terraqueous globe.—Among that thousand millions seek for an object of comparison with him; assume for the standard of comparison all the virtues which exalt the character of man above that of the brute creation; take the ideal man, little lower than the angels; mark the qualities of the mind and heart which entitle him to this station of pre-eminence in the scale of created beings, and inquire who, that lived in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of the christian era, combined in himself so many of those qualities, so little alloyed with those which belong to that earthly vesture of decay in which the immortal spirit is enclosed, as Lafayette.

Pronounce him one of the first men of his age, and you have yet not done him justice. Try him by that test to which he sought in vain to stimulate the vulgar and selfish spirit of Napoleon; class him among the men who, to compare and seat themselves, must take in the compass of all ages; turn back your eyes upon the records of time; summon from the creation of the world to this day the mighty dead of every age and every clime; and where, among the race of merely mortal men, shall one be found, who, as the benefactor of his kind, shall claim to take precedence of Lafayette?

There have doubtless been, in all ages, men, whose discoveries or inventions, in the world of matter or of mind, have opened new avenues to the dominion of man over the material creation; have increased his means or his faculties of enjoyment; have raised him in nearer approximation to that higher and happier condition, the object of his hopes and aspirations in his present state of existence.

Lafayette discovered no new principles of politics or of morals. He invented nothing in science. He disclosed no new phenomenon in the laws of nature. Born and educated in the highest order of feudal nobility, under the most absolute monarchy of Europe, in possession of an affluent fortune, and master of himself and of all his capabilities at the moment of attaining manhood, the principle of republican justice and of social equality took possession of his heart and mind, as if by inspiration from above. He devoted himself, his life, his fortune, his hereditary honours, his towering ambition, his splendid hopes, all to the cause of liberty. He came to another hemisphere to defend her. He became one of the most effective champions of our Independence; but, that once achieved, he returned to his own country, and thenceforward took no part in the controversies which have divided us. In the events of our revolution, and in the forms of policy which we have adopted for the establishment and perpetuation of our freedom, Lafayette found the most perfect form of government. He wished to add nothing to it. He would gladly have abstracted nothing from it. Instead of the imaginary republic of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More, he took a practical existing model, in actual operation here, and never attempted or wished more than to apply it faithfully to his own country.

It was not given to Moses to enter the promised land; but he saw it from the summit of Pisgah.—It was not given to Lafayette to witness the consummation of his wishes in the establishment of a republic, and the extinction of all hereditary rule in France. His principles were in advance of the age and hemisphere in which he lived. A Bourbon still reigns on the throne of France, and it is

not for us to scrutinize the title by which he reigns. The principles of elective and hereditary power, blended in reluctant union in his person, like the red and white roses of York and Lancaster, may postpone to aftertime the last conflict to which they must ultimately come. The life of the patriarch was not long enough for the development of his whole political system. Its final accomplishment is in the womb of time.

The anticipation of this event is the more certain, from the consideration that all the principles for which Lafayette contended were practical. He never indulged himself in wild and fanciful speculations. The principle of hereditary power was, in his opinion, the bane of all republican liberty in Europe. Unable to extinguish it in the revolution of 1830, so far as concerned the chief magistracy of the nation, Lafayette had the satisfaction of seeing it abolished with reference to the peerage. An hereditary crown, stripped of the support which it may derive from an hereditary peerage, however compatible with Asiatic despotism, is an anomaly in the history of the christian world, and in the theory of free government. There is no argument producible against the existence of an hereditary peerage, but applies with aggravated weight against the transmission, from sire to son, of an hereditary crown. The prejudices and passions of the people of France rejected the principle of inherited power, in every station of public trust excepting the first and highest of them all; but there they clung to it, as did the Israelites of old to the savory deities of Egypt.

This is not the time or the place for a disquisition upon the comparative merits, as a system of government, of a republic, and a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions. Upon this subject there is among us no diversity of opinion; and if it should take the people of France another half century of internal and external war, of dazzling and delusive glories; of unparalleled triumphs, humiliating reverses, and bitter disappointments, to settle it to their satisfaction, the ultimate result can only bring them to the point where we have stood from the day of the declaration of independence; to the point where Lafayette would have brought them, and to which he looked as a consummation devoutly to be wished.

Then, too, and then only, will be the time when the character of Lafayette will be appreciated at its true value throughout the civilized world.—When the principle of hereditary dominion shall be extinguished in all the institutions of France; when government shall no longer be considered as property transmissible from sire to son, but as a trust committed for a limited time, and then to return to the people whence it came; as a burdensome duty to be discharged, and not as a reward to be abused; when a claim, any claim, to political power by inheritance shall, in the estimation of the whole French people, be held as it now is by the whole people of the North American union; then will be the time for contemplating the character of Lafayette, not merely in the events of his life, but, in the full development of his intellectual conceptions, of his fervent aspirations, of the labours and perils and sacrifices of his long and eventful career upon earth; and thenceforward, till the hour when the trump of the archangel shall sound to announce that time shall be no more, the name of Lafayette shall stand enrolled upon the annals of our race, high on the list of the pure and disinterested benefactors of mankind.

Lafayette* was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his services to Congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans, with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners, at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before

he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to 2000 men, were fleeing through Jersey, before a British force of 30,000. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part. His zeal, to serve a distressed country, was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel, which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived at Charleston, early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that, "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connexions, he should have the rank of major general in their army." Independent of the risk he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his proceeding to America, and had despatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies if found in that quarter.

This gallant nobleman, who, under all these disadvantages, had demonstrated his good will to the United States, received a wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine; but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the same who a few years before carried off king Stanislaus from his capital, though surrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine. He was a thunderbolt of war, and always sought for the post of danger as the post of honour. Soon after this engagement, Congress appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of brigadier.

Howe persevered in his scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily pursued on the one side, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a resolution of risking another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren tavern, on the Lancaster road. Near that place, on the 18th September, both armies were on the point of engaging, with their whole force: but were prevented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position near the White Horse tavern, down towards the Swedes' ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading. To save the stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a succession of severe duties. There was in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition.

About this time, the Americans sustained a considerable loss by a night attack, conducted by General Grey, on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli tavern. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise, about one o'clock in the morning of the 20th of September. The men, when they turned out, unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires. This directed the British how and where to proceed. They rushed in upon them, and put about 300 to death, in a silent manner, by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprise was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore, had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight.—They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

The bulk of the British army being left in Ger-

mantown, Sir William Howe, with a small party, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, on the 26th of September, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who, either from conscience, cowardice, interest, or principle, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active whigs.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had heretofore conducted their public affairs, were reckoned by the short-sighted as decisive of their fate. The submission of countries after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course: but in the great contest for the sovereignty of the United States, the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers: nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the yeomanry of the country which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the residence of the British army, yet as long as the majority of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued. Indeed it was presumed by the more discerning politicians, that the luxuries of a great city would so far enervate the British troops, as to dispose them for those active exertions to which they were prompted, while inconveniently encamped in the open country.

To take off the impression the British successes might make in France, to the prejudice of America, Dr. Franklin gave them an ingenious turn, by observing, "that instead of saying Sir William Howe had taken Philadelphia, it would be more proper to say, Philadelphia had taken Sir William Howe."

One of the first objects of the British, after they had gotten possession, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any assault by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions hereafter to be described, which were fixed near Mud-Island. Philadelphia though possessed by the British army, was exposed to danger from the American vessels in the river. The American frigate Delaware of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and, being seconded with some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries, tower; but upon the falling of the tide, she ran aground. Being briskly fired upon from the town, while in this condition, she was compelled to surrender. The other American vessels, not able to resist the fire from the batteries, after losing one of their number, retired.

General Washington having been reinforced by 2500 men from Peekskill and Virginia; and having been informed, that General Howe had detached a considerable part of his force, for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived the design of attacking the British post at Germantown. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles near its centre. The left wing extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chasseurs. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The 40th regiment, with another battalion of light-infantry, were posted on the Chesnut-hill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia with four battalions of grenadiers.

A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested on the occasion, unanimously recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made in different places, to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces from affording support to each other. From an apprehension, that the Americans, through the want of discipline, would not persevere in a long attack, it was resolved that it should be sudden and vigorous; and if unsuccessful to be followed by an expeditious retreat. The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut-hill, while General Armstrong with the Pennsyl-

*See page 396.

vania militia should fall down the Manatawny road and gain the left and rear of the British. The divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by McDougal's brigade, were to enter by the lime-kiln road. The militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Furman, were to march by the old York road, and to fall upon the rear of their right.

Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigade, were to form a corps of reserve. The Americans began their attack about sunrise, on the 4th of October, on the 40th regiment, and a battalion of light infantry. These two corps, being obliged to retreat, were pursued into the village. On their retreat, Lieutenant Colonel Musgrove, with six companies, took post in Chew's strong stone house, which lay in front of the Americans. From an adherence to the military maxim of never leaving a fort possessed by an enemy in the rear, it was resolved to attack the party in the house.

In the mean time General Greene got up with his column, and attacked the right wing. Colonel Mathews routed a party of the British opposed to him, killed several, and took 110 prisoners; but from the darkness of the day, lost sight of the brigade to which he belonged; and, having separated from it, was taken prisoner, with his whole regiment: and the prisoners, whom he had previously taken, were released. A number of the troops in Greene's division were stopped by the halt of the party before Chew's house. Near one half of the American army remained for some time at that place inactive. In the mean time, General Grey led on three battalions of the third brigade, and attacked with vigour. A sharp contest followed. Two British regiments attacked at the same time on the opposite side of the town. General Grant moved up the 40th regiment to the aid of those who were engaged with Greene's column.

The morning was foggy. This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary as gave the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes, the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the fields hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light horse, and joined in the pursuit. This was continued for some miles. The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about 500. Among their slain were Brigadier General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The loss of the Americans, including 400 prisoners, was about 1000. Among their slain were General Nash and his aid-de-camp Major Witherspoon.

Soon after this battle the British left Germantown, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen galleys, two floating batteries, two zebecks, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire ships and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans also had built a fort on Mud-Island, to which they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected thereon a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia. No vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud-Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red-Bank. This overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country. On this eminence, a respectable battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which are half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament, for the defence of the river Delaware, made its harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux-de-frise were also sunk in the channel. These consisted of large pieces of timber, strongly fram-

ed together, in the manner usual for making the foundation of wharves, in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river, were annexed to the upper parts of the chevaux-de-frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about three hundred yards below fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel.

The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport. And opposite to this, another range of chevaux-de-frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon, at the mouth of Mantua creek, about half way from Red-Bank to Billingsport.

The British were well apprised, that, without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve, to open the navigation of that river. To this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round, from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy-Island to Newcastle.

Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On its approach the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore, to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud-Island. At the same time, Count Donop with 2000 men, having crossed into New Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red-Bank, which was defended by about 400 men, under the command of Colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it. It had therefore become necessary to run a line through the middle and evacuate one part of it. That part was easily carried by the assailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe and well-directed fire on them by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about 400. Count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved, to present Colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack, made about the same time on Fort Mifflin, by men of war and frigates, was not more successful than the assault on Red-Bank. The Augusta of 64 guns, and the Merlin, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got around. The former was fired, and blew up. The latter was evacuated.

Though the first attempts of the British, for opening the navigation of the Delaware, were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The chevaux-de-frise, having been sunk some considerable time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels. In consequence thereof, the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened as to admit vessels of considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the Vigilant, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24 pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud-Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Lieutenant Colonel Smith, who

had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September, to the 11th of November, being wounded was removed to the main. With in five days after his removal, Major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it. This event did not take place till the works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near, that she threw grenades into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops, who had so bravely defended Fort Mifflin, made a safe retreat to Red-Bank. Congress voted swords to be given to lieutenant colonel Smith and commodore Hazlewood for their gallant defence of the Delaware.

Within three days after Mud-Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red-Bank, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American galleys and armed vessels, escaped by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia; but seventeen of them were abandoned by their crews, and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of fifteen miles at some risk, and a certain great expense. The long protracted defence of the Delaware, deranged the plans of the British, for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

About this time, the chair of Congress became vacant, by the departure of Mr. Hancock, after he had discharged the duties of that office to great acceptance, two years and five months. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor on the 1st of November. He had been in England for some years, antecedent to the hostile determinations of parliament against the colonies; but finding the dispute growing serious, he conceived that honour and duty called him to take part with his native country. He had been warmly solicited to stay in England; and offers were made him not only to secure, but to double his American estate, in case of his continuing to reside there: but these were refused. To a particular friend in London, dissuading him from coming out to America, he replied on the 9th of November 1774, when at Falmouth, on the point of embarking, "I shall never forget your friendly attention to my interest; but I dare not return. Your ministers are deaf to information, and seem bent on provoking unnecessary contest. I think I have acted the part of a faithful subject. I now go resolved still to labour for peace; at the same time determined in the last event to stand or fall with my country."

When Sir William Howe was succeeding in every enterprise in Pennsylvania, intelligence arrived, as shall be related in the next chapter, that General Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war to the Americans."

General Washington soon afterwards received a considerable reinforcement from the northern army which had accomplished this great event. With this increased force, he took a position at and near Whitemarsh. The royal army, having succeeded in removing the obstructions in the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprises. Sir William Howe, on the 4th of December, marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chestnut-hill in front of, and about three miles distant from, the right wing of the Americans. On the day following, the British changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after, they moved still farther to the right, and exhibited every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected; but instead thereof, on the morning of the next day, December 9th, after various marches and countermarches, the British filed off from the right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

The position of General Washington, in a military point of view, was admirable. He was so sensible of the advantages of it, that the manœuvres of Sir William Howe for some days could not allure him from it. In consequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a general engagement. Though he evidently wished to be attacked, yet he would not relinquish a position, from which he hoped to repair the misfortunes of the campaign. He could not believe, that General Howe with a victorious army, and that lately reinforced with four thousand men from New York, should come out of Philadelphia, only to return thither again. He therefore presumed, that to avoid the disgrace of such a movement, the British commander would from a sense of military honour, be compelled to attack him, though under great disadvantages.—When he found him cautious of engaging, and inclining to his left, a daring design was formed which would have been executed, had the British either continued in their position, or moved a little farther to the left of the American army. This was to have attempted in the night to surprise Philadelphia. The necessary preparations for this purpose were made; but the retreat of the British prevented its execution.

Soon after these events, General Smallwood with a considerable force, was posted at Wilmington, on the banks of the Delaware; and Washington, with the main army, retired to winter quarters at Valley Forge, 16 miles from Philadelphia.—This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated to give the most extensive security to the country. The American army might have been tracked, by the blood of their feet, in marching without shoes or stockings over the hard frozen ground, between Whitmarsh and Valley Forge. Some hundreds of them were without blankets. Under these circumstances, they had to sit down in a wood, in the latter end of December, and to build huts for their accommodation. This mode of procuring winter quarters, if not entirely novel, has been rarely, if ever practised in modern war. The cheerfulness with which the general and his army submitted to spend a severe winter, in such circumstances, rather than leave the country exposed, by retiring farther, demonstrated as well their patriotism as their fixed resolution to suffer every inconvenience, in preference to submission.

Thus ended the campaign of 1777. Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in many smaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country, than what they immediately commanded with their arms. The Congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first seat of their deliberations; and the greatest city in the United States changed a number of its whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes, which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that though Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new formed states, two campaigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one, was still unfinished.

An account of some miscellaneous transactions will close this chapter. Lieutenant Colonel Barton, of a militia regiment of the state of Rhode

Island, accompanied by about forty volunteers, passed by night, on the 9th of July, from Warwick neck to Rhode Island, surprised General Prescott in his quarters, and brought him and one of his aids safe off to the continent. Though they had a passage of ten miles by water, they eluded the ships of war and guard boats, which lay all round the Island. The enterprise was conducted with so much silence and address, that there was no alarm among the British, till the colonel and his party had nearly reached the continent with their prize. Congress soon after resolved, that an elegant sword should be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Barton, as a testimonial of their sense of his gallant behaviour.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, in the latter end of November, 1775, authorized the capture of vessels, laden with stores or reinforcements for their enemies. On the 23d of March, 1776, they extended this permission so far, as to authorize their inhabitants to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the enemies of the United colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very successful. In the course of the year, they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward bound West India men. The particulars cannot be enumerated; but good judges have calculated, that within nine months after Congress authorized privateering, the British loss in captures, exclusive of transports and government store ships, exceeded a million sterling. They found no difficulty in selling their prizes. The ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West Indies. In the latter they were sold without any disguise; but in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open sales were not permitted in the harbours of France at particular times; but even then they were made at the entrance, or offing.

In the French West India Islands, the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by the American cruisers, but fitted out privateers under American colours and commissions, and made captures of British vessels. William Bingham, of Philadelphia, was stationed as the agent of Congress, at Martinico; and he took an early and active part in arming privateers in St. Pierre, to annoy and cruise against British property. The favourable disposition of the inhabitants furnished him with an opportunity, which he successfully improved, not only to distress the British commerce, but to sow the seeds of discord between the French and English. The American privateers also found countenance in some of the ports of Spain; but not so readily nor so universally as in those of France. The British took many of the American vessels. Such of them, as were laden with provisions, proved a seasonable relief to their West India Islands, which otherwise would have suffered from the want of those supplies, that before the war had been usually procured from the neighbouring continent.

The American privateers, in the year 1777, increased in numbers and boldness. They insulted the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, in a manner that had never before been attempted. Such was their spirit of adventure, that it became necessary to appoint a convoy for the protection of the linen ships from Dublin and Newry. The General Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Brest, and saluted the French admiral. This was returned in form, as to the vessel of an independent power. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, at the court of Versailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unless satisfaction were given, and different measures were adopted by France. An order was issued in consequence of his application, requiring all American vessels to leave the ports of his most christian majesty: but though the order was positive, so many evasions were practised, and the execution of it was so relaxed, that it produced no permanent discouragement of the beneficial intercourse.

To effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, were principal objects with the British, in the campaign of 1777. The Americans presuming on this had been early attentive to their security in that quarter. They had resolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved, to obstruct the navigation of the strait by caissons, to be sunk in the water, and joined so as to serve at the same time for a bridge, between the fortifications on the east and west sides of it; that, to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, the passage of that lake should be obstructed; that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made, by the commanding officer in the department, for 13,600 men, as necessary for the security of this district. The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British ministry were very sanguine in their calculations, on the consequences of forming a line of communication between New York and Canada. They considered the New England people the soul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets, armies, and Indian allies, as to compel their submission. Animated with these expectations, they left nothing undone, which bid fair for insuring the success of their plans.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of 7000. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in an American war, where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and fastnesses, this part of the service was particularly attended to. The brass train sent out was perhaps the finest, and the most excellently supplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was supposed that the Canadians and the loyalists, in the neighbouring states, would add large reinforcements, well calculated for the peculiar nature of the service. Arms and accoutrements, were accordingly provided to supply them. Several nations of savages had also been induced to take up the hatchet, as allies to his Britannic majesty. Not only the humanity, but the policy of employing them was questioned in Great Britain. The opposers of it contended that Indians were capricious, inconstant, and intractable; their rapacity insatiate, and their actions cruel and barbarous. At the same time, their services were represented uncertain, and their engagements without the least claim to confidence. On the other hand, the zeal of British ministers for reducing the revolted colonies was so violent, as to make them, in their excessive wrath, forget that their adversaries were men. They contended, that in their circumstances every appearance of lenity, by inciting to disobedience, and thereby increasing the objects of punishment, was eventually cruelty. In their opinion, partial severity was general mercy, and the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion was to envelope its abettors in such complicated distress, as by rendering their situation intolerable, would make them willing to accept the proffered blessings of peace and security. The sentiments of those who were for employing Indians against the Americans prevailed. Presents were liberally distributed among them. Induced by these, and also by their innate thirst for war and plunder, they poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that their numbers threatened to be an incumbrance.

The vast force destined for this service was put under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, an officer whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enterprise and thirst for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by Major General Philips of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by Major General Reidesel, and Brigadier General Specht, of the German troops, together with the British Generals Frazer, Powell and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit.

The British had also undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. Their marine force thereon, with which in the preceding campaign they had destroyed the American shipping on the lakes, was not only entire, but unopposed.

A considerable force was left in Canada for its internal security; and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet, by their arrangements for the year 1777, he was only called upon to act a secondary part, in subserviency to the grand expedition committed to General Burgoyne. His behaviour on this occasion was conformable to the greatness of his mind. Instead of thwarting or retarding a service which was, virtually taken out of his hands, he applied himself to support and forward it in all its parts, with the same diligence as if the arrangement had been entirely his own, and committed to himself for execution.

The plan of the British, for their projected irruption into the north-western frontier of New York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne with the main body was to advance by the way of lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to effect a junction with the royal army from New York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as lake Ontario, and, from that quarter, to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about two hundred British troops, a regiment of New York loyalists, raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant General Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on the 6th of May, and exerted all diligence to prosecute in due time the objects of the expedition. He proceeded up lake Champlain, and landed near Crown-Point. At this place he met the Indians, 20th June, gave them a war feast, and made a speech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army; but at the same time to repress their barbarity. He pointedly forbade them to shed blood when not opposed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, and children, and prisoners should be held sacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promised for prisoners, and a severe inquiry threatened for scalps; though permission was granted to take them from those who were previously killed in fair opposition. These restrictions were not sufficient to restrain their barbarities.—The Indians having decidedly taken part with the British army, General Burgoyne issued a proclamation, calculated to spread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian associates were magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey described in high sounding words. The force of the British armies and fleets, prepared to crush every part of the revolted colonies, was also displayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promised to those who should assist in the re-establishment of legal government, and security held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in a military opposition to the royal forces.

General Burgoyne advanced with his army, on the 30th of June, to Crown Point. At this place

he issued orders, of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which no difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown-Point, the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach, they advanced with equal caution and order on both sides the lake, while their naval force kept in its centre. Within a few days, they had surrounded three-fourths of the American works, at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; and had also advanced a work on Sugar-hill, so far towards completion, that in twenty-four hours it would have been ready to open. In these circumstances, General St. Clair, the commanding officer, resolved to evacuate the post; but conceiving it prudent to take the sentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occasion. It was represented to this council, that their whole numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works; that, as the whole must be on constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigue for any length of time; and that, as the place would be completely invested on all sides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the posts could save their troops. The situation of General St. Clair was eminently embarrassing. Such was the confidence of the States in the fancied strength of this post, and in the supposed superiority of force for its defence, that to retreat without risking an action could not fail of drawing on him the execration of the multitude. To stand still, and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to risk his whole army for a single post, was contrary to the true interests of the States. In this trying situation, with the unanimous approbation of a council of his general officers, he adopted the heroic resolution of sacrificing personal reputation to save his army.

The assumption of confident appearances, by the garrison, had induced their adversaries, to proceed with caution. While from this cause they were awed into respect, the evacuation was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores were saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind prevented the boats from reaching their station.

The works, abandoned by the Americans, were chiefly the old French lines constructed in the late war between France and England, which had been repaired the year before, and were in good order. New works were begun on the mount; but there was neither time nor strength of hands to complete them. A great deal of timber had been felled between the east creek and the foot of the mount, to retard the approaches of the British. All the redoubts on the low ground were abandoned, for want of men to occupy them. These works, together with ninety-three pieces of ordnance, and a large collection of provisions, fell into the hands of the British.

The evacuation of Ticonderoga, July 6, was the subject of a severe scrutiny. Congress recalled their general officers in the northern department, and ordered an inquiry into their conduct. They also nominated two gentlemen of eminence in the law, to assist the judge advocate in prosecuting that inquiry, and appointed a committee of their own body to collect evidence in support of the charges, which were on this occasion brought against them, General St. Clair, from the necessity of the case, submitted to this innovation in the mode of conducting courts martial; but in behalf of the army protested against its being drawn into precedent. Charges, of no less magnitude than cowardice, incapacity and treachery, were brought forward in court against him, and believed by many. The public mind, sore with the loss of Ticonderoga, and apprehensive of general distress, sought to ease itself by throwing blame upon the general. When the situation of the army permitted an inquiry into his conduct, he was honourably acquitted. In the course of his trial, it

was made to appear, that, though 13,600 men had been early called for, as necessary to defend the northern posts, yet, on the approach of General Burgoyne, the whole force collected to oppose him was only 2546 continentals, and 900 militia, badly supplied and worse armed. From the insufficiency of their numbers, they could not possess themselves of Sugar-hill, nor of Mount-Hope, though the former commanded the works, both of Ticonderoga, and Mount Independence, and the latter was of great importance for communication with lake George, and had been fortified the year before with that view. To the question which had been repeatedly asked; "why was the evacuation, if really necessary, delayed till the Americans were so nearly surrounded, as to occasion the loss of such valuable stores?" it was answered; that "from various circumstances it was impossible for General St. Clair to get early information of the numbers opposed to him. The savages, whom the British kept in front, deterred small reconnoitering parties from approaching so near as to make any discoveries of their numbers. Large parties, from the nature of the ground, could not have been supported without risking a general action. From the combined operation of these circumstances, the numbers of the approaching royal army were effectually concealed from the garrison, till the van of their force appeared in full view before it."

The retreating army embarked as much of their baggage and stores as they had any prospect of saving, and despatched it under convoy of five armed galleys to Skenesborough. Their main body took its route towards the same place by way of Castleton. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they pursued them. General Frazer, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major General Reidesel was also ordered, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, to march in the same direction. General Burgoyne in person conducted the pursuit by water. The obstructions to the navigation, not having been completed, were soon cut through. The two frigates the Royal George and the Inflexible, together with the gun boats, having effected their passage, pursued with so much rapidity, that in the course of a day the gun boats came up with and attacked the American galleys, near Skenesborough Falls. On the approach of the frigates, all opposition ceased. Two of the galleys were taken, and three blown up. The Americans set fire to their works, mills, and batteaux. They were now left in the woods, destitute of provisions. In this forlorn situation, they made their escape up Wood-creek to fort Anne. Brigadier Frazer pursued the retreating Americans, and on the 7th July, came up with and attacked them. They made a gallant resistance, but, after sustaining considerable loss, were obliged to give way.

Lieutenant Colonel Hall, with the 9th British regiment, was detached from Skenesborough by General Burgoyne, to take post near fort Anne. An engagement ensued between this regiment and a few Americans; but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort, and retreated to fort Edward. The destruction of the galleys and batteaux of the Americans at Skenesborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged General St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castleton to the left. After a fatiguing and distressing march of seven days, he joined General Schuyler at fort Edward. Their combined forces inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole 4,400 men, were, on the approach of General Burgoyne, compelled to retire farther into the country, bordering on Albany.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which, in this period of the campaign, swept away all opposition from before the royal army. The officers and men were highly elated with their good fortune. They considered their toils to be nearly at an end; Albany to be within their grasp; and the conquest of the adjacent provinces reduced to a

certainly. In Great Britain, intelligence of the progress of Burgoyne diffused a general joy. As to the Americans, the loss of reputation, which they sustained in the opinion of their European admirers, was greater than their loss of posts, artillery and troops. They were stigmatized as wanting resolution. Their unqualified subjugation, or unconditional submission was considered near at hand. An opinion was diffused, that the war in effect was over, or that the farther resistance of the colonists, would serve only to make the terms of their submission more humiliating. The terror which the loss of Ticonderoga spread throughout the New England states was great; but nevertheless no disposition to purchase safety by submission, appeared in any quarter. They did not sink under the apprehension of danger, but acted with vigour and firmness.

The royal army, after these successes, continued for some days in Skenesborough, waiting for their tents, baggage and provision. In the meantime, General Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns, to send a deputation of ten or more persons, from their respective townships, to meet Colonel Skene at Castleton, on the 15th of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army, which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun boats, provisions, vessels, and batteaux over land into Lake George. An immensity of labour in every quarter was necessary; but animated as they were with past successes and future hopes, they disregarded toil and danger.

From Skenesborough, Gen. Burgoyne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Though the distance in a right line from one to the other is but a few miles, yet such is the impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that nearly as many days were consumed as the distance passed over in a direct line would have measured in miles. The Americans under the direction of Gen. Schuyler, had cut large trees on both sides of the road, so that they fell across it with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a log-work over a morass, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had General Burgoyne fallen back from Skenesborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George; but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had also a suspicion that some delay might be occasioned by the American garrison at Fort George; as in case of his taking that route, they might safely continue to resist to the last extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was presumed, that as soon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would consult their safety by a seasonable evacuation. In addition to these reasons, he had the advice and persuasion of Colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a person proper to be consulted. His land was so situated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenesborough, would greatly enhance its value. This circumstance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, especially since, being the shortest, it bid fair for uniting the royal interest with private convenience.

The opinion formed by General Burgoyne of the effect of his direct movement from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, on the American garrison, was verified by the event; for being apprehensive of having their retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort, and burnt their vessels. The navigation of lake George being thereby left free, provisions and ammunition were brought forward from Fort

George, to the first navigable parts of Hudson's River. This is a distance of 15 miles, and the roads of difficult passage. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the insufficient means of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delays, that, at the end of fifteen days, there were not more than four days' provision brought forward, nor above ten batteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, as well as of the march through the wilderness from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, were encountered and overcome by the royal army, with a spirit and alacrity which could not be exceeded. At length, on the 30th of July, after incredible fatigue and labour, General Burgoyne, and an army under his command reached Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Their exultation, on accomplishing what for a long time had been the object of their hopes, was unusually great.

While the British were retarded in their advance by the combined difficulties of nature and art, events took place, which proved the wisdom and propriety of the retreat from Ticonderoga. The army, saved by that means, was between the inhabitants and General Burgoyne. This abated the panic of the people, and became a centre of rendezvous for them to repair to. On the other hand, had they stood their ground at Ticonderoga, they must, in the ordinary course of events, either have been cut to pieces, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In either case, as General St. Clair represented in his elegant defence; "Fear and dismay would have seized on the inhabitants from the false opinion that had been formed of the strength of these posts; wringing grief, and moping melancholy, would have filled the habitations of those whose dearest connexions were in that army; and a lawless host of ruffians, set loose from every social principle, would have roamed at large through the defenceless country, while bands of savages would have carried havoc, devastation and terror before them. Great part of the State of New York must have submitted to the conqueror, and in it he would have found the means to prosecute his success. He would have been able effectually to have co-operated with General Howe, and would probably soon have been in the same country with him; that country where the illustrious Washington, with an inferior force, made so glorious a stand, but who must have been obliged to retire, if both armies had come upon him at once; or he might have been forced to a general and decisive action, in unfavourable circumstances, whereby the hopes, the now well-founded hopes of America, of liberty, peace and safety might have been cut off for ever." Such, it was apprehended, would have been the consequences, if the American northern army had not retreated from their post at Ticonderoga. Very different events took place.

In a few days after the evacuation, General Schuyler issued a proclamation, calling to the minds of the inhabitants the late barbarities and desolations of the royal army in Jersey; warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors, if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. At first, an universal panic intimidated the inhabitants; but they soon recovered. The laws of self-preservation operated in their full force, and diffused a general activity through the adjacent states. The formalities of convening, drafting and officering the militia were in many instances, dispensed with. Hundreds seized their firelocks, and marched on the general call, without waiting for the orders of their immediate commanders. The inhabitants had no means of security, but to abandon their habitations, and take up arms. Every individual saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier. The terror excited by the Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect.

The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, suffered from their indiscriminate barba-

rities. Among other instances, the murder of Miss M'Crea excited an universal horror. This young lady, in the innocence of youth, and the bloom of beauty; the daughter of a steady loyalist, and engaged to be married to a British officer, was, on the very day of her intended nuptials, massacred by the savage auxiliaries, attached to the British army.* Occasion was thereby given to inflame the populace, and to blacken the royal cause. The cruelties of the Indians, and the case in which they were engaged, were associated together, and presented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. They, whose interest it was to draw forth the militia in support of American independence, strongly expressed their execrations of the army, which submitted to accept of Indian aid; and loudly condemned that government which could call such auxiliaries as were calculated not to subdue, but to exterminate a people whom they affected to reclaim as subjects. Their cruel mode of warfare, putting to death, as well the smiling infant and the defenceless female, as the resisting armed man, excited an universal spirit of resistance. In conjunction with other circumstances, it impressed on the minds of the inhabitants a general conviction that a vigorous determined opposition was the only alternative for the preservation of their property, their children and their wives. Could they have indulged the hope of security and protection while they remained peaceably at their homes, they would have found many excuses for declining to assume the profession of soldiers; but when they contrasted the dangers of a manly resistance, with those of a passive inaction, they chose the former, as the least of two unavoidable evils.

All the feeble aid, which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was infinitely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. While danger was remote, the pressing calls of Congress, and of the general officers, for the inhabitants to be in readiness to oppose a distant foe, were unavailing, or tardily executed: but no sooner had they recovered from the first impression of the general panic, than they turned out with unexampled alacrity. The owners of the soil came forward with that ardour, which the love of dear connexions and of property inspires. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. When they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place, with a much more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward, would be so entangled as not to be able to advance or retreat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their several towns, and set forth in high colouring the cruelties of the savage auxiliaries of Great Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of 13,000 men.

While Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had ascended the River St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. On the

* This, though true, was not premeditated barbarity.—The circumstances were as follow: Mr. Jones, her lover, from an anxiety for her safety, engaged some Indians to remove her from among the Americans, and promised to reward the person who should bring her safe to him, with a barrel of rum. Two of the Indians, who had conveyed her some distance, on the way to her intended husband, disputed, which of them should present her to Mr. Jones. Both were anxious for the reward. One of them killed her with his tomahawk, to prevent the other from receiving it. Burgoyne obliged the Indians to deliver up the murderer, and threatened to put him to death. His life was only spared, upon the Indians agreeing to terms, which the general thought would be more efficacious than an execution, in preventing similar mischiefs.

approach of this detachment of the royal army, on the 3d of August, General Herkimer collected about 800 of the whig militia of the parts adjacent, for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger, aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some Tories and Indians, to lie in ambush, and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect. The general and his militia were surprised on the 6th of August; but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of confusion followed. Some of Herkimer's men ran off; but others posted themselves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and success. The loss on the side of the Americans was 160 killed, besides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader, General Herkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himself of the terror excited on this occasion, and endeavoured by strong representations of Indian barbarity, to intimidate the garrison into an immediate surrender. He sent verbal and written messages, "demanding the surrender of the fort, and stating the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under General Herkimer were entirely cut off, and as General Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the submission of the inhabitants." He represented "the pains he had taken to soften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in case of an immediate surrender every man in the garrison should be spared; and particularly enlarged on the circumstance, 'that the Indians were determined in case of their meeting with further opposition, to massacre not only the garrison, but every man, woman or child in the Mohawk country.'" Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the fort, replied, "that being by the United States entrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it to the last extremity, against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

It being resolved, maugre the threats of Indian barbarities, to defend the fort, Lieutenant Colonel Willet undertook, in conjunction with Lieutenant Stockwell, to give information to their fellow-citizens, of the state of the garrison. These two adventurous officers passed by night through the besiegers' works, and, at the hazard of falling into the hands of savages, and suffering from them the severity of torture, made their way for fifty miles through dangers and difficulties, in order to procure relief for their besieged associates. In the meantime, the British carried on their operations with such industry, that in less than three weeks they had advanced within 150 yards of the fort.

The brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not forgotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by General Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Tost Schuyler, who had been taken up by the Americans, on suspicion of being a spy, was promised his life and his estate, on consideration that he should go on and alarm the Indians, with such representations of the numbers marching against them, as would occasion their retreat. He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, and, being able to converse in their own language, informed them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near at hand. They were thoroughly frightened, and determined to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them; but nothing could change their determination. It is the characteristic of these people on a reverse of fortune, to betray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy, which is necessary to struggle with difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better defended than was expected. They had lost several head men in their engagement with General Herkimer, and had gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the certainty of the approach of a reinforcement to their adversaries, which they believed to be much greater than it really was, made them quite intractable. Part

of them instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to follow, if the British did not immediately retreat. This measure was adopted, and, on the 22d of August, the siege was raised. From the disorder, occasioned by the precipitancy of the Indians, the tents and much of the artillery and stores of the besiegers, fell into the hands of the garrison. The discontented savages, exasperated by their ill fortune, are said, on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates of their baggage and provisions.

While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to General Burgoyne, on hearing of its being besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal force of his adversaries was in front between him and Albany, he hoped by advancing on them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating out of his way to New England. Had they, to avoid an attack, retreated up the Mohawk River, they would, in case of St. Leger's success, have put themselves between two fires. Had they retreated to Albany, it was supposed their situation would have been worse, as a co-operation from New York was expected. Besides, in case of that movement, an opportunity would have been given for a junction of Burgoyne and St. Leger. To have retired from the scene of action by filing off for New England, seemed to be the only opening left for their escape. With such views, General Burgoyne promised himself great advantages, from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal objection, against this project, was the difficulty of furnishing provisions to his troops. To keep up a communication with Fort George, so as to obtain from that garrison, regular supplies, at a distance daily increasing, was wholly impracticable. The advantages, which were expected from the proposed measure, were too dazzling to be easily relinquished. Though the impossibility of drawing provisions from the stores in their rear was known and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they might be elsewhere obtained. A plan was therefore formed to open resources from the plentiful farms of Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of Colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one description of the inhabitants in that country were panic struck, and that another, and by far the most numerous, were friends to the British interest, and only wanted the appearance of a protecting power to show themselves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached 500 men, 100 Indians, and two field pieces, which he supposed would be fully sufficient for the expedition. The command of this force was given to Lieutenant Colonel Baum; and it was supposed that with it he would be enabled to seize upon a magazine of supplies which the Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was only guarded by militia. It was also intended to try the temper of the inhabitants, and to mount the dragons.

Lieutenant Colonel Baum was instructed to keep the regular force posted, while the light troops felt their way; and to avoid all danger of being surrounded, or of having his retreat cut off. But he proceeded with less caution than his perilous situation required. Confiding in the numbers and promised aid of those who were depended upon as friends, he presumed too much. On approaching the place of his destination, he found the American militia stronger than had been supposed. He therefore took post in the vicinity, entrenched his party, and despatched an express to General Burgoyne, with an account of his situation. Colonel Breyman was detached to reinforce him. Though every exertion was made to push forward this reinforcement, yet from the impracticable face of the country and defective means of transportation, thirty-two hours elapsed before they had marched twenty-four miles.

General Starke, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, attacked Colonel Baum, before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion, about 800 undisciplined militia, without bayonets, or a single

piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops, advantageously posted behind intrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field pieces were taken from the party commanded by Colonel Baum, and the greatest part of his detachment was either killed or captured.

[Major General, JOHN STARKE, the son of Archibald S., a native of Glasgow, who married in Ireland, was born at Londonderry, N. H., Aug. 28, 1728. In 1736 his father removed to Derryfield, now Manchester on the Merrimac. While on a hunting expedition he was taken prisoner by the St. Francis Indians, in 1752, but was soon redeemed at an expense of 103 dollars, paid by Mr. Wheelwright of Boston. To raise this money he repaired on another hunting expedition to the Androscoggin. He afterwards served in a company of rangers with Rogers, being made a captain in 1756. On hearing of the battle of Lexington he repaired to Cambridge, and, receiving a colonel's commission, enlisted in the same day 800 men. He fought in the battle of Breed's hill, June 17, 1775, his regiment forming the left of the line, and repulsing three times by their deadly fire the veteran Welsh fusiliers, who had fought at Minden. His only defence was a rail fence, covered with hay, to resemble a breast-work. In May 1776 he proceeded from New York to Canada. In the attack on Trenton he commanded the van of the right wing. He was also engaged in the battle of Princeton. Displeased at being neglected in a list of promotions, he resigned his commission in March 1777 and retired to his farm. In order to impede the progress of Burgoyne, he proposed to the council of New Hampshire to raise a body of troops, and fall upon his rear. In the battle of Bennington, so called, though fought six miles north west from B., in the borders of New York, Saturday Aug. 10, 1777, he defeated Colonel Baum, killing 207 and making 750 prisoners. The place was near Van Schack's mills, (denominated by Burgoyne Stanteoick mills,) on a branch of the Hoosick called by Dr. Holmes Walloon creek; by others Walloomsack, and Wallomschaick, and Looms-chork. This event awakened confidence, and led to the capture of Burgoyne. Of those who fought in this battle, the names of T. Allen, J. Orr, and others are recorded in this volume. In Sept. he enlisted a new and larger force and joined Gates. In 1778 and 1779 he served in Rhode Island, and in 1780 in New Jersey. In 1781 he had the command of the northern department at Saratoga. At the close of the war he bid adieu to public employments. In 1818 Congress voted him a pension of 60 dollars per month. He died May 8, 1822, aged, 93. He was buried on a small hill near the Merrimac; a granite obelisk has the inscription—"Maj. Gen. Starke." A memoir of his life was published, annexed to reminiscences of the French war, 12. 1831.—Allen's Biog.]

Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground, and on the same day; but not till the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself briskly attacked. This was begun by Colonel Warner, who, with his continental regiment, having been sent for at Manchester, came opportunely at this time, and was well supported by Starke's militia, which had just defeated the party commanded by Colonel Baum. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great resolution; but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat.

In these two actions, the Americans took four brass field pieces, twelve brass drums, 250 dragoon swords, 4 ammunition wagons, and about 700 prisoners. Their loss, inclusive of the wounded, was about 100 men.

Congress resolved, "that their thanks be presented to General Starke, of the New Hampshire militia, and the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful attack upon, and signal victory over, the enemy, in their lines at Bennington, and also, that Brigadier Starke be

appointed a brigadier general in the army of the United States.* Never were thanks more deservedly bestowed. The overthrow of these detachments was the first link in a grand chain of events, which finally drew down ruin on the whole royal army. The confidence with which the Americans were inspired, on finding themselves able to defeat regular troops, produced surprising effects. It animated their exertions, and filled them with expectation of farther successes.

That military pride which is the soul of an army, was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans, was the depression of their adversaries. Accustomed to success, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unusual mortification from this unexpected check. Though it did not diminish their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not easy to enumerate all the disastrous consequences which resulted to the royal army, from the failure of their expedition to Bennington. These were so extensive, that their loss of men was the least considerable. It deranged every plan for pushing the advantages which had been previously obtained. Among other embarrassments, it reduced General Burgoyne to the alternative of halting, till he brought forward supplies from fort George, or of advancing without them at the risk of being starved. The former being adopted, the royal army was detained from August 16th, to September 13th. This unavoidable delay gave time and opportunity for the Americans to collect in great numbers.

The defeat of Lieutenant Colonel Baum, was the first event which for a long time, had taken place, in favour of the American northern army. From December, 1775, it had experienced one misfortune treading on the heels of another, and defeat succeeding defeat. Every movement had been either retreating or evacuating. The subsequent transactions present a remarkable contrast. Fortune, which, previous to the battle of Bennington, had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed after that event, totally to desert it, and go over to the opposite party.

After the evacuation of Ticonderoga the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanshaic's Island. Soon after this retreating system was adopted, Congress recalled their general officers, and put General Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival, on the 19th of August, gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia, flushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard. They soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. A spirit of adventure burst forth in many different points of direction. While General Burgoyne was urging his preparations for advancing towards Albany, an enterprise was undertaken by General Lincoln to recover Ticonderoga, and the other posts in the rear of the royal army. He detached Colonel Brown with 500 men to the landing at lake George. The colonel conducted his operations with so much address, that on the 13th September, he surprised all the out-posts between the landing at the north end of lake George, and the body of the fortress at Ticonderoga. He also took Mount Defiance

and Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, 200 bateaux, several gun boats, and an armed sloop, together with 290 prisoners, and at the same time released 100 Americans. His own loss was trifling.

Colonels Brown and Johnson, the latter of whom had been detached with 500 men, to attempt Mount Independence, on examination found that the reduction of either that post or of Ticonderoga was beyond their ability. When the necessary stores, for thirty days subsistence, were brought forward, from lake George, General Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in his rear, and, on the 13th and 14th, crossed Hudson's river. This movement was the subject of much discussion. Some charged it on the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature, before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North river, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat; and, in conjunction with subsequent events, made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

Burgoyne, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from Gates's camp; which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their success at Bennington and fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before mid-day, September 19th, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause, it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove, and were driven by each other. Men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and, as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence. The British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length, night put an end to the effusion of blood.

The British lost upwards of 500 men, including their killed, wounded and prisoners. The Americans, inclusive of the missing, lost 319. Thirty-six out of forty-eight British matrosses were killed or wounded. The 62d British regiment, which was 500 strong, when it left Canada, was reduced to 60 men, and 4 or 5 officers.

This hard-fought battle decided nothing; and little else than honour was gained by either army: but nevertheless it was followed by important consequences. Of these, one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The dangerous service, in which they were engaged, was by no means suited to their habits of war. They were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and saw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of savages, to retain them in such an unproductive service. By deserting in the season when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a second instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians, and other British provincials. They also abandoned the British standard, when they found, that, instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointments which General Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army, which was stationed at New

York. He depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in some difficulties, to which he would not otherwise have been exposed.

General Burgoyne, on the 21st of September, received intelligence in cypher, that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New York, intended to make a diversion in his favour by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected on Hudson's river, to obstruct the intercourse between New York and Albany. In answer to this communication, he despatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persons, with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation; and to assure him, that he was enabled in point of provisions, and fixed in his resolution, to hold his present position till the 12th of October, in the hopes of favourable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New York, founded on this intelligence, made it disgraceful to retreat, and at the same time improper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of affairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of the promised co-operation from New York, became necessary.

In the meantime, the provisions of the royal army were lessening, and the animation and numbers of the American army increasing. The New England people were fully sensible, that their all was at stake, and at the same time sanguine, that, by vigorous exertions, Burgoyne would be so entangled, that his surrender would be unavoidable. Every moment made the situation of the British more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving further supplies, General Burgoyne on the 1st of October lessened the soldiers' provisions. The 12th of October, the term till which the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from New York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming situation, it was thought proper to make a movement to the left of the Americans. The body of troops employed for this purpose, consisted of 1500 chosen men, and was commanded by Generals Burgoyne, Philips, Reidesel, and Frazer. As they advanced, they were checked by a sudden and impetuous attack, on the 7th of October: but Major Ackland, at the head of the British Grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness.

The Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers; and they also marched a large body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, were directed to form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, the Americans pushed forward a fresh and strong reinforcement, to renew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his army was obliged to give way; but the light infantry, and 24th regiment, by a quick movement came to its succour, and saved it from total ruin.

The British lines being exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearest to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the works, possessed by lord Balcarras, at the head of the British light infantry; but the brigade, having an abbatis to cross, and many other obstructions to surmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left his brigade, and came to Jackson's regiment, which he ordered instantly to advance, and attack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were defended by Lieutenant Colonel Breyman at the head of the German grenadiers. The assailants pushed on with rapidity, and carried the works. Arnold was one of the first who entered them. Lieutenant Colonel Breyman was killed. The troops commanded by him retired firing. They gained their tents about 30 or 40 yards from their works; but on finding that the assault was general, they gave one fire, after which some retreated to the British camp, but oth-

* In an arrangement of general officers, made by Congress, in the preceding year, a junior officer had been promoted while Starke was neglected. He had written to Congress on this subject, and his letters were laid on the table. He quitted the army, and retired to his farm: but on the approach of Burgoyne, accepted a brigadier's commission and a separate command from New Hampshire. As their officer he achieved this victory, and transmitted an official account of it to the executive of that state. Congress, hearing of it, inquired, why they were uninform on the subject? Starke answered, that his correspondence with their body was closed, as they had not attended to his last letters. They took the hint, and promoted him. Starke was too much of a patriot to refuse his services, though his military feelings were hurt; and Congress was too wise to stand on etiquette, when their country's interest was at stake.

ers threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

[Major General BENEDICT ARNOLD, in the American army, and infamous for deserting the cause of his country, is supposed to have been a descendant of Benedict Arnold, governor of Rhode Island, who succeeded Roger Williams in that office in 1657. He was bred an apothecary with a Dr. Lathrop, who was so pleased with him, as to give him £500 sterling. From 1763 to 1767 he combined the business of a druggist with that of a bookseller, at New Haven, Conn. Being captain of a volunteer company, after hearing of the battle of Lexington he immediately marched with his company for the American head quarters, and reached Cambridge, April 29, 1775. He waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety and informed them of the defenceless state of Ticonderoga. The committee appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise four hundred men, and to take that fortress. He proceeded directly to Vermont, and when he arrived at Castleton was attended by one servant only. Here he joined Col. Allen, and on May 10th the fortress was taken.]

In the fall of 1775 he was sent by the commander in chief to penetrate through the wilderness of the District of Maine into Canada. He commenced his march Sept. 16, with about one thousand men, consisting of New England infantry, some volunteers, a company of artillery, and three companies of riflemen. One division, that of Col. Enos, was obliged to return from Dead river from the want of provisions; had it proceeded the whole party might have perished. The greatest hardships were endured and the most appalling difficulties surmounted in this expedition, of which Major Meigs kept a journal, and Mr. Henry also published an account. The army was in the wilderness, between fort Western at Augusta and the first settlements on the Chaudiere in Canada, about 5 weeks. In the want of provisions Capt. Dearborn's dog was killed, and eaten, even the feet and skin, with good appetite. As the army arrived at the first settlements, Nov. 4th, the intelligence necessarily reached Quebec in one or two days; but a week or fortnight before this, Gov. Cramahé had been apprised of the approach of this army. Arnold had imprudently sent a letter to Schuyler, enclosed to a friend in Quebec, by an Indian, dated Oct. 13, and he was himself convinced, from the preparations made for his reception, that the Indian had betrayed him. Nov. 5th the troops arrived at St. Mary's, 10 or 12 miles from Quebec, and remained there 3 or 4 days. Nov. 9th or 10th they advanced to Point Levi, opposite Quebec. Forty birch canoes having been collected, it was still found necessary to delay crossing the river for 3 nights on the account of a high wind. On the 14th the wind moderated; but this delay was very favourable to the city, for on the 13th Col. M'Lean, an active officer, arrived with 80 men to strengthen the garrison, which already consisted of more than a thousand men, so as to render an assault hopeless. Indeed Arnold himself placed his chief dependence on the co-operation of Montgomery.

On the 14th of Nov. he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night; and, ascending the precipice, which Wolfe had climbed before him, formed his small corps on the height near the plains of Abraham. With only about seven hundred men, one third of whose muskets had been rendered useless in the march through the wilderness, success could not be expected. It is surprising, that the garrison, consisting, Nov. 14th, of 1126 men, did not march out and destroy the small force of Arnold. After parading some days on the heights near the town, and sending 2 flags to summon the inhabitants, he retired to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there waited the arrival of Montgomery, who joined him on the first of December. The city was immediately besieged, but the best measures had been taken for its defence. The able Gen. Carleton had entered the city with 60 men Nov. 20th. On the morning of the last day of the year an assault was made on the one

side of the Lower town by Montgomery, who was killed. At the same time Col. Arnold, at the head of about three hundred and fifteen men, made a desperate attack on the opposite side. Advancing with the utmost intrepidity along the St. Charles through a narrow path, exposed to an incessant fire of grape shot and musketry, as he approached the first barrier he received a musket ball in the left leg, which shattered the bone. He was compelled to retire on foot, dragging 'one leg after him,' near a mile to the hospital, having lost 60 men killed and wounded, and three hundred prisoners. Although the attack was unsuccessful, the blockade of Quebec was continued till May 1776, when the army, which was in no condition to risk an assault was removed to a more defensible position. Arnold was compelled to relinquish one post after another, till the 18th of June, when he quitted Canada. After this period he exhibited great bravery in the command of the American fleet on Lake Champlain.

In August 1777 he relieved fort Schuyler under the command of Colonel Gansevoort, which was invested by Colonel St. Leger with an army of from fifteen to eighteen hundred men. In the battle near Stillwater, Sept. 19th, he conducted himself with his usual intrepidity, being engaged incessantly for four hours. In the action of October 7th, after the British had been driven into the lines, Arnold pressed forward and under a tremendous fire assaulted the works throughout their whole extent from right to left. The intrenchments were at length forced, and with a few men he actually entered the works; but his horse being killed, and he himself badly wounded in the leg, he found it necessary to withdraw, and, as it was now almost dark, to desist from the attack. Being rendered unfit for active service in consequence of his wound, after the recovery of Philadelphia he was appointed to the command of the American garrison. When he entered the city, he made the house of Gov. Penn, the best house in the city, his head quarters. This he furnished in a very costly manner, and lived far beyond his income. He had wasted the plunder, which he had seized at Montreal in his retreat from Canada; and at Philadelphia he was determined to make new acquisitions. He laid his hands on every thing in the city, which could be considered as the property of those, who were unfriendly to the cause of his country. He was charged with oppression, extortion, and enormous charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Such was his conduct, that he drew upon himself the odium of the inhabitants not only of the city, but of the province in general. He was engaged in trading speculations and had shares in several privateers, but, was unsuccessful. From the judgment of the commissioners, who had been appointed to inspect his accounts, and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands, he appealed to Congress, and they appointed a committee of their own body to examine and settle the business. The committee confirmed the report of the commissioners, and thought they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. By these disappointments he became irritated and he gave full scope to his resentment. His invectives against Congress were not less violent, than those, which he had before thrown out against the commissioners. He was however soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court martial upon the charges, exhibited against him by the executive of Pennsylvania, and he was subjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from Washington. His trial commenced in June 1778, but such were the delays occasioned by the movements of the army, that it was not concluded until January 26th, 1779. The sentence of a reprimand was approved by Congress, and was soon afterwards carried into execution.

Such was the humiliation, to which General Arnold was reduced in consequence of yielding to the temptations of pride and vanity, and indulging himself in the pleasures of a sumptuous table and expensive equipage. From this time his proud

spirit revolted from the cause of America. He turned his eyes to West Point as an acquisition which would give value to treason, while its loss would inflict a mortal wound on his former friends. He addressed himself to the delegation of New York, in which state his reputation was peculiarly high and a member of Congress from this state recommended him to Washington for the service, which he desired. The same application to the commander-in-chief was made not long afterwards through Gen. Schuyler. Washington observed, that as there was a prospect of an active campaign he should be gratified with the aid of Arnold in the field; but intimated at the same time, that he should receive the appointment requested, if it should be more pleasing to him. Arnold, without discovering much solicitude, repaired to camp in the beginning of August, and renewed in person the solicitations, which had been before indirectly made. He was now offered the command of the left wing of the army, which was advancing against New York; but he declined it under the pretext, that in consequence of his wounds, he was unable to perform the active duties of the field. Without a suspicion of his patriotism he was invested with the command of West Point. Previously to his soliciting this station, he had in a letter to Colonel Beverly Robinson signified his change of principles and his wish to restore himself to the favour of his prince by some signal proof of his repentance. This letter opened to him a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, the object of which was to concert the means of putting the important post, which he commanded, into the possession of the British general. His plan, it is believed, was to have drawn the greater part of his army without the works under the pretext of fighting the enemy in the defiles, and to have left unguarded a designated pass, through which the assailants might securely approach and surprise the fortress. His troops he intended to place, so that they would be compelled to surrender, or be cut in pieces. But just as his scheme was ripe for execution the wise Disposer of events, who so often and so remarkably interposed in favour of the American cause, blasted his designs.

Maj. Andre, after his detection, apprized Arnold of his danger, and the traitor found opportunity to escape on board the *Vulture*, Sept. 25, 1780, a few hours before the return of Washington, who had been absent on a journey to Hartford Conn. On the very day of his escape Arnold wrote a letter to Washington, declaring, that the love of his country had governed him in his late conduct, and requesting him to protect Mrs. Arnold. She was conveyed to her husband at New York, and his clothes and baggage, for which he had written, were transmitted to him. During the exertions, which were made to rescue Andre from the destruction, which threatened him, Arnold had the hardihood to interpose. He appealed to the humanity of the commander in chief, and then sought to intimidate him by stating the situation of many of the principal characters of South Carolina, who had forfeited their lives, but had hitherto been spared through the clemency of the British general. This clemency, he said, could no longer in justice be extended to them, should Major Andre suffer.

Arnold was made a brigadier general in the British service; which rank he preserved throughout the war. Yet he must have been held in contempt and detestation by the generous and honourable. It was impossible for men of this description, even when acting with him, to forget that he was a traitor; first the slave of his rage, then purchased with gold, and finally secured by the blood of one of the most accomplished officers in the British army. One would suppose, that his mind could not have been much at ease; but he had proceeded so far in vice, that perhaps his reflections gave him but little trouble. "I am mistaken," says Washington in a private letter, "if at this time Arnold is undergoing the torments of a mental hell. He wants feeling. From some

traits of his character, which have lately come to my knowledge, he seems to have been so hacknied in crime, so lost to all sense of honour and shame, that while his faculties still enable him to continue his sordid pursuits, there will be no time for remorse."

Arnold found it necessary to make some exertions to secure the attachment of his new friends. With the hope of alluring many of the discontented to his standard, he published an address to the inhabitants of America, in which he endeavoured to justify his conduct. He had encountered the dangers of the field, he said, from apprehension, that the rights of his country were in danger. He had acquiesced in the declaration of independence, though he thought it precipitate. But the rejection of the overtures, made by Great Britain in 1778, and the French alliance had opened his eyes to the ambitious views of those, who would sacrifice the happiness of their country to their own aggrandizement, and had made him a confirmed loyalist. He artfully mingled assertions, that the principal members of Congress held the people in sovereign contempt. This was followed in about a fortnight by a proclamation, addressed "to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interest of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress or of France." To induce the American officers and soldiers to desert the cause, which they had embraced, he represented, that the corps of cavalry and infantry, which he was authorized to raise, would be upon the same footing with other troops in the British service; that he should with pleasure advance those, whose valour he might witness; that the private men, who joined him, should receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment at the full value for horses, arms, and accoutrements. His object was the peace, liberty, and safety of America. "You are promised liberty," he exclaims, "but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it, saving your oppressors? Who among you dare speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny, which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your persons, drags you to the field of battle, and is deluging your country with your blood?" "What," he exclaims again, "is America now, but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars? As to you, who have been soldiers in the continental army, can you at this day want evidence, that the funds of your country are exhausted, or that the managers have applied them to their private uses? In either case you surely can no longer continue in their service with honour or advantage. Yet you have hitherto been their supporters in that cruelty, which with equal indifference to yours as well as to the labour and blood of others, is devouring a country, that from the moment you quit their colours will be redeemed from their tyranny." These proclamations did not produce the effect designed, and in all the hardships, sufferings, and irritations of the war, Arnold remains the solitary instance of an American officer, who abandoned the side first embraced in the contest, and turned his sword upon his former companions in arms.

He was soon despatched by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion in Virginia. With about 1700 men he arrived in the Chesapeake in Jan. 1781, and being supported by such a naval force, as was suited to the nature of the service; he committed extensive ravages on the river and along the unprotected coasts. It is said, that while on this expedition Arnold inquired of an American captain, whom he had taken prisoner, what the Americans would do with him, if he should fall into their hands. The officer replied that they would cut off his lame leg and bury it with the honours of war, and hang the remainder of his body in gibbets. After his recall from Virginia he conducted an expedition against his native state, Connecticut. He took fort Trumbull Sept. 6th with inconsiderable loss. On the other side of the harbour Lieut. Col. Eyre, who commanded another detachment made an assault on fort Griswold, and with the greatest difficulty entered the works. An

officer of the conquering troops, asked, who commanded? "I did," answered Colonel Ledyard, "but you do now," and presented him his sword, which was instantly plunged into his own bosom. A merciless slaughter commenced upon the brave garrison, who had ceased to resist, until the greater part were either killed or wounded. After burning the town and the stores, which were in it, and thus thickening the laurels, with which his brow was adorned, Arnold returned to New York in 8 days.

From the conclusion of the war to his death General Arnold resided chiefly in England. In 1786 he was at St. John's, New Brunswick, engaged in trade and navigation, and again in 1790. For some cause he became very unpopular in 1792 or 1793, was hung in effigy, and the mayor found it necessary to read the riot act, and a company of troops was called to quell the mob. Repairing to the West Indies in 1794, a French fleet anchored at the same island; he became alarmed lest he should be detained by the American allies and past the fleet concealed on a raft of lumber. He died in Gloucester place, London, June 14, 1801. He married Margaret, the daughter of Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, chief justice, and a loyalist. General Green, it is said, was his rival.—She combined fascinating manners with strength of mind. She died at London Aug. 24, 1804, aged 43. His sons were men of property in Canada in 1829. His character presents little to be commended. His daring courage may indeed excite admiration; but it was a courage without reflection and without principle. He fought bravely for his country and he bled in her cause; but his country owed him no returns of gratitude, for his subsequent conduct proved, that he had no honest regard to her interests, but was governed by selfish considerations. His progress from self-indulgence to treason was easy and rapid. He was vain and luxurious, and to gratify his giddy desires he must resort to meanness, dishonesty, and extortion. These vices brought with them disgrace; and the contempt, into which he fell, awakened a spirit of revenge, and left him to the unrestrained influence of his cupidity and passion. Thus from the high fame, to which his bravery had elevated him, he descended into infamy. Thus too he furnished new evidence of the infatuation of the human mind in attaching such value to the reputation of a soldier, which may be obtained, while the heart is unsound and every moral sentiment is entirely depraved.—Allen's Biog. Dic.]

This day was fatal to many brave men. The British officers suffered more than their common proportion. Among their slain, General Frazer, on account of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret. Sir James Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, was mortally wounded. The general himself had a narrow escape: a shot passed through his hat and another through his waistcoat. Majors Williams and Ackland were taken: the latter wounded.

The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. General Arnold, to whose impetuosity they were much indebted for the success of the day, was among their wounded. They took more than 200 prisoners, besides 9 pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade, with all their equipage.

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action; but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, General Lincoln, who reconnoitering, received a dangerous wound; an event which was greatly regretted, as he possessed much of the esteem and confidence of the American army.

The position of the British army, after the action of the 7th, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change became necessary. This hazardous measure was executed without loss or disorder. The British camp, with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American general now saw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him, without exposing his own to the dangers of another

battle. His measures were therefore principally calculated to cut off their retreat, and prevent their receiving any farther supplies.

While General Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New York. For this purpose, October 5th, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition up Hudson's river. This consisted of about 3000 men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force. After making many feints, he landed at Stony Point, marched over the mountains to fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by Governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance: but as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark on the 6th, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great. Governor Clinton, General James Clinton, and most of the officers and men effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North river: but instead of pushing forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates, and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan with a detachment of land forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. General Vaughan on the 13th October so completely burned Esopus, a fine flourishing village, that a single house was not left standing, though on his approach, the Americans had left the town without making any resistance. Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of General Gates, and thus indirectly relieve General Burgoyne; but if this were intended, the artifice did not take effect.

The preservation of property was with the Americans only a secondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promised such important consequences, that they would not suffer any other consideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a single movement that lessened the probability of effecting his grand purpose. He wrote an expostulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms; "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the resentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain; but it cannot admit of a doubt, that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The passage of the North river was made so practicable by the advantages gained on the 6th of October, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to 3000 men, might not only have reached Albany, but General Gates's encampment, before the 12th, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals, without serving the cause of their royal master, they might, by pushing forward, about 136 miles in six days, have brought Gates's army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their suffering brethren, about 36 miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about 100 miles below it, has never yet been satisfactorily explained.

Gates posted 1400 men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, and 2000 more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to fort Edward, and 1500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded that Gates, meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him. To avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, were necessarily left behind; but they were recommended to the humanity of General Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When General Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights, to impede his passage at that ford.

[Major General HORATIO GATES, a major general in the army of the United States, was a native of England. In early life he entered the British army, and laid the foundations of his future military excellence. He was aid to Gen. Monkton at the capture of Martinico; and after the peace of Aix la Chapelle he was among the first troops, which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was with Braddock at the time of his defeat in 1755; and was shot through the body. When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war in 1775, when he was appointed by Congress adjutant general, with the rank of brigadier general. He accompanied Washington to Cambridge, when he went to take command of the army in that place. In June 1776 Gates was appointed to the command of the army of Canada. He was superseded by General Schuyler in May 1777, but in August following he took the place of the officer in the northern department. The success, which attended his arms to the capture of Burgoyne in October, filled America with joy. Congress passed a vote of thanks and ordered a medal of gold to be presented to him by the president. His conduct towards his conquered enemy was marked by a delicacy, which does him the highest honour. He did not permit his own troops to witness the mortification of the British in depositing their arms. After Gen. Lincoln was taken prisoner, he was appointed June 13, 1780 to the command of the southern department. Aug. 16, he was defeated by Cornwallis at Camden. He was superseded Dec. 3, by Gen. Greene; but was in 1782 restored to his command.]

After the peace he retired to his farm in Berkeley county, Virginia, where he remained until the year 1790, when he went to reside at New York, having first emancipated his slaves, and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him but continued in his family. On his arrival at New York the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1809 he accepted a seat in the legislature, but he retained it no longer, than he conceived his services might be useful to the cause of liberty, which he never abandoned. His political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own. He died April 10, 1806, aged 77. His widow died Nov. 20, 1810. A few weeks before his death he wrote to his friend, Dr. Mitchell, then at Washington, on some business, and closed his letter, dated Feb. 27, 1806, with the following words:—"I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution. But I have lived long enough, since I have lived to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honour." He retained his faculties to the last. He took pleasure in professing his attachment to religion and his firm belief in the doctrines of christianity. The will, which was made not long before his death, exhibited the humility of his faith. In an article, dictated by himself he expressed a sense of his own unworthiness, and his reliance, solely on the intercession and sufferings of the Redeemer. In another paragraph he directed, that his body should be privately buried, which was accordingly done. General Gates was a whig in England and

a republican in America. He was a scholar, well versed in history and the Latin classics. While he was just hospitable, and generous, and possessed a feeling heart, his manners and deportment yet indicated his military character.—

Allen's Biog. Dic.

To prepare the way for a retreat to lake George, Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges, and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty; and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen, thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat, which now remained, was by a night march to fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were intrenched opposite to those fords on the Hudson's river, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between fort Edward and fort George. They had at the same time parties down the whole shore, and posts so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attacks. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany, without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor could it retreat without making good its way over a river, in the face of a strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were so near as to discover every movement; and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies, unsupported by their brethren in New York, weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians, worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape shot fell in many parts of their lines. They nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the meantime, the American army was hourly increasing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to share in the glory of destroying or capturing those whom they considered as their most dangerous enemies. The 12th of October at length arrived. The day was spent in anxious expectation of its producing something of consequence. But as no prospect of assistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any, in due time for their relief, could not be farther indulged. General Burgoyne thought proper in the evening, to take an account of the provisions left. It was found on inquiry, that they would amount to no more than a scanty subsistence for three days. In this state of distress, a council of war was called, and it was made so general, as to comprehend both the field officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore despatched to begin this business. General Gates in the first instance demanded, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed, that the British should ground their arms; but General Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarters."

After various messages, a convention was settled, by which it was substantially stipulated as follows: "The troops under General Burgoyne, to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments to the verge

of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops, whenever General Howe shall so order. The army under Lieutenant General Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in or near to Boston. The troops to be provided with provisions by General Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or searched. The officers not to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army, to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada; to be conducted to the first British post on lake George; to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side arms."

Such were the embarrassments of the royal army, incapable of subsisting where it was, or of making its way to a better situation, that these terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of an army, which, though numerous, consisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave, disciplined, regular troops. General Gates rightly judged, that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy, with which this business was conducted, reflected honour on the American general. Nor did the politeness of Gates end here. Every circumstance was withheld, that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers, of both armies, met at General Gates's quarters, and for a while seemed to forget, in social and convivial pleasures, that they had been enemies. The conduct of General Burgoyne in this interview with General Gates was truly dignified; and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victor, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left, as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, 5790 men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be 4689. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about 10,000.—The stores, which the Americans acquired, were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of 35 brass field pieces. There were also 4657 muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The Continentals in General Gates's army were nine thousand and ninety-three, the militia four thousand one hundred and twenty-nine; but of the former two thousand one hundred and three were sick, or on

furlough, and five hundred and sixty-two of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

The general exultation of the Americans, on receiving the agreeable intelligence of the convention of Saratoga, disarmed them of much of their resentment. The burnings and devastations which had taken place were sufficient to have inflamed their minds; but private feelings were in a great measure absorbed by the consideration of the many advantages, which the capture of so large an army promised to the new-formed states.

In a short time after the convention was signed, General Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North river; but on hearing of the fate of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace, retired to New York.

About the same time, the British, who had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and, abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months, the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquility.

Great was the grief and dejection of Britain, on receiving the intelligence of the fate of Burgoyne. The expedition committed to him had been undertaken with the most confident hopes of success. The quality of the troops he commanded was such, that from their bravery, directed by his zeal, talents and courage it was presumed that all the northern parts of the United States would be subdued before the end of the campaign. The good fortune, which for some time followed him, justified these expectations; but the catastrophe proved the folly of planning distant expeditions, and of projecting remote conquests.

The consequences of these great events vibrated round the world. The capture of Burgoyne was the hinge on which the revolution turned. While it encouraged the perseverance of the Americans, by well-grounded hopes of final success, it increased the embarrassment of that ministry, which had so ineffectually laboured to compel their submission. Opposition to their measures gathered new strength, and formed a stumbling block in the road to conquest. This prevented Great Britain from acting with that collected force, which an union of sentiments and councils would have enabled her to exert. Hitherto the best informed Americans had doubts of success in establishing their independence; but henceforward their language was: "That whatever might be the event of their present struggle, they were for ever lost to Great Britain." Nor were they deceived. The éclat of capturing a large army, of British and German regular troops, soon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

Immediately after the surrender, Burgoyne's troops were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival, they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect hills. The general court of Massachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prisoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for so large a number of officers and soldiers, in such a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to General Burgoyne, that six or seven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the seventh article of the convention. Burgoyne, on the 14th of November, forwarded this account to Gates, and added, "the public faith is broken." This letter, being laid before Congress, gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension, previously entertained, that the captured troops, on their embarkation, would make a junction with the British garrisons in America. The declaration of the general, that "the public faith was broken," while in the power of Congress, was considered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour; for in every event he might

adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore resolved; "That the embarkation of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress."

Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the passage objected to in his letter, and pledged himself, that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought necessary for confirming the convention; but Congress would not recede from their resolution. They alleged, that it had been often asserted by their adversaries, that 'faith was not to be kept with rebels;' and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interests of their constituents, if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority, before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact, broken in one article, was no longer binding in any other. They made a distinction between the suspension and abrogation of the convention, and alleged, that ground to suspect an intention to violate it was a justifying reason for suspending its execution on their part, till it was properly ratified. The desired ratification, if Great Britain was seriously disposed to that measure, might have been obtained in a few months, and Congress uniformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full effect, as soon as they were secured of its observance, by proper authority on the other side.

About eight months afterwards, certain royal commissioners, whose official functions shall be hereafter explained, made a requisition respecting these troops; offered to ratify the convention; and required permission for their embarkation. On inquiry it was found, that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter, which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congress therefore resolved, "that no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in consequence of powers, which only reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by Congress."

Till the capture of Burgoyne, the powers of Europe were only spectators of the war, between Great Britain and her late colonies, but, soon after that event, they were drawn in to be parties. In every period of the controversy, the claims of the Americans were patronized by sundry respectable foreigners. The letters, addresses, and other public acts of Congress were admired by many who had no personal interest in the contest. Liberty is so evidently the undoubted right of mankind, that even they who never possessed it, feel the propriety of contending for it; and whenever a people take up arms, either to defend or to recover it, they are sure of meeting with encouragement or good wishes from the friends of humanity in every part of the world.

From the operation of these principles, the Americans had the esteem and good wishes of multitudes in all parts of Europe. They were reputed to be ill used, and were represented as a resolute and brave people, determined to resist oppression. Being both pitied and applauded, generous and sympathetic sentiments were excited in their favour. These circumstances would have operated in every case; but in the present, the cause of the Americans was patronised from additional motives. An universal jealousy prevailed against Great Britain. Her navy had long tyrannised over the nations of Europe, and demanded, as a matter of right, that the ships of all other powers should strike their sails to her as mistress of the ocean. From her eagerness to prevent supplies going to her rebellious colonists, as she called the Americans, the vessels of foreign powers had for some time past been subjected to searches and other interruptions, when steering towards America, in a manner that could not but be impatiently borne by independent

nations. That pride and insolence which brought on the American war, had long disgusted her neighbours, and made them rejoice at her misfortunes, and especially at the prospect of dismembering her overgrown empire.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Alliance between the France and the United States.
The Campaign of 1778.

Soon after intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne's army reached Europe, the court of France concluded at Paris, treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. The circumstances, which led to this great event, deserve to be particularly unfolded. The colonists having taken up arms, uninfluenced by the enemies of Great Britain, conducted their opposition for several months after they had raised troops, and emitted money, without any reference to foreign powers. They knew it to be the interest of Europe, to promote a separation between Great Britain and her colonies; but as they began the contest with no other view than to obtain a redress of grievances, they neither wished, in the first period of their opposition to involve Great Britain in a war, nor to procure aid to themselves by paying court to her enemies. The policy of Great Britain, in attempting to deprive the Americans of arms, was the first event which made it necessary for them to seek foreign connexions. At the time she was urging military preparations to compel their submission, she forbade the exportation of arms, and solicited the commercial powers of Europe to co-operate with her by adopting a similar prohibition. To frustrate the views of Great Britain, Congress, besides recommending the domestic manufacture of the materials for military stores, appointed a secret committee, with powers to procure on their account arms and ammunition, and also employed agents in foreign countries for the same purpose. The evident advantage, which France might derive from the continuance of the dispute, and the countenance which individuals of that country daily gave to the Americans, encouraged Congress to send a political and commercial agent to that kingdom, with instructions to solicit its friendship, and to procure military stores. Silas Deane, being chosen for this purpose, sailed for France early in 1776, and was soon after his arrival at Paris instructed to sound Count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, on the subject of the American controversy. As the public mind, for reasons which have been mentioned closed against Great Britain, it opened towards other nations.

On the 11th of June, Congress appointed a committee, to prepare a plan of a treaty to be proposed to foreign powers. The discussion of this novel subject engaged their attention till the latter end of September. While Congress was deliberating thereon, Mr. Deane was soliciting a supply of arms, ammunition, and soldier's clothing for their service a sufficiency for lading three vessels was soon procured. What agency the government of France had in furnishing those supplies, or whether they were sold, or given as presents, are questions which have often been asked, but not satisfactorily answered; for the business was so conducted that the transaction might be made to assume a variety of complexions, as circumstances might render expedient.

It was most evidently the interest of France to encourage the Americans, in their opposition to Great Britain; and it was true policy to do this by degrees, and in a private manner, lest Great Britain might take the alarm. Individuals are sometimes influenced by considerations of friendship and generosity; but interest is the pole star by which nations are universally governed. It is certain that Great Britain was amused with declarations of the most pacific dispositions on the part of France, at the time the Americans were liberally supplied with the means of defence; and it is equally certain, that this was the true line of policy

for promoting that dismemberment of the British empire, which France had an interest in accomplishing.

Congress knew, that a diminution of the overgrown power of Britain, could not but be desirable to France. Sore with the loss of her possessions on the continent of North America, by the peace of Paris in 1763, and also by the capture of many thousands of her sailors in 1755, antecedent to a declaration of war, she must have been something more than human, not to have rejoiced at an opportunity of depressing an ancient and formidable rival. Besides the increasing naval superiority of Great Britain, her vast resources, not only in her ancient dominions, but in colonies growing daily in numbers and wealth, added to the haughtiness of her flag, made her the object both of terror and envy. It was the interest of Congress to apply to the court of France, and it was the interest of France to listen to their application.

Congress, having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his Most Christian Majesty proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been serviceable to his country, in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that Congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgement in France, of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame, than any other native of America. By the dint of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy, and the labyrinths of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human nature is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided some years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, early in 1775; returned to Philadelphia; and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress. After his appointment, to solicit the interests of the United States in France, he sailed for that country on the 27th of October, 1776. He was no sooner landed, 13th of December, than universally caressed. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character.

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, a philosopher and statesman, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 17, 1706. His father, who was a native of England, was a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler in that town. At the age of eight years, he was sent to a grammar school, but at the age of ten, his father required his services to assist him in his business. Two years afterwards, he was bound an apprentice to his brother, who was a printer. In this employment he made great proficiency, and having a taste for books, he devoted much of his leisure time to reading. So eager was he in the pursuit of knowledge, that he frequently passed the greater part of the night in his studies. He became expert in the Socratic mode of reasoning by asking questions, and thus he sometimes embarrassed persons of understanding superior to his own. In 1721, his brother began to print the New England Courant, which was the third newspaper published in America. The two preceding papers were the Boston News Letter and Boston Gazette. Young

Franklin wrote a number of essays for the Courant, which were so well received, as to encourage him to continue his literary labours. To improve his style, he resolved to imitate Addison's Spectator. The method which he took, was to make a summary of a paper, after he had read it, and in a few days, when he had forgotten the expressions of the author, to endeavour to restore it to its original form. By this means he was taught his errors, and perceived the necessity of being more fully acquainted with the synonymous words of the language. He was much assisted also in acquiring a facility and variety of expression by writing poetry.

At this early period the perusal of Shaftsbury and Collins made him completely a sceptic, and he was fond of disputing upon the subject of religion. This circumstance caused him to be regarded by pious men with abhorrence; and on this account, as well as on account of the ill-treatment which he received from his brother, he determined to leave Boston. His departure was facilitated by the possession of his indenture, which his brother had given him about the year 1723, not from friendship, but because the general court had prohibited him from publishing the New England Courant, and in order that it might be conducted under the name of Benjamin Franklin. He privately went on board a sloop, and soon arrived at New York. Finding no employment here, he pursued his way to Philadelphia, and entered the city without a friend, and with only a dollar in his pocket. Purchasing some rolls at a baker's shop, he put one under each arm, and eating a third, walked through several streets in search of a lodging. There were at this time two printers in Philadelphia, Mr. Andrew Bradford, and Mr. Keimer, by the latter of whom he was employed. Sir William Keith, the governor, having been informed that Franklin was a young man of promising talents, invited him to his house, and treated him in the most friendly manner. He advised him to enter into business for himself, and to accomplish this object, to make a visit to London, in order that he might purchase the necessary articles for a printing office. Receiving the promise of assistance, Franklin prepared himself for the voyage, and on applying for letters of recommendation, previously to sailing, he was told, that they would be sent on board. When the letter bag was opened, there was no packet for Franklin; and he now discovered, that the governor was one of those men, who love to oblige every body, and who substitute the most liberal professions and offers in the place of active, substantial kindness. Arriving in London in 1724, he was obliged to seek employment as a journeyman printer. He lived so economically, that he saved a great part of his wages. Instead of drinking six pints of beer in a day, like some of his fellow labourers, he drank only water, and he persuaded some of them to renounce the extravagance of eating bread and cheese for breakfast, and to procure a cheap soup. As his principles at this time were very loose, his zeal to enlighten the world induced him to publish his dissertation on liberty and necessity, in which he contended that virtue and vice were nothing more than vain distinctions. This work procured him the acquaintance of Mandeville, and others of the licentious class.

He returned to Philadelphia in October, 1726, as a clerk to Mr. Denham, a merchant, but the death of that gentleman in the following year, induced him to return to Mr. Keimer, in the capacity of foreman in his office. He was very useful to his employer, for he gave him assistance as a letter founder. He engraved various ornaments, and made printer's ink. He soon began business in partnership with Mr. Meredith, but in 1729, he dissolved the connexion with him. Having purchased of Keimer a paper, which had been conducted in a wretched manner, he now conducted it in a style which attracted much attention. At this time, though destitute of those religious principles, which give stability and elevation to virtue, he yet had discernment enough to be convinced,

that truth, probity, and sincerity, would promote his interest, and be useful to him in the world, and he resolved to respect them in his conduct. The expenses of his establishment in business, notwithstanding his industry and economy, brought him into embarrassments, from which he was relieved by the generous assistance of William Coleman and Robert Grace. In addition to his other employments, he now opened a small stationer's shop. But the claims of business did not extinguish his taste for literature and science. He formed a club, which he called "The Junto," composed of the most intelligent of his acquaintance. Questions of morality, politics, philosophy, were discussed every Friday evening, and the institution was continued almost forty years. As books were frequently quoted in the club, and as the members had brought their books together for mutual advantage, he was led to form the plan of a public library, which was carried into effect in 1731, and became the foundation of that noble institution, the present library company of Philadelphia. In 1732, he began to publish Poor Richard's Almanac, which was enriched with maxims of frugality, temperance, industry, and integrity. So great was its reputation, that he sold ten thousand annually, and it was continued by him about twenty-five years. The maxims were collected in the last almanac in the form of an address called the Way to Wealth, which has appeared in various publications. In 1736, he was appointed clerk of the general assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1737, postmaster of Philadelphia. The first fire company was formed by him in 1738. When the frontier of Pennsylvania were endangered in 1744, and an ineffectual attempt was made to procure a militia law, he proposed a voluntary association for the defence of the province, and in a short time obtained ten thousand names. In 1747, he was chosen a member of the assembly, and continued in this station ten years. In all important discussions, his presence was considered as indispensable. He seldom spoke, and never exhibited any oratory; but by a single observation he sometimes determined the fate of a question. In the long controversies with the proprietaries or their governors, he took the most active part, and displayed a firm spirit of liberty.

He was now engaged for a number of years in a course of electrical experiments, of which he published an account. His great discovery was the identity of the electric fluid and lightning. This discovery he made in the summer of 1752. To the upright stick of a kite, he attached an iron point; the string was of hemp, excepting the part which he held in his hand, which was of silk; and a key was fastened where the hempen string terminated. With this apparatus, on the approach of a thunder storm, he raised his kite. A cloud passed over it, and no signs of electricity appearing, he began to despair; but observing the loose fibres of his string to move suddenly toward an erect position, he presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. The success of this experiment completely established his theory. The practical use of this discovery in securing houses from lightning by pointed conductors, is well known in America and Europe. In 1753, he was appointed deputy postmaster general of the British colonies, and in the same year, the academy of Philadelphia, projected by him, was established. In 1754, he was one of the commissioners, who attended the congress at Albany, to devise the best means of defending the country against the French. He drew up a plan of union for defence and general government, which was adopted by the congress. It was however rejected by the board of trade in England, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people: and it was rejected by the assemblies of the colonies, because it gave too much power to the president general. After the defeat of Braddock he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and he repaired to the frontiers, and built a fort.

Higher employments, however, at length called him from his country, which he was destined to

serve more effectually as its agent in England, whither he was sent in 1757. The stamp act, by which the British ministry wished to familiarize the Americans to pay taxes to the mother country, revived that love of liberty which had led their forefathers to a country at that time a desert; and the colonies formed a Congress, the first idea of which had been communicated to them by Dr. Franklin, at the conferences at Albany, in 1754. The war that was just terminated, and the exertions made by them to support it, had given them a conviction of their strength; they opposed this measure, and the minister gave way, but he reserved the means of renewing the attempt. Once cautioned, however, they remained on their guard; liberty, cherished by their alarms, took deeper root; and the rapid circulation of ideas by means of newspapers, for the introduction of which, they were indebted to the printer of Philadelphia, united them together to resist every fresh enterprise. In the year 1766, this printer, called to the bar of the house of commons, underwent that famous interrogatory, which placed the name of Franklin as high in politics, as in natural philosophy. From that time he defended the cause of America, with a firmness and moderation becoming a great man, pointing out to the ministry all the errors they committed, and the consequences they would produce, till the period when, the tax on tea meeting the same opposition as the stamp act had done, England blindly fancied herself capable of subjecting, by force, three million of men determined to be free, at a distance of one thousand leagues.

In 1796, he visited Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention from men of science. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the waterman, the effect which the diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led to make a number of experiments, all of which tended to confirm the observation.

In the following year, he travelled into France, where he met with no less favourable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the king, Louis XV.

He returned to America, and arrived in Philadelphia in the beginning of May, 1775, and was received with all those marks of esteem and affection, which his eminent services merited. The day after his arrival he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress.

Almost immediately on his arrival from England, he wrote letters to some of his friends in that country, in a strain fitted to inspire lofty ideas of the virtue, resolution, and resource of the colonies. "All America," said he to Dr. Priestley, "is exasperated, and more firmly united than ever. Great frugality and great industry are become fashionable here. Britain, I conclude, has lost her colonies for ever. She is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall ever detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence. If you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. You will have heard, before this reaches you, of the defeat of a great body of your troops by the country people at Lexington, of the action at Bunker's hill, &c. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign. During the same time, sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data, the mathematical head of our dear good friend, Dr. Price, will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. Tell him, as he sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous."

It was in this varied tone of exultation, resent-

ment, and defiance, that he privately communicated with Europe. The strain of the papers respecting the British government and nation, which he prepared for Congress, was deemed by his colleagues too indignant and vituperative; to such a pitch were his feelings excited by the injuries and sufferings of his country, and so anxious was he that the strongest impetus should be given to the national spirit. His anger and his abhorrence were real; they endured without abatement during the whole continuance of the system which provoked them; they wore a complexion which rendered it impossible to mistake them for the offspring of personal pique or constitutional irritability; they had a vindictive power, a corrosive energy, proportioned to the weight of his character, and the dignity of the sentiments from which they sprang.

It was in this year that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion, Mr. Strahan, then king's printer, and member of the British parliament, of which the following is a correct copy, and of which a fac-simile is given in the last and most correct addition of his works:

Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.

MR. STRAHAN,

You are a member of parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction.—You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people.—Look upon your hands!—They are stained with the blood of your relations! You and I were long friends!—You are now my enemy, and I am, Yours,

B. FRANKLIN.

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by Congress, jointly with Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the commander in chief, (General Washington,) to endeavour to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was afterwards sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavour to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.

It was directed that a printing apparatus, and hands competent to print in French and English, should accompany this mission. Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred could read. Dr. Franklin was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, and suggested, that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

He was, in 1776, appointed a committee, with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to inquire into the powers with which lord Howe was invested in regard to the adjustment of our differences with Great Britain. When his lordship expressed his concern at being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded, Dr. Franklin assured him, that the Americans, out of reciprocal regard, would endeavour to lessen, as much as possible, the pain which he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves. In the discussion of the great question of independence, he was decidedly in favour of the measure.

In July, 1776, he was called to add to his federal duties, those of president of a convention held at Philadelphia, for the purpose of giving a new constitution to the state of Pennsylvania. The unbounded confidence reposed in his sagacity and wisdom, induced the convention to adopt his favourite theory of a plural executive and single legislature, which the experience of modern times has justly brought into disrepute. It may be said to be the only instance in which he cherished a speculation that experiment would not confirm.

Franklin early conjectured that it would become necessary for America to apply to some foreign power for assistance. To prepare the way for this step, and ascertain the probability of its success, he had, towards the close of 1775, opened, under the sanction of Congress, a correspondence with Holland, which he managed with admirable judgment, as may be perceived by his letter to Mr. Dumas, of Amsterdam of December, 1776, contained in the fifth volume of the American edition of his works. When at the end of 1776, our affairs had assumed so threatening an aspect, the hopes of Congress were naturally turned to Europe, and to France particularly, the inveterate and most powerful rival of England. Every eye rested on Franklin as a providential instrument for sustaining the American cause abroad; and though he had repeatedly signified from London, his determination to revisit Europe no more, yet, having consecrated himself anew to the pursuit of national independence, he accepted without hesitation, in his seventy-first year, the appointment of commissioner plenipotentiary to the court of France.

He wished, partly with a view to protect his person, in case of capture on the voyage across the Atlantic, to carry with him propositions for peace with England, and submitted to the secret committee of Congress, a series of articles, which his grandson has published. We are especially struck with that one of them which asks the cession to the United States, of Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, &c.; and the explanation annexed to the article by this long sighted statesman, is not a little remarkable. "It is worth our while to offer such a sum — for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term of years allowed for their payment, it will be to the whole United States a mere trifle." Who does not, on reading this passage, recollect with gratitude, and feel disposed to honour as a master-stroke, the purchase of Louisiana, accomplished by Franklin's successor in the mission to France?

In the month of October, 1776, our philosopher set sail on this eventful mission, having first deposited in the hands of Congress, all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, as a demonstration of his confidence in their cause, and an incentive for those who might be able to assist it in the same way. His passage to France was short, but extremely boisterous. During some part of the month of December, he remained at the country seat of an opulent friend of America, in the neighbourhood of Nantz, in order to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, and to ascertain the posture of American affairs at Paris, before he approached that capital. With his usual sound discretion he forebore to assume, at the moment, any public character, that he might not embarrass the court which it was his province to conciliate, nor subject the mission to the hazard of a disgraceful repulse.

From the civilities with which he was loaded by the gentry of Nantz, and the surrounding country, and the lively satisfaction with which they appeared to view his supposed errand, he drew auguries that animated him in the discharge of his first duties at Paris. The reception given to him and his colleagues, by M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, at the private audience to which they were admitted, towards the end of December, was of a nature to strengthen his patriotic hopes, and eminently to gratify his personal feelings. The particular policy of the French cabinet did not admit, at this period, of a formal recognition of the American commissioners. Franklin abstained from pressing a measure for which circumstances were not ripe, but urged, without delay, in an argumentative memorial, the prayer of Congress for substantial succours.

History presents no other case in which the interests of a people abroad derived so much essential, direct aid from the auspices of an individual; there is no other instance of a concurrence of qualities in a national missionary, so full and opportune. Foreign assistance had become, as it was thought, indispensable for the rescue of the colonies: France was the only sufficient auxiliary; and by her intervention, and the influences of her capital, alone, could any countenance or supplies be expected from any other European power. Her court, though naturally anxious for the dismemberment of the British empire, shrunk from the risks of a war; and could be prevented from stagnating in irresolution only by a strong current of public opinion: Her people, already touched by the causes and motives of the colonial struggle, required, however, some striking, immediate circumstance, to be excited to a clamorous sympathy. It was from Paris, that the impulse necessary to foster and fructify this useful enthusiasm was to be received, as well by the whole European continent, as by the mass of the French nation. At the time when Franklin appeared in Paris, the men of letters and of science possessed a remarkable ascendancy over all movement and judgment; they gave the tone to general opinion, and contributed to decide ministerial policy. Fashion, too, had no inconsiderable share in moulding public sentiment, and regulating events; and at this epoch, beyond any other, it was determined, and liable to be kindled into passion, by anamalous, or fanciful external appearances, however trivial in themselves, and moral associations of an elevated or romantic cast.

Observing the predilection of the people of France for the American cause, the rapid diffusion of a lively sympathy over the whole continent, the devotion of the literary and fashionable circles of Paris to his objects, the diligent preparations for war made daily in France, and the frozen mein of all the continental powers towards Great Britain, Franklin did not allow himself to be discouraged by the reserve of the court of Versailles; and, in order to counteract its natural effect, and that of other adverse appearances upon the resolution of his countrymen, he emphatically depicted those circumstances in his correspondence with America; adding, at the same time, accounts of the domestic embarrassments, and growing despair of the enemy.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France in October, 1777, and produced there an explosion of public opinion, he seized upon the auspicious crisis, to make his decisive effort, by urging the most persuasive motives for a formal recognition and alliance. The epoch of the treaty concluded with the court of Versailles, on the 6th of February, 1778, is one of the most splendid in his dazzling career.

In conjunction with Mr. John Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, he signed the provisional articles of peace, Nov. 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty, September 30, 1783. While he was in France, he was appointed one of the commissioners to examine Mesmer's animal magnetism. In 1781, being desirous of returning to his native country, he requested that an ambassador might be appointed in his place, and on the arrival of his successor, Mr. Jefferson, he immediately sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived in September, 1785. He was received with universal applause, and was soon appointed president of the supreme executive council. In 1787, he was a delegate to the grand convention, which formed the constitution of the United States. In this convention he had differed in some points from the majority, but when the articles were ultimately decreed, he said to his colleagues, "We ought to have but one opinion; the good of our country requires that the resolution should be unanimous;" and he signed.

On the 17th of April, 1790, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he expired, in the city of Philadelphia; encountering this last solemn conflict, with the same philosophical tranquility and pious resignation to the will of heaven, which had dis-

tinguished him through all the various events of his life.

He was interred on the 21st of April, and Congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief was scarcely less enthusiastic. There the event was solemnized, under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations, and the national assembly, his death being announced in a very eloquent, and pathetic discourse, decreed, that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event;" and that a letter of condolence, for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American congress. Honours extremely glorious to his memory, and such, it has been remarked, as were never before paid by any public body of one nation, to the citizen of another.

He lies buried in the north-west corner of Christ church-yard; distinguished from the surrounding dead, by the humility of his sepulchre. He is covered by a small marble slab, on a level with the surface of the earth; and bearing the single inscription of his name, with that of his wife. A monument sufficiently corresponding to the plainness of his manners, little suitable to the splendour of his virtues.

He had two children, a son and a daughter, and several grand-children, who survived him. The son, who had been governor of New Jersey, under the British government, adhered, during the revolution, to the royal party, and spent the remainder of his life in England. The daughter married Mr. Bache, of Philadelphia, whose descendants yet reside in that city.

Franklin enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, a healthy constitution, and excelled in exercises of strength and activity. In stature, he was above the middle size, manly, athletic, and well proportioned. His countenance, as it is represented in his portrait, is distinguished by an air of serenity and satisfaction; the natural consequences of a vigorous temperament, of strength of mind, and conscience's integrity: It is also marked, in visible characters, by deep thought and inflexible resolution.

The whole life of Franklin, his meditations and his labours, have all been directed to public utility; but the grand object that he had always in view, did not shut his heart against private friendship; he loved his family, and his friends, and was extremely beneficent. In society he was sententious, but not fluent; a listener rather than a talker; an informing rather than a pleasing companion; impatient of interruption, he often mentioned the custom of the Indians, who always remain silent some time before they give an answer to a question, which they have heard attentively; unlike some of the politest societies in Europe, where a sentence can scarcely be finished without interruption. In the midst of his greatest occupations for the liberty of his country, he had some physical experiments always near him in his closet; and the sciences, which he rather discovered than studied, afforded him a continual source of pleasure. He made various bequests and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals.

The following epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin, for himself, when he was only twenty-three years of age, as appears by the original (with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy.

"The body of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
PRINTER,

(Like the cover of an old book.

Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding.)

Lies here, food for worms:

But the work shall not be lost,

For it will (as he believed) appear once more,

In a new, and more elegant edition,

Revised and corrected

by

THE AUTHOR."}]

Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, on the 28th opened their business in a private audience with Count de Vergennes. The congress could not have applied to the court of France under more favourable circumstances. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with the desire of rendering his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had grown old in the habits of government, and was convinced that conquests are neither the surest nor the shortest way to substantial fame. He knew full well that no success in war, however brilliant, could so effectually promote the security of France, as the emancipation of the colonies of her ancient rival. He had the superior wisdom to discern, that there were no present advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits which were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantages of the humble situation of the invaded colonies, he aimed at nothing more than, by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the separation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his sovereign had much to fear.

Truly difficult was the line of conduct, which the real interest of the nation required of the ministers of his Most Christian Majesty. A haughty reserve would have discouraged the Americans. An open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with their colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore pursued. Whilst the French government (1777) prohibited, threatened, and even punished the Americans; private persons encouraged, supplied, and supported them. Prudence, as well as policy required, that France should not be over-hasty, in openly espousing their cause. She was by no means fit for war. From the state of her navy, and the condition of her foreign trade, she was vulnerable on every side. Her trading people dreaded the thoughts of a war with Great Britain, as they would thereby be exposed to great losses. These considerations were strengthened from another quarter. The peace of Europe was supposed to be unstable, from a prevailing belief, that the speedy death of the elector of Bavaria was an event extremely probable. But the principal reason which induced a delay, was an opinion that the dispute between the mother country and the colonies would be compromised. Within the thirteen years immediately preceding, twice had the contested claims of the two countries brought matters to the verge of extremity. Twice had the guardian genius of both interposed, and reunited them in the bonds of love and affection. It was feared by the sagacious ministry of France, that the present rupture would terminate in the same manner. These wise observers of human nature apprehended, that their too early interference would favour a reconciliation, and that the reconciled parties would direct their united force against the French, as the disturbers of their domestic tranquility. It had not yet entered into the hearts of the French nation, that it was possible for the British American colonists, to join with their ancient enemies against their late friends.

At this period, Congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subvert this design, they resolved that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and fit for war in the French ports, any number of vessels, not exceeding six, at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property; provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect; and in the year 1777, marine officers, with Ameri-

can commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly; but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority, to please the English; but they were oftener censored from another quarter, to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of his most Christian Majesty to accept the treaty proposed by Congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France; but were from time to time informed, that the important transactions required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776, till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discountenance were alternated; but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long Island, the reduction of New York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans, in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground. Their enmity had proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendship became desirable to France. Having helped themselves, they found it less difficult to obtain help from others. The same interest, which hitherto had directed the court of France to a temporising policy, now required decisive conduct. Previous delay had favoured the dismemberment of the empire; but farther procrastination bid fair to promote at least such a federal alliance of the disjointed parts of the British empire, as would be no less hostile to the interests of France, than a re-union of its several parts. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December, 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had gotten power in their hands, but of the great body of the people; and was likely to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause.

The commissioners of Congress on the 16th December, 1777, were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them; that in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation, to obtain terms which otherwise, it would not be convenient for them to agree to; that his Most Christian Majesty desired the treaty once made should be durable, and their amity to subsist forever, which could not be expected, if each nation did not find an interest in its continuance, as well as in its commencement. It was therefore intended, that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new formed states would be willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fullness of strength and power, and such as they should approve when that time should come; that his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence; that in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war; yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account. Nor was it pretended that he acted wholly for their sakes, since besides his real good will to them, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished,

by the separation of the colonies from its government. The only condition he should require, and rely on, would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previously to the 16th of December, 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Mr. Gerard, his most christian majesty Louis the 16th, on the 6th of February, 1778, entered into treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. By the latter of these, that illustrious monarch became the guarantee of their sovereignty, independence and commerce. On a review of the conduct of the French ministry, to the Americans, the former appear to have acted uniformly from a wise regard to national interest. Any line of conduct, different from that which they adopted, might have overset the measures which they wished to establish. Had they pretended to act from disinterested principles of generosity to the distressed, the known selfishness of human nature would have contradicted the extravagant pretension. By avowing the real motive of their conduct, they furnished such a proof of candour as begat confidence.

The terms of reciprocity, on which they contracted with the United States, were no less recommended by wise policy than dictated by true magnanimity. As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages for future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should, by the subversion of their independence, be again monopolised by Great Britain, or, by the establishment of it, laid open on equal terms to all the world.

In national events, the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general, and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled: but as great a tribute is due to the statesman, who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory, in a particular manner, belongs to the count de Vergennes, who, as his Most Christian Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties. While the ministers of his Britannic Majesty were pleasing themselves with the flattering idea of permanent peace in Europe, they were not less surprised than provoked by hearing of the alliance, which had taken place between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States. This event, though often foretold, was disbelieved. The zeal of the British ministry to reduce the colonies, blinded them to danger from every other quarter. Forgetting that interest governs public bodies, perhaps more than private persons, they supposed that feeble motives would outweigh its all-commanding influence. Intent on carrying into execution the object of their wishes, they fancied that, because France and Spain had colonies of their own, they would refrain from aiding or abetting the revolted British colonies, from the fear of establishing a precedent which at a future day might operate against themselves. Transported with indignation against their late fellow subjects, they were so infatuated with the American war, as to suppose that trifling evils, both distant and uncertain would induce the court of France to neglect an opportunity of securing great and immediate advantages.

How far this interference of the court of France can be justified by the laws of nations, it is not the province of history to decide. Measures of this kind are not determined by abstract reasoning. The present feelings of a nation, and the probable consequences of loss or gain, influence more than the decisions of speculative men. Suffice it to mention, that the French exculpated themselves from the heavy charges brought against them, by this summary mode of reasoning: "We have found," said they, "the late colonies of Great Britain in actual possession of independence, and in the exercise of the prerogatives of sovereignty. It is not our business to inquire, whether they had, or had not, sufficient reason to withdraw themselves from the government of Great Britain, and to erect an independent one of their own. We are to conduct towards nations, agreeably to the political state in which we find them, without investigating how they acquired it. Observing them to be independent in fact, we were bound to suppose they were so of right, and had the same liberty to make treaties with them, as with any other sovereign power." They also alleged, that Great Britain could not complain of their interference, since she had set them the example only a few years before, in supporting the Corsicans in opposition to the court of France. They had besides many well-founded complaints against the British, whose armed vessels had for months past harassed their commerce, on the idea of preventing an illicit trade with the revolted colonies.

The marquis de la Fayette, whose letters to France had a considerable share in preparing the nation to patronise the United States, was among the first in the American army who received the welcome tidings of the treaty. In a transport of joy, mingled with an effusion of tears, he embraced General Washington, exclaiming, "the king my master has acknowledged your independence, and entered into an alliance with you for its establishment." The heart-felt joy, which spread from breast to breast, exceeded description. The several brigades assembled by order of the commander in chief. Their chaplains offered up public thanks to Almighty God, and delivered discourses suitable to the occasion. A feu-de-joie was fired, and, on a proper signal being given, the air resounded with huzzas. "Long live the king of France," poured forth from the breast of every private in the army. The Americans, having in their own strength for three years weathered the storms of war, fancied the port of peace to be in full view. Replete with the sanguine hopes of vigorous youth, they presumed that Britain, whose northern army had been reduced by their sole exertions, would not continue the unequal contest with the combined force of France and America. Overvaluing their own importance and undervaluing the resources of their adversaries, they were tempted to indulge a dangerous confidence. That they might not be lulled into carelessness, Congress made an animated address to them, in which, after reviewing the leading features of the war, they informed them: "They must yet expect a severe conflict; that though foreign alliances secured their independence, they could not secure their country from devastation."

The alliance between France and America had not been concluded three days, before it was known to the British ministry; and in less than five weeks more, March 13th, it was officially communicated to the court of London, in a rescript, delivered by the French ambassador, to lord Weymouth. In this new situation of affairs, there were some in Great Britain who advocated the measure of peace with America, on the footing of independence; but the point of honour, which had before precipitated the nation into the war, predominated over the voice of prudence and interest. The king and parliament of Great Britain resolved to punish the French nation for treating with their subjects, which they termed "an unprovoked aggression on the honour of the crown, and essential interests of the kingdom." And at the same time, a vain hope was indulged, that the alliance

between France and the United States, which was supposed to have originated in passion, might be dissolved. The national prejudices against the French, had been so instilled into the minds of Englishmen, and of their American descendants, that it was supposed practicable, by negotiations and concessions, to detach the United States from their new alliance, and re-unite them to the parent state.

Eleven days after the treaty between France and America had been concluded, 17th February, the British minister introduced into the house of commons a project for conciliation, founded on the idea of obtaining a re-union of the new states with Great Britain. This consisted of two bills, with the following titles: "A bill for declaring the institution of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within his majesty's colonies, provinces and plantations in North America;" and a bill "to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers, to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North America." These bills were hurried through both houses of parliament, and before they passed into acts, were copied and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and General Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to congress at Yorktown. When they were received, 21st April, congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received: but all the letters therein were taken out, before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank papers put in their stead. A committee of Congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the following day, and was unanimously adopted. By it they rejected the proposals of Great Britain.

The vigorous and firm language in which Congress expressed their rejection of these offers considered in connexion with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, Congress trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public. Their report, after some general remarks, on the bill, concluded as follows:

"From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills were intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable issue; that they are the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the stamp act, down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed; and that, as in other cases, so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination, which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

"Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities, and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested must derive its success from the continuance

of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

"And farther, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said states.

"And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these states to lull them into a fatal security; to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several states be called upon to use the most strenuous exertions, to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said states be held in readiness to act, as occasion may require."

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negotiation, on the subject. They requested General Washington, on the 9th of June, to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to Congress; but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by Congress. They then forwarded, in the usual channel of communication, a letter addressed, "To his Excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other the members of Congress," in which they communicated a copy of their commission, and of the acts of parliament, on which it was founded; and they offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes:—

To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land;

To restore free intercourse; to revive mutual affection; and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire;

To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require;

To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general Congress, or particular assemblies;

To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation;

To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed;

In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state; to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment; and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege, that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. President Laurens, therefore, by order of Congress, on the 27th of June, returned the following answer:

"I have received the letter from your excellen-

cies, of the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and greatly ally of these states; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

"The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

"I am farther directed to inform your excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

Though Congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these Gouverneur Morris and William Henry Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

As the British plan for conciliation was wholly founded on the idea of the states returning to their allegiance, it was no sooner known than rejected. In addition to the sacred ties of plighted faith and national engagements, the leaders in Congress and the legislative assemblies in America had tasted the sweets of power, and were in full possession of its blessings, with a fair prospect of retaining them without any foreign control: The war, having originated on the part of Great Britain from a lust of power, had in its progress compelled the Americans in self-defence to assume and exercise its highest prerogatives. The passions of human nature, which induced the former to claim power, operated no less forcibly with the latter, against the relinquishment of it. After the colonies had declared themselves independent states, had repeatedly pledged their honour to abide by that declaration, had under the smiles of heaven maintained it for three campaigns without foreign aid, after the greatest monarch in Europe had entered into a treaty with them, and guaranteed their independence: after all this to expect popular leaders, in the enjoyment of power, voluntarily to retire from the helm of government, to the languid indifference of private life, and while they violated national faith, at the same time to depress their country from the rank of sovereign states to that of dependent provinces, was not more repugnant to universal experience, than to the governing principles of the human heart.

The high-spirited ardour of citizens in the youthful vigour of honour and dignity, did not so much as inquire, whether greater political happiness might be expected from closing with the proposals of Great Britain, or by adhering to their new allies. Honour forbade any balancing on the subject; nor were its dictates disobeyed. Though peace was desirable, and the offers of Great Britain so liberal, that, if proposed in due time, they would have been acceptable; yet for the Americans, after they had declared themselves independent, and at their own solicitation obtained the aid of France, to desert their new allies, and leave them exposed to British resentment, incurred on their account, would have argued a total want of honour and gratitude. The folly of Great Britain, in expecting such conduct from virtuous freemen, could only be exceeded by the baseness of America, had her citizens realised that expectation.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the congress was sup-

ported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to re-unite with Great Britain. The latter of these assertions was true, till a certain period of the contest: but that period was elapsed. With their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. The narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that, by perseverance, an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negotiation with Congress in a letter of the 11th of July. As they had been informed, in answer to their preceding letter of the 10th of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by Congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, Governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent, by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of Congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words:

"DEAR SIR,

"I beg to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning, and Mr. Oswald, request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

"If you should follow the example of Britain, in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope, from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out."

The following answer was immediately written:

"York Town, June 14, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

"Yesterday, I was honoured with your favour of the 10th, and thank you for the transmission of those from my dear and worthy friends, Mr. Oswald and Mr. Manning. Had Dr. Ferguson been the bearer of these papers, I should have shown that gentleman every degree of respect and attention, that times and circumstances admit of.

"It is, sir, for Great Britain to determine, whether her commissioners shall return unheard by the representatives of the United States, or revive a friendship with the citizens at large, and remain among us as long as they please.

"You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end; terms from which, although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts, and that, from the rage of war, the good people of these states shall be driven to commence a treaty westward of yonder mountains. And permit me to add, sir, as my humble opinion, the true interest of Great Britain, in the present advance of our contest, will be found in confirming our independence.

"Congress in no hour have been haughty; but to suppose that their minds are less firm at the present, than they were when destitute of all foreign aid, and even without expectation of an alliance; when upon a day of general public fasting and humiliation in their house of worship, and in presence of God, they resolved, 'to hold no conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of these states,' would be irrational.

"At a proper time, sir, I shall think myself highly honoured by a personal attention, and by contributing to render every part of these states agreeable to you; but until the basis of mutual confidence shall be established, I believe, sir, neither former private friendship, nor any other consideration can influence Congress to consent, that even Governor Johnstone, a gentleman who has been so deservedly esteemed in America, shall see the country. I have but one voice, and that shall be against it. But let me intreat you, my dear sir, do not hence conclude that I am deficient in affection to my old friends, through whose kindness I have obtained the honour of the present correspondence, or that I am not, with very great personal respect and esteem,

"Sir, your most obedient,

"And most humble servant,

"HENRY LAURENS.

"The honourable Geo. JOHNSTONE, Esq.

"Philadelphia."

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of April the 11th, Governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the 16th of June, he wrote to Robert Morris: "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk. And, I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the president have a right to every favour, that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, on the 21st June, that it had been intended by Governor Johnstone, to offer him, that in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a re-union of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies, within his majesty's gift. To which Mr. Reed replied: "I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress on the 9th July, ordered all letters, received by members of Congress from any of the British commissioner, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, Congress resolved; "that the same cannot but be considered, as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of Congress, to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esquire; especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons, was expressed expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New York. This was answered by Governor Johnstone, by an angry publication, in which he denied, or explained away

what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden denied having any knowledge of the matter charged on Governor Johnstone.

The commissioners, failing in their attempts to negotiate with Congress, had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct, counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation addressed to Congress, the assemblies, and all others, the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed; "The policy as well as the benevolence of Great Britain have so far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage; but when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy, or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances, the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies shall become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared that the agents, employed to distribute the manifestos and proclamation of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody; but that they might not appear to hood-wink their constituents, they ordered the manifestos and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by Congress. In some places, the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart; in others, they were received and forwarded to Congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, Congress, on the 30th of October, published to the world a resolution and manifesto, in which they concluded with these words:

"We, therefore, the Congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that, if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that, as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger and revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the way of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with wrong measures, and had now got into wrong time. Her concessions, on this occasion, were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies, than this unsuccessful negotiation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that, by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great Britain, would be secured beyond the reach of accident.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Campaign of 1778.

AFTER the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley Forge. The former enjoyed (1778) all the conveniences which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were enduring the severity of a cold winter in a hutted camp. It was well for them, that the British made no attempt to disturb them, while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon afterwards, an excursion from Newport was made by 500 British and Hessians, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. These, having landed in the night of the 25th of May, marched next morning in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for Kickemuit river. They destroyed about 70 flat bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar and plank. They also set fire to the meeting house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol, they burned the church and 22 houses. Several other houses were plundered; and women were stripped of their shoe-buckles, gold rings and handkerchiefs.

A French squadron, consisting of 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates, commanded by Count D'Estaing, sailed from Toulon for America, soon after the treaty had been agreed upon between the United States and the king of France. After a passage of 87 days, the count arrived July 9th, at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain, forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement; but knew nothing of the matter. It had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations; but it was indispensably necessary, for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either, would have been scarcely possible.

The royal army, on the 18th of June, passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey. Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached General Maxwell's brigade, to co-operate with the Jersey militia, for obstructing their progress. The British were incumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army, having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under Colonel Morgan, to reinforce General Maxwell. Washington halted his troops when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers, in the American army, seventeen in number, being asked by the commander in chief: "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" fifteen of them answered in the negative; but recommended a detachment of 1500 men, to be immediately sent, to act as occasion might serve, on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under General Scott.

When Sir Henry Clinton had advanced to Allentown, he determined, instead of keeping the direct course towards Staten Island, to draw towards the sea coast, and to push on towards Sandy Hook. General Washington, on receiving intelligence

that Sir Henry was proceeding in that direction, towards Monmouth court-house, despatched 1000 men under General Wayne, and sent the Marquis de la Fayette to take command of the whole advanced corps, with orders to seize the first fair opportunity of attacking the enemy's rear. General Lee, who, having been lately exchanged, had joined the army, was offered this command; but he declined it, as he was in principle against hazarding an attack. The whole army followed at a proper distance, for supporting the advanced corps, and reached Cranberry the next morning. Sir Henry Clinton, sensible of the approach of the Americans, placed his grenadiers, light infantry and chasseurs in his rear, and his baggage in his front.

General Washington increased his advanced corps with two brigades, and sent General Lee, who now wished for the command, to take charge of the whole; and followed with the main army to give it support. On the next morning, orders were sent to Lee, to move on and attack, unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary. When Washington had marched about five miles to support the advanced corps, he found the whole of it retreating by Lee's orders, and without having made any opposition of consequence. Washington rode up to Lee, and proposed certain questions to him, which implied censure. Lee answered with warmth and unsuitable language. The commander in chief ordered Colonel Stewart's and lieutenant colonel Ramsay's battalions to form on a piece of ground, which he judged suitable for giving a check to the advancing enemy. Lee was then asked, if he would command on that ground; to which he consented, and was ordered to take proper measures for checking the enemy: to which he replied, "your orders shall be obeyed, and I will not be the first to leave the field." Washington then rode to the main army, which was formed with the utmost expedition.

[CHARLES LEE, a major general in the army of the United States, was born in Wales and was the son of John Lee, a colonel in the British service. He entered the army at a very early age; but though he possessed a military spirit, he was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge. He acquired a competent skill in Greek and Latin, while his fondness for travelling made him acquainted with the Italian, Spanish, German, and French languages. In 1756 he came to America, and was engaged in the attack upon Ticonderoga in July 1758, when Abercrombie was defeated. In 1762 he bore a colonel's commission, and served under Burgoyne in Portugal, where he much distinguished himself. Not long afterwards he entered into the Polish service. Though he was absent when the stamp act passed, he yet by his letters zealously supported the cause of America. In the years 1771, 1772, and 1773 he rambled over all Europe. During this excursion he was engaged with an officer in Italy in an affair of honour, and he murdered his antagonist, escaping himself with the loss of two fingers. Having lost the favour of the ministry and the hopes of promotion in consequence of his political sentiments, he came to America in Nov. 1773. He travelled through the country, animating the colonies to resistance. In 1774 he was induced by the persuasion of his friend, General Gates, to purchase a valuable tract of land of two or three thousand acres in Berkeley county, Virginia. Here he resided till the following year, when he resigned a commission, which he held in the British service, and accepted a commission from Congress, appointing him major general. He accompanied Washington to the camp at Cambridge, where he arrived, July 2, 1775, and was received with every mark of respect. In the beginning of the following year he was despatched to New York to prevent the British from obtaining possession of the city and the Hudson. This trust he executed with great wisdom and energy. He disarmed all suspicious persons on Long Island, and drew up a test to be offered to every one, whose attachment to the American cause was doubted. His bold measures carried terror wherever he appeared. He seems to

have been very fond of this application of a test; for in a letter to the president of Congress he informs him, that he had taken the liberty at Newport to administer to a number of the tories a very strong oath, one article of which was, that they should take arms in defence of their country, if called upon by Congress, and he recommends, that this measure should be adopted in reference to all the tories in America. Those fanatics, who might refuse to take it he thought should be carried into the interior. Being sent into the southern colonies, as commander of all the forces, which should there be raised, he diffused an ardour among the soldiers, which was attended by the most salutary consequences. In Oct. by the direction of Congress he repaired to the northern army. As he was marching from the Hudson through New Jersey to form a junction with Washington in Pennsylvania, he quitted his camp in Morris county to reconnoitre. In this employment he went to the distance of three miles from the camp and entered a house for breakfast. A British colonel became acquainted with his situation by intercepting a countryman, charged with a letter from him, and was enabled to take him prisoner. He was instantly mounted on a horse without his cloak and hat, and carried safely to New York. He was detained till April or May 1778, when he was exchanged for General Prescott, taken at Newport: He was very soon engaged in the battle of Monmouth. Being detached by the commander in chief to make an attack upon the rear of the enemy, Washington was pressing forward to support him June 28th, when to his astonishment he found him retreating without having made a single effort to maintain his ground. Meeting him in these circumstances, without any previous notice of his plans, Washington, addressed him in terms of some warmth. Lee, being ordered to check the enemy, conducted himself with his usual bravery, and, when forced from the ground on which he had been placed, brought off his troops in good order. But his haughty temper could not brook the indignity, which he believed to have been offered him on the field of battle, and he addressed a letter to Washington, requiring reparation for the injury. He was on the 30th arrested for disobedience of orders, for misbehaviour before the enemy, and for disrespect to the commander in chief. Of these charges he was found guilty by a court martial, at which lord Stirling presided, and he was sentenced to be suspended for one year. He defended himself with his accustomed ability, and his retreat seems to be justified from the circumstance of his having advanced upon an enemy, whose strength was much greater, than was apprehended, and from his being in a situation with a morass in his rear, which would preclude him from a retreat, if the British should have proved victorious. But his disrespectful letters to the commander in chief it is not easy to justify. His suspension gave general satisfaction to the army, for he was suspected of aiming himself at the supreme command. After the result of his trial was confirmed by Congress in January 1780, he retired to his estate in Berkeley county, where he lived in a style peculiar to himself. Glass windows and plaster would have been extravagances in his house. Though he had for his companions a few select authors and his dogs; yet, as he found his situation too solitary and irksome, he sold his farm in the fall of 1782, that in a different abode he might enjoy the conversation of mankind. He went to Philadelphia and took lodgings in an inn. After being three or four days in the city he was seized with a fever, which terminated his life Oct. 2, 1782. The last words, which he uttered, were, "stand by me, my brave grenadiers."

In his person General Lee was rather above the middle size, and his remarkable aquiline nose rendered his face somewhat disagreeable. He was master of a most genteel address, but was rude in his manners and excessively negligent in his appearance and behaviour. His appetite was so whimsical, that he was every where a most troublesome guest. Two or three dogs usually

followed him wherever he went. As an officer he was brave and able, and did much towards disciplining the American army. With vigorous powers of mind and a brilliant fancy he was a correct and elegant classical scholar, and he both wrote and spoke his native language with propriety, force, and beauty. His temper was severe. The history of his life, is little else than the history of disputes, quarrels, and duels in every part of the world. He was vindictive, avaricious, immoral, impious, and profane. His principles, as would be expected from his character, were most abandoned, and he ridiculed every tenet of religion. He published about the year 1760 a pamphlet on the importance of retaining Canada. After his death, memoirs of his life, with his essays and letters, were published, 12mo. 1792. Lee's memoirs.]

A warm cannonade immediately commenced between the British and American artillery, and a heavy firing between the advanced troops of the British army, and the two battalions which General Washington had halted. These stood their ground, till they were intermixed with a part of the British army. Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay, the commander of one of them, was wounded and taken prisoner. General Lee continued till the last on the field of battle, and brought off the rear of the retreating troops.

The check the British received gave time to make a disposition of the left wing, and second line of the American army in the wood, and on the eminence to which Lee was retreating. On this, some cannon were placed by Lord Stirling, who commanded the left wing; which, with the co-operation of some parties of infantry, effectually stopped the advance of the British in that quarter. General Greene took a very advantageous position, on the right of Lord Stirling. The British attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans, but were repulsed. They also made a movement to the right, with as little success; for Greene with artillery disappointed their design. Wayne advanced with a body of troops, and kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that the British were soon compelled to give way. They retired and took the position, which Lee had before occupied. Washington resolved to attack them, and ordered General Poor to move round upon their right and General Woodford to their left; but they could not get within reach, before it was dark. These remained on the ground, which they had been directed to occupy during the night, with an intention of attacking early next morning; and the main body lay on their arms in the field, to be ready for supporting them.

General Washington reposed himself in his cloak, under a tree, in hopes of renewing the action the next day; but these hopes were frustrated. The British troops marched away in the night, in such silence that General Poor, though very near them, knew nothing of their departure. They left behind them, 4 officers, and about 10 privates, all so badly wounded, that they could not be removed. The British, June 30, pursued their march without farther interruption, and soon reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North river. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 250. The loss of the royal army, inclusive of prisoners, was about 350. Lieut. Colonel Monckton, one of the British slain, on account of his singular merit was universally lamented. Colonel Banner of Pennsylvania, and Major Dickenson of Virginia, officers highly esteemed by their country, fell in this engagement. The emotions of the mind, added to fatigue in a very hot day, brought on such a fatal suppression of the vital powers, that some of the Americans, and 59 of the British were found dead on the field of battle, without any marks of violence upon their bodies.

It is probable, that Washington intended to take no farther notice of Lee's conduct in the day of action; but the latter could not brook the expres-

sions used by the former at their first meeting, and wrote him two passionate letters. This occasioned his being arrested, and brought to trial. The charges exhibited against him were:

1st. For disobedience of orders, in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeable to repeated instructions.

2dly. For misbehaviour before the enemy, on the same day, by making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

3dly. For disrespect to the commander-in-chief in two letters.

After a tedious hearing before a court martial, Lee was found guilty, and sentenced to be suspended from any command in the armies of the United States, for the term of one year: but the second charge was softened by the court martial who in their award only found him guilty of misbehaviour before the enemy, by making an unnecessary, and in some few instances, a disorderly retreat. Many were displeased with this sentence. They argued, "that by the tenor of Lee's orders it was submitted to his discretion, whether to attack or not; and also, that the time and manner were to be determined by his own judgment: that at one time he intended to attack, but altered his opinion on apparently good grounds; that the propriety of an attack, considering the superiority of the British Cavalry, and the openness of the ground, was very questionable; and that, though it might have distressed the enemy's rear in the first instance, it would probably have brought on a general action, before the advanced corps could have been supported by the main body, which was some miles in the rear." "If," said they, "Lee's judgment were against attacking the enemy, he could not be guilty of disobeying an order for that purpose, which was suspended on the condition of his own approbation of the measure." They also contended, that a suspension from command was not a sufficient punishment for his crimes, it really guilty. They therefore inferred a presumption of his innocence from the lenient sentence of his judges though there was a diversity of opinion relative to the first and second charges, all were agreed in pronouncing him guilty of disrespect to the commander-in-chief. The Americans had formerly idolized General Lee; but some of them now went to the opposite extreme, and without any foundation pronounced him treacherous, or deficient in courage. His temper was violent, and his impatience of subordination had led him often to quarrel with those whom he was bound to respect and obey; but his courage and fidelity could not be questioned.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kings-bridge; and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position, from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn; and then the Americans retired to Middle Brook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

Immediately on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, Congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, 6th, August, they were called upon, to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations, antecedent to the treaty. The arrival and reception of a minister from France, made a strong impression on the minds of the Americans. They felt the weight and importance, to which they were risen among nations. That the same spot which in less than a century, had been the residence of savages, should become the theatre on which, the representatives of a new, free, and civilized nation, gave a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary, from one of the oldest and most powerful kingdoms of Europe, afforded ample materials for philosophic contemplation. That in less than three years from the day, on which an answer was refused by Great Britain to

the united supplications of the colonists, praying for peace, liberty and safety, they should, as an independent people, be honoured with the residence of a minister from the court of France, exceeded the expectation of the most sanguine Americans. The patriots of the new world revolved in their minds these transactions, with heart-felt satisfaction; while the devout were led to admire that Providence, which had, in so short a space, stationed the United States among the powers of the earth, and clothed them in robes of sovereignty.

The British had barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia, to the harbour and city of New York, when they received intelligence, that a French fleet was on the coast of America. This was commanded by Count D'Estaing, and consisted of twelve ships of the line and three frigates. Among the former, one carried 90 guns, another, 80, and six 74 guns each. Their first object was the surprise of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware; but they arrived too late. In naval history, there are few more narrow escapes, than that of the British fleet, on this occasion. It consisted only of six 64 gun ships, three of 50, and two of 40, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware, in 75 days from its leaving Toulon, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This was prevented by the various hindrances which retarded D'Estaing in his voyage to the term of 87 days; in the last eleven of which Lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of New York. D'Estaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and, July 11th, appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet roused all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantmen and traders at New York, took their stations at the guns with the common sailors. Others put to sea in light vessels, to watch the motions of their enemies. The officers and privates of the British army contended, with so much eagerness, to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time, the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about 20 vessels under English colours. On the 22d, the French fleet appeared under weigh. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that Count D'Estaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers, and the army, must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet, declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships thereof over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Estaing, on that account, and by the advice of General Washington, left the Hook and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British fleet had a second escape; for had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of Admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve Lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled; and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which

had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, dismantled, or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the *Renown*, the *Raisonné*, the *Centurion*, and the *Cornwall* arrived singly at Sandy Hook.

The next attempt of Count D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, in which it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of General Hancock. The royal troops on the island, having lately been reinforced, were about 6000. Sullivan's force was about 10,000. Lord Howe followed Count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode Island, the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior in effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of Lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole force to engage him. While the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on, which greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismantled. The *Languedoc* of 90 guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and rudder, was attacked by the *Renown* of 50 guns, commanded by Captain Dawson. The same evening, the *Preston* of 50 guns, fell in with the *Tonnant* of 80 guns: with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit: but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries; yet enough to make it necessary to return to New-York, for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor, on the 20th of August, near to Rhode Island; but sailed on the 22d, to Boston. Before they sailed, General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette went on board the *Languedoc*, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour; but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors.

Upon the return of General Greene and the Marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of Count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him, which was signed by John Sullivan, Nathaniel Greene, John Hancock, J. Glover, Ezekiel Cornell, William Whipple, John Tyler, Solomon Lovell, Jon. Fitconnel. They protested against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most Christian Majesty, and the interests of his nation, destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, either before or immediately after the pursuit of Lord Howe, the reduction of the British post on Rhode Island would have been probable: but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode Island to Boston, frustrated the whole. Perhaps Count D'Estaing hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New York. Or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet, within an harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions, the impotency of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced him to adopt that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied. They complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation; that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger; that in this situation, they were first deserted, and afterwards totally abandoned, at a time, when, by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that the regular army which remained, was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, General Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability. He began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the 26th, and retreated from his lines on the night of the 28th. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north of the island, fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The Marquis de la Fayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this Count d'Estaing would not consent; but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order; but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them, on discovering their retreat. The pursuit was made by two parties and on two roads; to one was opposed Colonel Henry B. Livingston; to the other John Laurens, aid-de-camp to General Washington, and each of them had a command of light troops. In the first instance these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way; but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced, they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near 1200 Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton and about 4000 troops on board, being seen off the coast, General Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the sentries of both armies were within 400 yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night, and nearly completed by twelve o'clock. Towards the last of it, the Marquis de Lafayette returned from Boston. He had rode thither from Rhode Island, a distance of 70 miles, in seven hours, and returned in six and a half. Anxious to partake in the engagement, his mortification was not little at being absent on the day before. He was in time to bring off the picquets, and other parties that covered the retreat of the American army. This he did in excellent order. Not a man was left behind, nor was the smallest article lost.

The bravery and good conduct which John Laurens displayed on this occasion, were excelled by his republican magnanimity, in declining a military commission, which was conferred on him, by the representatives of his country. Congress resolved, that he should be presented with a continental commission, of lieutenant colonel, in testimony of the sense which they entertained of his patriotic and spirited services, and of his brave conduct in several actions, particularly in that of Rhode Island, on the 29th of August.

On the next day he wrote to Congress a letter, expressing "his gratitude for the unexpected honour which they were pleased to confer him, and the

satisfaction it would have afforded him, could he have accepted it without injuring the rights of the officers in the line of the army, and doing an evident injustice to his colleagues, in the family of the commander in chief. That having been a spectator of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instrumental in disturbing it, and therefore intreated Congress to suppress their resolve, ordering him the commission of lieutenant colonel and to accept his sincere thanks for the intended honour."

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of Congress for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages; but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of Count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans; yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds, that his most Christian Majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The good will of their new allies was manifested to the Americans; and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured Count D'Estaing; but while they attempted to console themselves by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operation.

Sir Henry Clinton, finding that the Americans had left Rhode Island, returned to New York; but directed General Grey to proceed to Bedford and the neighbourhood, where several American privateers resorted. On reaching the place of their destination, the general's party landed, and in a few hours destroyed about seventy sail of shipping, besides a number of small craft. They also burnt magazines, wharves, stores, warehouses, vessels on the stocks, and a considerable number of dwelling houses. The building burned in Bedford, were estimated to be worth £20,000 sterling. The other articles destroyed were worth much more. The royal troops proceeded to Martha's Vineyard. There they destroyed a few vessels, and made a requisition of the militia arms, the public money, 300 oxen, and 2000 sheep, which was complied with.

A similar expedition, under the command of Captain Ferguson, was about the same time undertaken against Little Egg-Harbour, at which place the Americans had a number of privateers and prizes, and also some salt-works. Several of the vessels got off; but all that were found were destroyed. Previous to the embarkation of the British from Egg-Harbour for New York, Captain Ferguson with 250 men, surprised and put to death about 50 of a party of the Americans, who were posted in the vicinity. The attack being made in the night, little or no quarter was given.

The loss sustained by the British in these several excursions was trifling; but the advantage was considerable, from the supplies they procured, and the check which was given to the American privateers.

One of the most disastrous events, which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Tappan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them, was Major General Grey. He acquired the name of the "No flint General," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets that they might be confined to the use of their bay-

onets. A party of militia, which had been stationed on the road, by which the British advanced, quitted their posts, without giving any notice to Colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a sergeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded old Tappan without being discovered. They then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment, while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarters. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated thrusts, while objects could be found in which any signs of life appeared. A few escaped; and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded but not dangerously. He lost in killed, wounded and taken, 67 privates out of 101. About 40 were made prisoners. These were indebted, for their lives, to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarters to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained that the laws of war require that quarters should be given in similar assaults; but the lovers of mankind must ever contend, that the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of Gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint. The particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of sundry credible witnesses, taken before Governor Livingston, of Jersey; and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public.

In the summer of this year, an expedition was undertaken against East Florida. This was resolved upon, with the double view of protecting the state of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about 2000 men, a few hundred of whom were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South Carolina and Georgia. They proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place the British had erected a fort, which in compliment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of General Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans, than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree, that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one-fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope, that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment of their expectations from the French, would re-consider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind: but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close, before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With this new era, a new system was introduced.

Hitherto the conquest of the states had been at-

tempted by proceeding from north to south but that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre, on which the British commenced their offensive operations. Georgia, being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, embarked from New York for Savannah, 27th November, with a force of about 2000 men, under the convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, Major General Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New York, in about three weeks effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing place, a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance, they received a heavy fire from a small party under Captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed; but the British made their way good, and compelled Captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army, consisting of about 600 continentals, and a few hundred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome, before the Americans could be dislodged. While Colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro, of a private path through the swamp, on the right of the Americans which lay in such a situation, that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans, and attack their rear. As soon as it was supposed that sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans, were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution; their victory was complete. Upwards of 100 of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, 415 privates, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort, with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all, in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South Carolina.

Agreeably to instructions, General Prevost had marched from East Florida, about the same time that the embarkation took place from New York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the welcome tidings of the arrival and success of Colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and

paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the Union, in which, after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

The errors of the first years of the war, forced on Congress some useful reforms, in the year 1778. The insufficiency of the provision made for the support of the officers of their army had induced many resignations. From a conviction of the justice and policy of making commissions valuable, and from respect to the warm, but disinterested recommendations of General Washington, Congress resolved: "that half-pay should be allowed to their officers, for the term of seven years, after the expiration of their service." This was, afterwards, extended to the end of their lives: and finally, that was commuted for full pay, for five years. Resignations were afterwards rare; and the states reaped the benefit of experienced officers continuing in service, till the war was ended.

A system of more regular discipline was introduced into the American army, by the industry, abilities, and judicious regulations of Baron de Steuben, a most excellent disciplinarian, who had served under the king of Prussia. A very important reform took place in the medical department, by appointing different officers, to discharge the directing and purveying business of the military hospitals, which had been before united in the same hands. Dr. Rush was principally instrumental in effecting this beneficial alteration. Some regulations, which had been adopted for limiting the prices of commodities, being found not only impracticable, but injurious, were abolished.

The Randolph, an American frigate of 36 guns and three hundred and five men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having sailed on a cruise from Charleston, fell in with the Yarmouth, of 64 guns, and engaged her in the night. In about a quarter of an hour, the Randolph blew up. Four men only were saved, upon a piece of her wreck. These had subsisted four days on nothing but rain water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket. On the 5th day, Captain Vincent of the Yarmouth, though in chase of a ship, on discovering them, suspended the chase, and took them on board. Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful officer.

[NICHOLAS BIDDLE, captain in the American navy, during the revolutionary war, was born in the city of Philadelphia, in the year 1750. Among the brave men who perished in the glorious struggle for the independence of America, Captain Biddle holds a distinguished rank. His services, and the high expectations raised by his military genius and gallantry, have left a strong impression of his merit, and a profound regret that his early fate should have disappointed, so soon, the hopes of his country.

Very early in life he manifested a partiality for the sea, and before the age of fourteen he had made a voyage to Quebec. In the following year, 1765, he sailed from Philadelphia to Jamaica, and the Bay of Honduras. The vessel left the bay in the latter end of December, 1765, bound to Antigua, and on the second day of January, in a heavy gale of wind, she was cast away on a shoal, called the Northern Triangles. After remaining two nights and a day upon the wreck, the crew took to their yawl, the long-boat having been lost, and, with great difficulty and hazard, landed on one of the small uninhabited islands, about three leagues distant from the reef upon which they struck. Here they staid a few days. Some provisions were procured from the wreck, and their boat was

refitted. As it was too small to carry them all off, they drew lots to determine who should remain, and young Biddle was among the number. He, and his three companions, suffered extreme hardships for want of provisions and good water; and, although various efforts were made for their relief, it was nearly two months before they succeeded.

Such a scene of dangers and suffering in the commencement of his career, would have discouraged a youth of ordinary enterprise and perseverance. On him it produced no such effect. The coolness and promptitude with which he acted, in the midst of perils that alarmed the oldest seamen, gave a sure presage of the force of his character, and after he had returned home, he made several European voyages, in which he acquired a thorough knowledge of seamanship.

In the year 1770, when a war between Great Britain and Spain was expected, in consequence of the dispute relative to Falkland's Island, he went to London, in order to enter the British navy. He took with him letters of recommendation from Thomas Willing, Esq. to his brother-in-law, Capt. Sterling, on board of whose ship he served for some time as a midshipman. The dispute with Spain being accommodated, he intended to leave the navy, but was persuaded by Captain Sterling to remain in the service, promising that he would use all his interest to get him promoted. His ardent mind, however, could not rest satisfied with the inactivity of his situation, which he was impatient to change for one more suited to his disposition.

In the year 1773, a voyage of discovery was undertaken, at the request of the Royal Society in order to ascertain how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole, to advance the discovery of the north-west passage into the south seas, and to make such astronomical observations as might prove serviceable to navigation.

Two vessels the *Race Horse* and *Carcase*, were fitted out for the expedition, the command of which was given to Captain Phipps, afterwards lord Mulgrave. The peculiar dangers to which such an undertaking was exposed, induced the government to take extraordinary precautions in fitting out and preparing the vessels, and selecting the crews, and a positive order was issued that no boys should be received on board.

To the bold and enterprising spirit of young Biddle, such an expedition had great attractions. Extremely anxious to join it, he endeavoured to procure Captain Sterling's permission for that purpose, but he was unwilling to part with him, and would not consent to let him go. The temptation was, however, irresistible. He resolved to go and laying aside his uniform, he entered on board the *Carcase* before the mast. When he first went on board he was observed by a seaman who had known him before, and was very much attached to him. The honest fellow, thinking that he must have been degraded and turned before the mast in disgrace, was greatly affected at seeing him, but was equally surprised and pleased when he learned the true cause of the young officer's disguise, and he kept his secret, as he was requested to do. Impelled by the same spirit, young Horatio, afterwards lord Nelson, had solicited and obtained permission to enter on board the same vessel. These youthful adventurers are both said to have been appointed cockswains, a station always assigned to the most active and trusty seamen. The particulars of this expedition are well known to the public. These intrepid navigators penetrated as far as the latitude of eighty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes, and they were, at one time, enclosed with mountains of ice, and their vessels rendered almost immovable for five days at the hazard of instant destruction. Captain Biddle kept a journal of his voyage, which was afterwards lost with him.

The commencement of the revolution gave a new turn to his pursuits, and he repaired without delay to the standard of his country. When a rupture between England and America appeared inevitable, he returned to Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival, he was appointed to the command of the

Camden galley, fitted for the defence of the Delaware. He found this too inactive a service, and when the fleet was preparing, under Commodore Hopkins, for an expedition against New Providence, he applied for a command in the fleet, and was immediately appointed commander of the *Andrew Doria*, a brig of 14 guns and 130 men. Paul Jones, who was then a lieutenant, and was going on the expedition, was distinguished by Captain Biddle, and introduced to his friends as an officer of merit.

Before he sailed from the capes of Delaware, an incident occurred, which marked his personal intrepidity. Hearing that two deserters from his vessel were at Lewistown in prison, an officer was sent on shore for them, but he returned with information that the two men, with some others, had armed themselves barricaded the door, and swore they would not be taken; that the militia of the town had been sent for, but were afraid to open the door, the prisoners threatening to shoot the first man who entered. Captain Biddle immediately went to the prison, accompanied by a midshipman, and calling to one of the deserters, whose name was Green, a stout resolute fellow ordered him to open the door; he replied that he would not, and if attempted to enter, he would shoot him. He then ordered the door to be forced, and entering singly with a pistol in each hand, he called to Green, who was prepared to fire, and said, "now, Green, if you do not take good aim, you are a dead man." Daunted by his manner, their resolution failed, and the militia coming in secured them. They afterwards declared to the officer who furnishes this account, that it was Captain Biddle's look and manner which had awed them into submission, for that they had determined to kill him as soon as he came into the room.

Writing from the capes to his brother, the late Judge Biddle he says, "I know not what may be our fate; be it, however, what it may, you may rest assured, I will never cause a blush in the cheeks of my friends or countrymen." Soon after they sailed, the small-pox broke out and raged with great violence in the fleet, which was manned chiefly by New England seamen. The humanity of Capt. Biddle, always prompt and active, was employed on this occasion to alleviate the general distress, by all the means in its power. His own crew, which was from Philadelphia, being secure against the distemper, he took on board great numbers of the sick from the other vessels. Every part of his vessel was crowded, the long-boat was fitted for their accommodation, and he gave up his own cot to a young midshipman, on whom he bestowed the greatest attention till his death. In the mean while he slept himself upon the lockers, refusing the repeated solicitations of his officers to accept their births. On their arrival at New Providence, it surrendered without opposition. The crew of the *Andrew Doria*, from the crowded situation, became sick, and before she left Providence, there were not men enough capable of doing duty to man the boats; Capt. Biddle visited them every day, and ordered every necessary refreshment, but they continued sickly until they arrived at New London.

After refitting at New London, Captain Biddle received orders to proceed off the Banks of Newfoundland, in order to intercept the transports and storeships bound to Boston. Before he reached the banks, he captured two ships from Scotland, with 400 highland troops on board, destined for Boston. At this time the *Andrew Doria* had not 100 men. Lieutenant Josiah, a brave and excellent officer, was put on board one of the prizes, with all the highland officers, and ordered to make the first port. Unfortunately, about ten days afterwards, he was taken by the *Cerberus* frigate, and on pretence of his being an Englishman, he was ordered to do duty, and extremely ill used. Captain Biddle hearing of the ill treatment of Lieutenant Josiah, wrote to the admiral at New York, that, however disagreeable it was to him, he would treat a young man of family, believed to be son of lord Craston, who was then his prisoner,

in the manner they treated Lieutenant Josiah.

He also applied to his own government in behalf of this injured officer, and by the proceedings of Congress, on the 7th of August, 1776, it appears, "that a letter from Captain Nicholas Biddle to the marine committee, was laid before Congress and read: whereupon, Resolved, That General Washington be directed to propose an exchange of Lieutenant Josiah, for a lieutenant of the navy of Great Britain; that the general remonstrate to lord Howe on the cruel treatment Lieutenant Josiah has met with, of which the congress have received undoubted information." Lieutenant Josiah was exchanged, after an imprisonment of ten months. After the capture of the ships with the highlanders, such was Captain Biddle's activity and success in taking prizes, that when he arrived in the Delaware, he had but five of the crew with which he sailed from New London, the rest having been distributed among the captured vessels, and their places supplied by men who had entered from the prizes. He had a great number of prisoners, that, for some days before he got in, he never left the deck.

While he was thus indefatigably engaged in weakening the enemy's power, and advancing his country's interest, he was disinterested and generous in all that related to his private advantage. The brave and worthy opponent, whom the chance of war had thrown in his power, found in him a patron and friend, who on more than one occasion, was known to restore to the vanquished the fruits of victory.

In the latter end of the year 1776, Capt. Biddle was appointed to the command of the *Randolph*, a frigate of thirty-two guns. With his usual activity, he employed every exertion to get her ready for sea. The difficulty of procuring American seamen at that time, obliged him, in order to man his ship, to take a number of British seamen, who were prisoners of war, and who had requested leave to enter.

The *Randolph* sailed from Philadelphia, in February, 1777. Soon after she got to sea, her lower masts were discovered to be unsound, and, in a heavy gale of wind, all her masts went by the board. While they were bearing away for Charleston, the English sailors, with some others of the crew formed a design to take the ship. When all was ready, they gave three cheers on the gun-deck. By the decided and resolute conduct of Captain Biddle and his officers, the ring-leaders were seized and punished, and the rest submitted without farther resistance. After refitting at Charleston, as speedily as possible, he sailed on a cruise, and three days after he left the bar, he fell in with four sail of vessels, bound from Jamaica to London. One of them, called the *True Briton*, mounted twenty guns. The commander of her, who had frequently expressed to his passengers his hopes of falling in with the *Randolph*, as soon as he perceived her, made all the sail he could from her, but finding he could not escape, he hove to, and kept up a constant fire, until the *Randolph* had bore down upon him, and was preparing for a broadside, when he hauled down his colours. By her superior sailing, the *Randolph* was enabled to capture the rest of the vessels, and in one week from the time he sailed from Charleston, Captain Biddle returned there with his prizes, which proved to be very valuable.

Encouraged by his spirit and success, the state of South Carolina made exertions for fitting out an expedition under his command. His name and the personal attachment to him, urged forward a crowd of volunteers to serve with him, and in a short time, the ship *General Moultrie*, the brigs *Fair American*, and *Polly*, and the *Notre Dame*, were prepared for sea. A detachment of fifty men from the first regiment of South Carolina continental infantry, was ordered to act as marines on board the *Randolph*. Such was the attachment which the honourable and amiable deportment of Captain Biddle had impressed during his stay at Charleston, and such the confidence inspired by his professional conduct and valour, that

a general emulation pervaded the corps to have the honour of serving under his command. The tour of duty, after a generous competition among the officers, was decided to Captain Joor, and Lieutenants Grey and Siminons, whose gallant conduct, and that of their brave detachment, did justice to the high character of the regiment. As soon as the Randolph was refitted, and a new mainmast obtained in place of one which had been struck with lightning, she dropt down to Rebellion Roads with her little squadron. Their intention was to attack the Carysfort frigate, the Perseus twenty-four gun ship, the Hichinbrook of sixteen guns, and a privateer which had been cruising off the bar, and had much annoyed the trade. They were detained a considerable time in Rebellion Roads, after they were ready to sail, by contrary winds, and want of water on the bar for the Randolph. As soon as they got over the bar, they stood to the eastward, in expectation of falling in with the British cruisers. The next day they retook a dismasted ship from New England; as she had no cargo on board, they took out her crew, six light guns, and some stores, and set her on fire. Finding that the British ships had left the coast, they proceeded to the West Indies, and cruised to the eastward, and nearly in the latitude of Barbadoes, for some days, during which time they boarded a number of French and Dutch ships, and took an English schooner from New York, bound to Grenada, which had mistaken the Randolph for a British frigate, and was taken possession of before the mistake was discovered.

On the night of the 7th of March, 1778, the fatal accident occurred, which terminated the life of this excellent officer. For some days previously he had expected an attack. Captain Blake, a brave officer, who commanded a detachment of the second South Carolina regiment, serving as marines on board the General Moultrie, and to whom we are indebted for several of the ensuing particulars, dined on board the Randolph two days before the engagement. At dinner Captain Biddle said, "We have been cruising here for some time, and have spoken a number of vessels, who will no doubt give information of us, and I should not be surprised if my old ship should be out after us. As to any thing that carries her guns upon one deck, I think myself a match for her. About 3. P. M. of the 7th of March, a signal was made from the

Randolph for a sail to windward, in consequence of which the squadron hauled upon a wind, in order to speak her. It was four o'clock before she could be distinctly seen, when she was discovered to be a ship, though as she neared and came before the wind, she had the appearance of a large sloop with only a square sail set. About seven o'clock, the Randolph being to windward, hove to; the Moultrie, being about one hundred and fifty yards astern, and rather to leeward, also hove to. About eight o'clock the British ship fired a shot just ahead of the Moultrie, and hailed her; the answer was, the Polly, of New York; upon which she immediately hauled her wind, and hailed the Randolph. She was then, for the first time, discovered to be a two decker. After several questions asked and answered, as she was ranging up alongside the Randolph, and had got on her weather quarter, Lieutenant Barnes, of that ship called out, "This is the Randolph," and she immediately hoisted her colours and gave the enemy a broadside. Shortly after the action commenced, Capt. Biddle received a wound in the thigh and fell. This occasioned some confusion, as it was first thought that he was killed. He soon, however, ordered a chair to be brought, said that he was only slightly wounded, and being carried forward encouraged the crew. The stern of the enemy's ship being clear of the Randolph, the captain of the Moultrie gave orders to fire, but the enemy having shot ahead, so as to bring the Randolph between them, the last broadside of the Moultrie went into the Randolph, and it was thought by one of the men saved, who was stationed on the quarter-deck near Capt. Biddle, that he was wounded by a shot from the Moultrie. The fire from the Randolph was constant and well directed. She fired nearly three broadsides to the enemy's one, and she appeared, while the battle lasted, to be in a continual blaze. In about twenty minutes after the action began, and while the surgeon was examining Captain Biddle's wound on the quarter deck, the Randolph blew up.

The enemy's vessel was the British ship Yarmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Vincent. So closely were they engaged, that Captain Morgan, of the Fair American, and all his crew, thought that it was the enemy's ship that had blown up. He stood for the Yarmouth, and had a trumpet in his hand to hail and inquire how

Captain Biddle was, when he discovered his mistake. Owing to the disabled condition of the Yarmouth, the other vessels escaped.

The cause of the explosion was never ascertained, but it is remarkable that just before he sailed, after the clerk had copied the signals and orders for the armed vessels that accompanied him, he wrote at the foot of them, "In case of coming to action in the night be very careful of your magazines." The number of persons on board the Randolph was three hundred and fifteen, who all perished except four men, who were tossed about for four days on a piece of the wreck before they were discovered and taken up. From the information of two of these men, who were afterwards in Philadelphia, and of some individuals in the other vessels of the squadron, we have been enabled to state some particulars of this unfortunate event, in addition to the accounts given of it by Dr. Ramsay in his History of the American Revolution, and in his History of the Revolution of South Carolina. In the former work, the historian thus concludes his account of the action: "Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was in the prime of life, and had excited high expectations of future usefulness to his country, as a bold and skilful naval officer."

Thus prematurely fell, at the age of twenty-seven, as gallant an officer as any country ever boasted of. In the short career which Providence allowed to him, he displayed all those qualities which constitute a great soldier: brave to excess, and consummately skilled in his profession.—*Amer. Biog. Dic.*]

Major Talbot took the British schooner Pigot, of 8 twelve pounders, as she lay on the eastern side of Rhode Island. The major, with a number of troops on board a small vessel, made directly for the Pigot in the night, and sustaining the fire of her marines, reserved his own till he had run his jib-boom through her fore shrouds. He then fired some cannon, threw in a volley of musketry, loaded with bullets and buckshot, and immediately boarded her. The captain made a gallant resistance but was not seconded by his crew. Major Talbot soon gained undisturbed possession, and carried off his prize in safety. Congress, as a reward of his merit, presented him with the commission of lieutenant colonel.

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